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THE CHIEFS OF GRANT

BY

WILLIAM FRASER L.L.D.

VOL. I. MEMOIRS

EDINBURGH 1883

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Introduction

THE Family of Grant of Grant have been for ages the recognised chiefs of their numerous and powerful clan,—a clan which have been long distinguished for devoted loyalty and attachment to their lawful sovereigns. Strathspey is the country of the Grants. So much were they identified with the great Strath and its magnificent river, that King Charles the Second desired to confer a peerage on the distinguished chief of the Grants, James Grant of Freuchie, under the title of Earl of Strathspey and Lord Grant of Freuchie. While the patent of the peerage was in preparation, the sudden death of the chief defeated the intention of the King, but the honour was not lost to the family; it was only deferred. After the lapse of nearly two centuries, in the course of which the power and influence of the family had been greatly increased by their acquisition of the dignities and estates of the Earls of Seafield, Her Majesty Queen Victoria conferred the title of Baron Strathspey of Strathspey, as a peerage of the United Kingdom, upon the late lamented chief of the Grants, the lineal male descendant of the intended Earl of Strathspey. No more appropriate title could have been bestowed. It was hailed with delight by the whole members of the Grant Clan as an honour done to their chief and themselves, and on that auspicious occasion the hearts of the men of Strathspey were stirred as only Highland hearts can be.

He it was who first resolved to carry out the design of preserving an enduring record of his family and their muniments. He was pleased to commit to me the task of editing the work, in which during its progress he took much interest, and it will always be matter of regret that it was not completed in his lifetime. This regret is somewhat lessened by the recollection that two of the volumes,—those embracing the Charters and

Correspondence,—were so far completed as to allow of their being submitted to him for inspection several months before his death. All his intercourse with me regarding the work was most pleasant and agreeable, and his large collections of muniments were from the first intrusted to me with the most generous confidence.

According to the strictly chronological order of the history of the Grant Family, from their earliest time to the present, the memoir of the late chief falls to be given towards the close of this volume. But as he was the originator of this work, even at the risk of anticipating what may there be said, it is deemed suitable to pay a tribute to his memory here. Amidst the many panegyrics which his lamented death called forth, we prefer to quote one which could not be swayed by the influence of private friendship. The deep devotion of the people of Strathspey to their late chief, who was regarded more as their father and friend than simply as their landlord, was very strikingly shown at that time. With the deepening sense of a real and heavy bereavement, genuine sorrow and dismay took possession of every heart, and at the closing scene grief alone responded to grief. A stranger, recently settled in the country, has collected very impartially and recorded very happily what he said was the voice of the whole Gaelic-speaking people in the country, in the following remarks :—

The burial which took place at Duthil on Saturday was very different from those at which profusion of undertaker's pomp forms the chief attraction. Lord Seafield's death, before attaining the threescore years and ten, produced a feeling of mourning, as if for a dear friend, among all parties and classes throughout the counties of the North with which he was more immediately connected by property and residence. We have received—and we doubt not our contemporaries have also received—many communications seeking to give expression to the deep and general sense of loss and bereavement. Elsewhere, too, the tributes of commemoration due to one whose life has been beneficial to his country and honourable to himself have been freely bestowed by the organs of public opinion. Not only the northern counties, where he lived, worked, and was best known, but broad Scotland feels with sorrow that a great chief and noble Scotsman has departed from our midst. On Saturday the spontaneous sorrow of overflowing hearts, which neither birth nor station can purchase by all the wealth of the world, surrounded his ancestral place of sepulture in his native Strathspey. From widely separated districts, notwithstanding the extremely inclement weather, hundreds upon hundreds of men who represented burghs, clachans, lonely hill-sides, and distant glens, gathered there to pay to a chief whom they honoured, and a man whom they loved, the last tribute of earthly reverence.

What was the secret of Lord Seafield's great popularity? We believe it was simple, honest, unostentatious fulfilment of the duties of his high station. He exercised his trust, not so much as a man who could do whatever seemed good in his own eyes, but as a steward responsible for all his actions. He was not a seeker for popularity, and he probably never knew during his earthly career how much beloved he was, and what a princely and more than princely influence he had secured in his corner of the world. He was an unambitious man, of retiring disposition, who never sought ephemeral laudations by the means which the wealthy can command. Although he had strong convictions, he did not mingle in the conflicts of political life. As heir of the Ogilvies, and hereditary chief of the Grants, birth opened to him the chance of a public career. That was not his line; but he gained, unsought, a fame as bright as the highest political success could have secured, by the noble use he made of the opportunities which the accident of birth had conferred upon him. He resided on his estates almost all the year round. He knew most of his people and their conditions, and they all knew him and understood his character. He planted, drained, fenced, and farmed as well as the most skilful of his tenants. Among the breeders of Highland cattle, his name became a household word. In all relations of life he was good and true. He was loyal to the principles of his House and the history of his Clan. He was an elder of the National Church—a Presbyterian of Presbyterians—which counted for much in a country where there is too often for the general well-being and union of classes a religious separation that divides ranks and sympathies. He was a just landlord. His people possessed their minds and holdings in peace and security. The landlord right was tempered by the fine old tie of chiefship and clannishness; and under no circumstances did Lord Seafield himself desire to worry those under him by tyrannical harshness, or whims of temper and purpose.

Just and kindly-human, but far from lax and careless relations with tenants and dependants; faithful discharge of the duties of a high position; the patriarchal feeling which became the chief of an ancient clan; Scottish community of faith and sentiments with his fellow-Scotsmen—such were the causes which gave the departed peer a deeper hold in the heart of his country than in his modesty perhaps he even imagined, but which his death fully revealed. He enjoyed home-life in the country; he disliked London, and for him the distractions of human life, or the pursuits of vain pleasures, had no allurements. He enjoyed rural avocations, and formed associations with the people whose well-being was bound up with his own. The wild charms of his Highland glens spoke to him in language that went to his heart. He had not the tongue-gifts of his ancestor the Bard, but he inherited his mind and susceptibilities. So it happened that in the slow course of thirty busy years he grew into a great prince in his own country, and that he never knew of it. The people who say that our land laws are all wrong, and wish to make a clean sweep of them, attack particularly large estates. It is, however, only on such estates that there is full scope for the virtues which Lord Seafield illustrated, and it is pleasing to believe these are still to be found among many of the old families which connect the nineteenth century with the distant past.[1]

[1] "Northern Chronicle," Wednesday, March 2, 1881.

Such in the eyes of his clan and countrymen generally was the late Earl of Seafield.

Ludovick Grant of Grant, the son and successor of James Grant, whom King Charles the Second had designed to make Earl of Strathspey, occupied, as chief of the clan, an influential position in the north of Scotland during his tenure of the Grant estates, extending over the long period of more than half a century. It is recorded that Ludovick took exception to certain measures proposed while James Duke of York was Commissioner to the Parliament of Scotland, and in the Legislative Assembly on one occasion desired that his protest might be recorded, on which the Duke of York remarked that the wishes of his Highland Majesty would be attended to. Laird Ludovick was afterwards popularly known as the "Highland King," and the designation was extended to his successors.

The famous Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat, married Margaret Grant, the youngest daughter of the "Highland King." In this way Lovat became the brother-in-law of Sir James Grant of Grant, the son of Ludovick, and the uncle of Sir Ludovick Grant, the son of Sir James. Lovat was in constant correspondence with these relatives, and without anticipating his numerous and characteristic letters, printed in the second volume of this work, we need only notice here his frequent allusions to the regal majesty of the Highland chief. He styles Sir James Grant "the Highland King."[1] On the occasion of the marriage of Sir James's son, Ludovick Grant, and Lady Margaret Ogilvie, eldest daughter of James, fifth Earl of Findlater and Seafield, Lovat was profuse in his congratulations. Amidst many other things he says in a letter to the bridegroom:—"May the offspring of your body and hers be great, numerous, and flourishing, and may they reign in Strathspey, and in your other territories, as long as there is a stone subsisting in Castle Grant, or a drop of water in the river of Spey."[2] In letters of a later date, when the offspring of the union had increased, his Lordship alludes to "the good Lady Margaret, and the young Pallatine of Strathspey and the Infanta,"[3] the designation Palatine of Strathspey being occasionally diversified with that of Prince of Strath-

[1] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 299. [2] *Ibid.* p. 336. [3] *Ibid.* p. 369.

spey; in fact, the allusion to the children of Sir Ludovick Grant as princes and infantas of Strathspey became habitual with Lord Lovat.[1]

Too much importance will not be attached to the letters of Simon Lord Lovat by those who are acquainted with his peculiar style. It was his wont to indulge in expressions of admiration, and even adulation, towards such of his friends as he particularly fancied. But, making allowance for his partiality to special friends or near relations, his letters strengthen the evidence of the prominence and power of the chiefs of Grant in the Highlands, and especially in the wide district of Strathspey, which had long been peopled so exclusively by the clan, that no landowner held possessions there who did not bear the name of Grant. When, about the middle of last century, Baron Grant of Elchies proposed to sell his estate in Strathspey, Sir Ludovick Grant was anxious to secure it, either for himself or one of the clan. In a letter to his law-agent he wrote that he wished to preserve all the lands lying between the two Craigellachies in the name of Grant. These two rocky eminences are conspicuous objects in Strathspey. The upper or western Craigellachie forms the dividing boundary between Badenoch and Strathspey, and was the rendezvous for the Grant clan in time of war. The lower Craigellachie stands at the confluence of the Fiddich with the Spey, and forms the point of contact of the four parishes of Aberlour, Knockando, Rothes, and Boharm. The upper Craigellachie is generally supposed to have furnished the crest of the Grant family, which is a mountain in flames. When the chief wished the clan to assemble, fires were kindled on both Craigellachies, hence the name, "Rock of alarm." The war-cry of the clan was *Stand Fast, Craigellachie*, and their armorial motto is the same. So much were the Grants identified with these crags, that Lord Lovat frequently commenced his letters to his brother-in-law, the Laird of Grant, "My dear Craigellachie," and Sir James Grant himself, in writing to his brother-in-law, Colonel Grant of Ballindalloch, occasionally adopted "Craigellachie" as his signature.[2] In "A Cry from Craigellachie," the accomplished author, Principal Shairp of St. Andrews, describes his feelings on his first journey by the Highland Railway which sweeps past Craigellachie :—

[1] Vol. ii. of this work, pp. 377, 391, 392, 395, 397, 399, 407.

[2] Letters in Ballindalloch Charter-chest.

Grisly storm-resounding Badenoch,
With grey boulders scattered o'er,
And cairns of forgotten battles,
Is a wilderness no more.

Ha! we start the ancient silence,
Thundering down the long incline,
On Strathspey and Rothiemurchus
Forests of primeval pine.

Boar of Badenoch! Sow of Athole!
Hill by hill behind we cast
Rock and craig and moorland reeling,
Scarce Craigellachie stands fast.

Although the Grant family have been so long connected with Strathspey, it was not the original country of the Grants. Their first known territorial designation was Lords of Stratherrick, from a district in the county of Inverness, now part of the Lovat estates. At an early period they acquired the lands of Inverallan in Strathspey, and about the middle and end of the fifteenth century added to their possessions Freuchie and Glencarnie.[1] The title of Grants of Freuchie, with the occasional local designation of Lairds of Grant, continued in the family for ten generations, from 1450 to 1694, when Ludovick Grant, the "Highland King," having obtained a Crown charter erecting his lands into the regality of Grant, dropped the territorial designation of Freuchie, and adopted that of Grant of Grant, by which his descendants continued to be known until they succeeded to the title and dignity of Earl of Seafield.

The personal history of the successive chiefs of the Family of Grant, contained in their memoirs, will be rendered more intelligible, as well as more interesting, by a short account of the lands and baronies which the Grants from time to time acquired in Stratherrick and Strathspey, the latter of these districts, as we have said, having been long popularly known as the COUNTRY OF THE GRANTS.

[1] Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 22, 41, 43.

THE BARONY OF STRATHERRICK, IN INVERNESS.

THE ORIGINAL COUNTRY OF THE GRANTS.

The earliest known territorial designation which was hereditary in the family of Grant was that of Lord of Stratherrick. At a somewhat earlier date than the first appearance of the Grants as Lords of Stratherrick, Robert le Grant, who, if not a brother, was at least a contemporary of Sir Laurence le Grant, obtained from John Prat[1] a charter of the lands of Clonmanache,[2] concerning which there had been some dispute between the granter's father and Robert le Grant. The writ bears that the land shall be held of the granter and his heirs for a silver merk instead of the usual services, and the gift may have been the result of a compromise.[3] The charter is undated, but was probably made about the year 1258, when Robert le Grant, Sir Laurence, and two of the witnesses, Sir John Byset and Sir William, son of Augustine, all appear in an agreement with the Bishop of Moray in that year.[4] Clonmanache, or Coulmony, is thus the first territory of which we have certain and authentic information as the possession of a member of the Grant family. But from it Robert le Grant appears to have assumed no territorial designation, and no succession has been traced from him.

Stratherrick, on the other hand, supplied to the Grant family their earliest territorial designation, and one which, for a short time at least, was hereditary. Patrick le Grant, the grandson of Sir Laurence, Sheriff of Inverness, was the first of the family whose name is associated with the district of Stratherrick, and in a charter granted by him about the year 1357 he is designed "dominus de Stratharthoc," or Lord of Stratherrick.[5] Whether Sir Laurence le Grant or his son, the father of Patrick, held these lands can only be matter of conjecture, although,

[1] He was probably the knight whose sister Marjory married Gilbert of Glenkerny, younger. [Vol. iii. of this work, p. 6.]

[2] Supposed to be Coulmony, now part of the estate of Lethen, in the county of Nairn.

[3] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 5.

[4] Registrum Moraviense, pp. 133-135.

[5] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 10.

from the high position of the former as Sheriff of Inverness, it is very probable that he did. The son of Patrick, whose Christian name has not been positively ascertained, may also, like his father, have taken the style of Lord of Stratherrick, and the grand-daughter of Patrick, Elizabeth le Grant, who inherited the lands, was known and designed as Lady of Stratherrick.[1]

Stratherrick, also called Strathfarigag, from the river which drains the more northerly portion of the valley, is a wide elevated district in the parish of Boleskine and Abertarf, and county of Inverness. It stretches along the south-eastern shore of Loch Ness, parallel with, but separated from it by a narrow ridge of hilly country which screens the valley from the loch. The Strath is watered towards the south by another stream called the Fechlin, which, issuing from Loch Killin, unites in Stratherrick with some other considerable waters, and then changes its name to the River Foyers. It is upon this river that the far-famed and often described Fall of Foyers is situated, just where the water turns to pierce the rocky ridge and seek rest in the bosom of Loch Ness.

The lands and barony of Stratherrick, so far as can be traced, have been inherited by three families successively, the Bysets, the Grants, and their present possessors the Frasers. The Bysets are known to have held the territory from about the year 1242;[2] a century later it was in the possession of the Grants, and appears to have passed from them before 1420 to the family of Fraser of Lovat. At this time these lands pertained to the earldom of Moray, and continued to do so probably until about the year 1539, when with other baronies and lands they were incorporated by King James the Fifth into the barony of Lovat, in favour of Hugh Lord Fraser of Lovat.[3] The paucity of information regarding the history of Stratherrick during the period of its possession by the Bysets and the Grants, and its acquisition by the Frasers, is fully accounted for by the fact that the documents which could have instructed its history, perished in the flames of war. On 20th September 1430, King James the First confirmed to

[1] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 16.

[2] Rymer's Fœdera, vol. i. p. 617.

[3] Charter of Erection of Barony of Lovat, dated 26th March 1539. Registrum Magni Sigilli, Lib. xxvi. No. 244.

Hugh Fraser of Lovat and his heirs, certain lands mentioned in a retour in which he is served heir to his deceased brother, Alexander Fraser of Lovat. The lands were the third part of the barony of the Aird, and the barony of Abertarf, with its pertinents, viz., Stratherrick, the third part of the lands of Glenelg and other lands in the barony of Abertarf and regality of Moray, all held of the Earl of Moray for ward and relief, and at this time in the hands of the Crown on account of the recent death of James Earl of Moray. The charter concludes with the following clause :— And because it hath been fully and sufficiently established by the said Hugh Fraser that his charters, made upon the said lands, were burned, consumed, and destroyed during the wars of the Islesmen while in rebellion against the King, therefore the King ratifies to the said Hugh and his heirs the said lands with their pertinents, in the same form in which the said Hugh or his predecessors held them from the Earl of Moray, saving our service, etc.[1]

Although here and in other charters described as a pertinent of the barony of Abertarf, there is evidence that Stratherrick was itself a barony. It is so styled in the charter of erection of the barony of Lovat already referred to, and in other writs. In the middle of the sixteenth century, when untimely bereavements had thrown upon the estate the support of two dowagers, Janet Gray, the widow of Thomas, third Lord Fraser of Lovat, and Janet Ross, the widow of Hugh, fourth Lord, the two ladies, unable to agree about their respective terces, had recourse to the Sheriff-Court of Inverness, and the Sheriff decreed (1st July 1552) that their claims should be apportioned on the baronies of Abertarf, Stratherrick, Dalcors, the "auld heritage of the Aird," Strathglas, and the conquest lands of Halyburton.[2]

So long and so closely have the Lovat family been identified with Stratherrick, that the district became known as the *Country of the Frasers.* The Grants are said to have left traces of their occupation of the valley in the names of several of the places, such as Gartmore, Gartbeg, Dellachaple, and Ballindalloch, but it is more probable that such names are rather local

[1] Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. ii. No. 179.

[2] Sheriff-Court Book of Inverness, 1543-1594, H.M. General Register House, Edinburgh.

than tribal, and the fact that places in Strathspey bear similar designations only suggests that places having common or similar geographical features received similar names, and not that the Grants transferred the names of their holdings in Stratherrick to those of Strathspey. A manuscript history of the family of Lovat asserts that in the fifteenth century there were many Grants, some of them belonging to the Clanchiaran, living in Stratherrick, but if this were so, they must soon afterwards have given place to the followers of Lovat. It is recorded that in 1544 the race of Lovat was nearly annihilated in the sanguinary battle of Blar-na-leine, fought at the east end of Loch Lochy between the Clan Macdonald and the Frasers of Lovat, who were returning from an expedition to the Hebrides, whither they had gone to restore the heir of the Clanranald family to his estates. Both sides stripped to their shirts (whence the name of the battle), and the Frasers, who were inferior in numbers to their opponents, were all slain with the exception of one man, who escaped wounded.[1] Fortunately for the clan the bereaved wives of the Frasers, to the number of eighty, it is alleged, gave birth to posthumous sons, who, in due time, grew up and re-established the name. So far as Stratherrick was concerned, the retainers of Lovat are said to have suffered severely, and the valley is reported to have been peopled principally by the descendants of two cadets of Fraser of Lovat, one of whom settled at Foyers and the other at Loch Farraline, giving rise to two tribes, the Mac-mhic-ulliams or Foyer's tribe, and the Slioch-ion-mhic-Alisters, or Farraline's tribe.[2]

As illustrative of social life in Stratherrick till about the close of the seventeenth century, it may be said that the houses of the wadsetters were composed of cupple trees, the walls and thatch made up of sod and divot, but each containing a spacious apartment containing a large table, where the family and dependants daily ate their two meals, the family occupying one end of the table, and the dependants the other. The sons of these wadsetters were trained in agriculture and arms, and any other pursuit was reckoned a disgrace. The land was divided into davochs or half davochs, one or more of which was held by the wadsetter, and he in turn subset his holding in quarter or plough lands, or more frequently in

[1] Gregory's Highlands and Isles, p. 162. [2] Old Statistical Account, vol. xx. pp. 21, 22.

auchten parts, and sometimes even in smaller portions, to cottars. Pertaining to Stratherrick there were extensive shealings or grazings on the hills towards Badenoch, and to these the inhabitants were wont to migrate in summer with their whole families and cattle, returning again to their farms when the winter began to set in.[1]

The lands of Stratherrick, after being in possession of the Frasers of Lovat for more than three hundred years, were in 1746 forfeited, along with the other Lovat estates, on the attainder of Simon Lord Lovat for his participation in the rebellion of 1745, and retained by the Crown for nearly thirty years. They were then restored to General Simon Fraser, eldest son of the forfeited Lord, and Margaret Grant, daughter of Ludovick Grant of Grant, the "Highland King." General Fraser died in 1782, and was succeeded by his brother, Archibald Fraser of Lovat, who, in the year 1803, endowed seven Sunday charity schools, one of which was to be erected in Stratherrick.

In the printed letter in which he intimates this endowment to the neighbouring gentlemen, he says:—

"I wish for moral principle, and stipulate the New Testament shall be a school book; and the Old Testament, fit only for enlarged minds and more advanced experience and periods of life, shall not be used in the Sunday school until a proper excerpt, containing the history of the Creation, the faith of Abraham, the piety of Job, and the enlightened reflections of the Ecclesiastes, applicable to Christianity, shall, with the Psalms of David selected, form the compilation."

A copy of the letter was sent by Archibald Fraser of Lovat to Lady Grant of Grant, with an accompanying epistle, which shows that the writer had evidently inherited much of the racy humour of his father. Archibald Fraser's letter is as follows:—

Inverness, 2d October 1803.

Lady Grant will, I am persuaded, receive the enclosed paper with that complacencye which, tho' it is the prerogative of her sex in general, is with her so peculiar an ornament.

The weather breaks; for the next six months a good castle, a large

[1] Old Statistical Account, vol. xx. pp. 23, 24.

room, a large family, clean hearts, chearfull minds, and roaring peat fires wou'd be my choice. My preparations are for a winter campaign, meal, leather bags, and boys to carry them, for lack of provender for garrons. And a little more than I want, when Sir James orders me to march, to give away, and gett the blessings of the people instead of their curses for plundering them for our money: moreover, a store of onions, salt, tobacco, Scots snuff, whiskey, and bagpipes for our people, and for the first Consal (Bonaparte) a single figg.

I hope your Ladyship's forgivnes for coming of before breakfast, and begging my respects to the Miss Grants and all the family, have the honor to be

Your most obedient humble servant,

A. Fraser, Lovat.

Although the Grants parted with Stratherrick in 1419, and thus for a time severed their connection with Loch Ness, they reappeared a century later on its opposite shore as the owners of the large district of Urquhart and Glenmoriston. Meanwhile the family had fixed their abode in Strathspey, whither we hasten to trace their possessions.

INVERALLAN IN STRATHSPEY.

The lands of Inverallan were among the earliest possessions of the Grant family, and the first which they acquired in Strathspey. They were possessed in the reign of King Robert the Bruce by John le Grant, and have ever since been inherited by the Grants, with one interruption caused by the lands having been provided to co-heiresses. The dispute which arose afterwards, respecting the possession of the lands, lasted for upwards of two centuries. It is fully instructed by documents in the Grant Charter-chest, and the facts are of interest for understanding the history of this early inheritance of the Grants in Strathspey.

As a separate estate, the lands of Inverallan were composed of three davochs. They were situated on the west side of the river Spey, and extended several miles up the river from the vicinity of Castle Grant. In these three davochs are comprised the lands of Kildreke or Dreggie, Glenbeg, Craggan, and Gaich. They appear to have formed part of the territory of the De Moravias in the early part of the thirteenth century, as between the years 1223 and 1242 Walter de Moravia granted the church of Inverallan to Andrew, Bishop of Moray, for the upholding of the cathedral church of Elgin,[1] but about 1288 they appear as the possession of Augustine, the son of the late Robert of Augustine, who styles himself Lord of "Inueralian in Strathspe."[2] In 1316, John of Inverallan, son to Gilbert, brother of Augustine, disponed the lands to John le Grant, the father of Patrick le Grant, Lord of Stratherrick, to whom reference has already been made. Patrick le Grant inherited them, and bestowed one-half of them, the davoch land of Dreggie and the half davoch land of Glenbeg, with his daughter Elizabeth le Grant, about the year 1357, upon William Pylche, a burgess of Inverness.[3]

The son of William Pylche and Elizabeth le Grant was William Pylche,

[1] Registrum Moraviense, p. 111.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 142. A person of the name of Augustine appears in the time of Andrew de Moravia, Bishop of Moray, as his servitor. He was probably the father of Robert and other three sons, Benedict, a friar of Kinloss, John, and another, whose name was either Sir William or Sir Walter. [*Ibid.* pp. 66, 86, 129, 135.]

[3] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 10.

Lord of Culcabock and Inverallan. He married a lady named Elizabeth Pylche, and both he and his wife died before 1453, his widow having before her death resigned into the hands of Archibald Douglas, Earl of Moray and Master of Douglas, her lands of the half-town of Inverallan, half-town of Glenbeg, and half town of Dreggie, within the earldom of Moray and regality of Ballokhill, in favour of John Hay of Mayne. The Lord of Culcabock and Inverallan had two daughters, Elizabeth and Marjory Pylche, who were infeft in the lands of Gaich, Dreggie, and Glenbeg, prior to the year 1430, and they again, in their widowhood, in 1482, resigned in the hands of the King, in favour of Alexander Hay of Mayne, their lands of Inverallan, Gaich, Glenbeg, Craggan, and Dreggie, with the lands of Culcabock, Knockintennaill, and the Hauch, which lands, it is said, had belonged to them hereditarily. These two heiresses, however, reserved the liferents of their respective portions of the lands.

But Elizabeth Grant, Lady of Stratherrick, the grand-daughter of Patrick le Grant, after disponing, in 1419, her lands of Stratherrick to her son, James Mackintosh, in 1433 conveyed all her other lands and possessions to her grandson, John Seres. She was heiress to her grandfather, Patrick le Grant, and as he had only bestowed half of the lands of Inverallan upon his daughter Elizabeth, on her marriage with William Pylche, the other half appears to have descended to John Seres. But from this point, owing probably to the sub-division amongst co-heiresses, the history of the lordship of Inverallan is one of contention.

The documents which narrate the transfer of these lands from the Pylche ladies to the Hays of Mayne, indicate that the whole of the lands of Inverallan were in the possession of these co-heiresses, and were by them made over to the Hays in 1482. In 1433 John Seres became the heir of Elizabeth le Grant, and in 1464 he obtained sentence before the Lords Auditors against Angus Gibbonson, for unjustly spoiling, occupying, and detaining the lands of Inverallan and Gaich to his injury, and ordering these lands and their profits to be restored to him. In 1482 Patrick Seres, son of the late John Seres, was infeft in the lands of Inverallan, on a precept by William Crawford of Federeth, called the superior of the lands. Patrick Seres shortly thereafter resigned them in favour of John Grant, son

and heir-apparent of Duncan Grant of Freuchie, who was then infeft in the lands on a precept from the superior. John Grant died on 30th August 1482, and on a precept from the same superior, his son, John Grant, was infeft in the lands in the following year. On the other hand, Alexander Hay of Mayne received the lands after their resignation by Elizabeth and Marjory Pylche, from King James the Third, by charter dated 25th October 1482, and was infeft on the 30th of the same month by James Dunbar of Cumnock, Sheriff of Inverness.

The question was thus one both of superiority and possession. The claim of superiority lay between the Crown and the Crawfords of Federeth, that of possession between the Grants of Freuchie and the Hays of Mayne. For a time there is no appearance of a collision having taken place. But in 1511, after the death of Alexander Hay of Mayne, his heir not having entered to the lands within the specified time, the non-entry of the lands was conferred by the Crown on a person named Robert Douglas. Douglas found John Grant of Freuchie in possession of certain of the lands, and pursued him for the rents and dues thereof before the Lords of Council. In the action the Crown laid claim to the maills of half the lands of Gaich, half the lands of Glenbeg, and half the lands of Dreggie, but their Lordships decided in favour of John Grant of Freuchie on the production by him of charter and sasine of the lands.

In the later contest with the Hays of Mayne, the Grant family were, so far as legal proceedings were concerned, unsuccessful, but the contention was prolonged through several generations. During that period, on account of successive deaths among the Hays, and also their impecuniosity, the lands frequently fell into the wardship of the Crown, and the ward was gifted to various individuals. One of these was Alexander Hay of Easter Kennet, Clerk to the Privy Council, and Clerk-Register, who assigned his gift in 1566 to John Grant of Freuchie, then in actual possession of the lands of Inverallan as tenant. The Clerk-Register was related to William Hay of Mayne, heir to the lands of Inverallan, and interested himself in getting him established in them. At this time, too, William Crawford of Federeth challenged the right of superiority to the lands claimed by the Crown, but his claim was rejected. From the repeated mention of these lands in the Exchequer

Rolls during this period it is ascertained that their estimated annual value was £26, 13s. 4d. Scots.

In 1583 John Grant, fourth Laird of Freuchie, entered into negotiations with William Hay of Mayne, with a view to settle all disputes by a purchase of the lands, and it was agreed between them that the Laird of Freuchie should get the lands of Inverallan. In return, and for the "extinctione of pley, trouble, or expense," he was to infeft the Laird of Mayne in the lands of Arndilly, pay the sum of three thousand merks, and, as the donator and assignee of the Laird of Mayne's maritagium, release him to marry whomsoever he pleased.[1] To this arrangement the consent of Alexander Hay, Lord Clerk-Register, was necessary, and for this the Laird of Freuchie wrote him a few days after the conclusion of the agreement.[2]

A year or two elapsed before the final terms were arranged. The Laird of Mayne married in the interval, and as his spouse was Jean Grant, a daughter of one of the principal scions of the family, Patrick Grant of Ballindalloch,[3] it may be supposed that the choice was not altogether his own, though it probably was approved by all parties concerned for the sake of insuring the interment of old feuds, and procuring a stable foundation for present and future amity. During the same period the old Laird of Freuchie died, and the completion of the acquisition of Inverallan was devolved on his grandson and successor, John Grant, the fifth Laird. On 26th June 1587 a contract was entered into for the absolute sale of the lands of Inverallan, Glenbeg, Gaich, Craggan, and Dreggie, to John Grant of Freuchie, for six thousand merks. A charter of the lands was granted the same day in his favour by the Clerk-Register as fiar, and William Hay of Mayne as liferenter. It states that they were to be held of the Crown in fee and heritage for ever, and a charter of confirmation of the grant was obtained from King James the Sixth on 14th February 1592, who, in the same document, confirmed another charter of the adjacent lands of Auchnarrows, Downan, and Port.[4] These lands, with those of Inverallan,

[1] Original Heads of Condescendence at Castle Grant.

[2] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 36.

[3] Original Contract of Marriage, dated 1585, and subscribed by William Hay of Mayne, and Alexander Hay of Easter Kennet, Clerk-Register, with the names of two sons of the latter, Mr. John Hay and Daniel Hay as witnesses, at Castle Grant.

[4] Original Charter at Castle Grant.

were shortly afterwards included in a new incorporation of the barony of Cromdale. Shortly before his death, this Laird also satisfied William Hay of Mayne in respect of his claim for the ejection of his grandfather, by the Laird's grandfather, from his lands of Mayne.[1]

These arrangements ought to have terminated, and to all appearance did terminate, the unhappy and prolonged litigation betwixt the Grants and the Hays of Mayne respecting Inverallan. But the contest was afterwards unexpectedly re-opened by James Hay, the eldest son of the marriage of William Hay of Mayne and Jean Grant of Ballindalloch. On her marriage Jean Grant had received, as a liferent portion, the rents of the davoch land of Dreggie, and the half davoch land of Gaich, and, in 1625, after the death of her husband, she sold her liferent rights in these lands to her eldest son.[2] Owing, apparently, to the want of some necessary precaution in making up the titles, James Hay was able to lay claim to the possession of the lands with some measure of success, and, in 1653, James, the seventh Laird of Freuchie, grandson of the Laird who had bought the lands from William Hay, found it his interest to compromise the matter, rather than renew the litigation. He accordingly agreed with James Hay, then designed "in Auchroisk," the Hays having ceased to be connected with Mayne, that the latter should dispone to him all right and title which he had to the barony of Glenbeg, or any part thereof, either as heir to his father or other predecessors, or by his mother's liferent, deliver over all his evidents of the lands, and discharge all claims connected therewith; and also, that he should procure the renunciation of Auchroisk by the Clerks of Auchroisk, and denude himself of his rights therein in the Laird's favour. On his part, James Grant of Freuchie was to pay to James Hay £800 Scots, out of which Grisel Hay, sister to James Hay, and spouse to John Caddell, was to have her liferent portion, other four hundred merks on the performance of the conditions stipulated, and to give him a four years' tack of the lands of Cummingston, an estate on the Mulben property in Banffshire.[3] This agreement effectually brought to

[1] Original Discharge, dated 17th November 1621, at Castle Grant.
[2] Original Disposition at Castle Grant. Another son, Patrick Hay, is a witness.
[3] Original Agreement at Castle Grant.

a termination this disagreeable and unprofitable petty feud, and since this settlement, the lands have remained peacefully in possession of the Grants.

The stream which flows down from Tobair-Alline, where it takes its rise, through Glenbeg, and which from that circumstance is now called the Glenbeg Burn,[1] evidently, in earlier days, bore the name of the Allan, and gave the designation of Inverallan to the district which surrounds the lower part of its course. At its confluence with the Spey there appears to have been, in former days, a strong fort, whence, probably, the earlier Lords of Inverallan bore sway over their little territory, and dispensed feudal justice to their dependants.

The parish of Inverallan embraced a larger portion of the territory of Strathspey than was contained in the lands known as Inverallan. Among other lands in the parish were Tullochgorm, Curr, Clurie, Auchnahandet, part, at least, of the three Finlargs, and Freuchie itself, some of which fall to be treated in other connections, as portions of the Grant possessions. The original parish of Inverallan was united to the adjacent parish of Cromdale, both in the presbytery of Abernethy. A new church was built in the town of Grantown, and was generally designed and known as the church of Grantown. But the presbytery of Abernethy, on 26th March 1816, appointed the church to be called the church of Inverallan. On an application by the late Earl of Seafield, and others interested, the Court of Teinds, on 24th May 1869, erected the district assigned to the church of Inverallan into a parish *quoad sacra*, disjoining it and the district from the parish of Cromdale. In an action of transportation at the instance of the present Earl of Seafield and others interested, the new manse which had been erected for Inverallan was, by decree of the Court of Teinds, dated 3d July 1882, ordained to be the manse of the *quoad sacra* parish of Inverallan in time coming, and the old manse was authorised to be sold. The erection of the new parish of Inverallan was a great convenience, particularly to the inhabitants of Grantown, who were far removed from the parish church of Cromdale.

[1] It is also sometimes called the Craggan Burn and the Inverallan Burn.

THE BARONY OF FREUCHIE.

The name of this barony of Freuchie, variously spelled Frewche, Fruychue, Freuchequhy, etc., from the Gaelic, *Fraochach*, heathy or heathery, may be derived from the heathery hill situated about a quarter of a mile to the south-east of Castle Grant.

This barony first appears on record as a possession of the family of Grant in the time of Sir Duncan Grant. In 1453, previous to his being knighted, he is designed in a precept of sasine by Archibald Douglas, Earl of Moray, for infefting John le Hay of Mayne in the lands of Glenbeg and others, as "our beloved cousin, Duncan le Graunte of Fruychy," and from that time until the close of the seventeenth century, Freuchie was the designation of the chiefs of the Grants.

Sir Duncan Grant appears to have possessed only the half of the barony of Freuchie, the other half being the property of Marjory Lude. She, on 28th July 1473, granted a charter to her son, Patrick Grant, in which she styles herself Lady of half the barony of Freuchie. By that charter, Marjory Lude, in her widowhood and urgent need, for the sustentation of her life, pledged or wadset to her son, Patrick Grant, in return for a payment made by him to her of six hundred merks, her lands of Auchnarrows, Downan, Port, and Dalfour, in the barony of Freuchie and shire of Inverness. Who Marjory Lude was, and how she obtained possession of the half lands of Freuchie, has not been ascertained. The portion of Freuchie held by Sir Duncan Grant in 1453 may have come to him through the marriage of his father with Matilda of Glencarnie, to whose father, Gilbert of Glencarnie, part of the lands of Freuchie appear to have pertained. Mention is made of a prominent part of the later barony of Freuchie, the lands of the two Congashes, as the property of Gilbert of Glencarnie at the close of the thirteenth century. About that time he granted to Duncan de Feryndrawcht, on the marriage of the latter to his daughter Marjory, the eastern davoch of the land of Congash, in the holding of Abernethy, with the homage and service of the tenant

of his davoch land of Wester Congash.[1] The lands continued the property of the Glencarnies until the death, about the year 1438, of that Gilbert of Glencarnie whose daughter Matilda was the mother of Sir Duncan Grant. The lands then fell to the Crown by reason of non-entry, until, in 1464, Sir Duncan obtained himself served heir to his grandfather Gilbert in the lands of Congash.[2] Owing to an informality in this retour, by omitting to state the time when the lands fell to the Crown, and how long they had remained in the king's hands, it was rendered inoperative, and another service supplying the required information had to be expede. This second service, expede on 7th February 1468, was followed by a precept from Chancery authorising the infeftment of Sir Duncan Grant in the lands of Congash, and in it the lands are valued at forty shillings yearly, but in time of peace at ten merks. They are said to have been in the hands of the Crown since the death of Gilbert of Glencarnie, his maternal grandfather, thirty years previously, owing to the heir failing to prosecute his claim.[3]

Sir Duncan Grant of Freuchie died in 1485, and having been predeceased by his eldest son, John Grant, younger of Freuchie, he was succeeded in the lands by his grandson, also John Grant. On a precept from Chancery, John Grant of Freuchie was, on 17th June 1489, infeft in the half of the lands of Freuchie, the two Culfoichs, the two Congashes and Glenlochy, in the shire of Inverness, the Sheriff proceeding first to the lands of Freuchie and then to the lands of Congash, and giving sasine upon the ground and at the messuages thereof.[4]

Four years later, on 4th January 1493, John Grant of Freuchie obtained from King James the Fourth a charter erecting his lands into a barony, to be called the BARONY OF FREUCHIE. In this charter the King grants and confirms to John Grant of Freuchie the lands of Freuchie and mill thereof, the two Culfoichs, Dalfour, Auchingall, the two Congashes and mill thereof, and Glenlochy, all in the shire of Inverness, also the fifth part of the lands of Linkwood, with the fifth part of the mill thereof, the fifth part of the lands of Barmuckity, the fifth part of the lands of Garbity, half of the lands of Inchbery, half of the lands of

[1] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 7. [2] *Ibid.* p. 26. [3] *Ibid.* pp. 28, 29. [4] *Ibid.* p. 37.

Ordiquish, half of the lands of Mulben, and six shillings and eightpence (or half) of the lands of Sheriffston, all in the shire of Elgin. These lands, the charter proceeds to narrate, belonged heritably to John Grant of Freuchie, and were by him resigned into the King's hands at Edinburgh,[1] whereupon His Majesty, for the singular favour he bore to John Grant, and on account of his faithful services in many ways, erected the lands into a free barony, to be called in all time coming the Barony of Freuchie.[2] On a precept from Chancery in favour of John Grant of Freuchie, sasine of the barony was given to him on the ground of the same on 5th February 1493.[3]

This new erection of the barony of Freuchie differed from the former barony in this respect, that some of the lands of the old barony were not in possession of the Grants of Freuchie, and, consequently, were not included in the new erection of 1493. By this time, however, they had added part, at least, of the half of the old barony, possessed by Marjory Lude, to their own portion of it. The lands of Dalfour were among those disponed by Marjory Lude to her son, Patrick Grant, but previous to this new erection they had been acquired by the Grants of Freuchie, who included them in the new erection of the barony in 1493. The lands of Auchnarrows, Downan, and Port, which, as already stated, formed part of the half of the old barony of Freuchie possessed by Marjory Lude, formed no part of the later barony of Freuchie. They were purchased by the Grants of Freuchie from James Grant of Auchernach in 1586, and shortly after their acquisition, as will afterwards be shown, were incorporated into a new erection of the barony of Cromdale.

The remaining lands, or parts of lands, lying in the county of Elgin, added by the charter to the barony of Freuchie, appear to have been detached lands possessed by the Grants, and to have been included in the new barony for the sake of giving greater unity to the estate. None of them are known to have formed part of the old barony. Sheriffston and Barmuckity were part of the lands held by Gilbert of Glencarnie from the Earl of Moray, and were inherited by Sir Duncan Grant in 1434, when

[1] Original Instrument of Resignation at Castle Grant.

[2] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 41.

[3] Original Instrument of Sasine at Castle Grant.

King James the First granted to him, as heir of his mother, Matilda of Glencarnie, a precept of sasine in the lands of the fifth part of the barony of Rothes Wiseman, Barmuckity, the two Fochabers, and the half of Sheriffston.[1] But of these lands lying in the county of Elgin, thus included by the charter of 1493 in the barony of Freuchie, it is to be remarked, that they never afterwards appear in connection with the barony in any document. It would seem that all these lands, at least Ordiquish, Garbity, and Sheriffston, were exchanged by John Grant, second Laird of Freuchie, when his daughter Margaret married Thomas Cumming, younger of Erneside, for the half of the lands of Mulben and Mekill Balnabrochs, in the shire of Elgin.

In 1536, when James Grant "the Bold" was retoured heir to his father, John Grant of Freuchie, the barony of Freuchie comprised only such lands as were situated in the county of Inverness, and mention is for the first time made of the Castle and fortalice of Freuchie.[2] Before 1553, an addition appears to have been made to the barony in the lands of Auldcharn, which, after this date, are always enumerated among the lands of the barony. On the other hand, a slight diminution in the real extent of the barony took place in 1564 by the disposition to the Cummings of Erneside, of the south half of Dalfour, with a sixteenth part of the north half, leaving so much of Dalfour in the barony as to preserve a nominal completeness. This disposition was in fulfilment of a contract dated in 1508, but which had not been implemented.

The barony of Freuchie, as thus composed of the lands of Freuchie, with castle and fortalice thereof, mills, etc., viz., the Castletown of Freuchie, Dalfour, Auchingall, the two Culfoichs, the two Congashes, Auldcharn, and Glenlochy, was held of the Crown on the usual terms, and is stated in 1553 and 1589 to be worth forty merks annually, and in time of peace thirty-three merks. This was the valuation of the Crown. An old rental of 1611 shows the value of these lands to the family of Grant in the time of King James the Sixth, with the burdens upon each davoch, and the various payments in kind made by the tenants to the Laird.[3] The davochs were rented according to the nature of their soil, relative fertility,

[1] Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 13-15, 18. [2] *Ibid.* p. 81.
[3] *Vide* excerpt in vol. iii. of this work, pp. 300-313.

etc., some paying as much as £80 Scots annually, and others less than £10, of land maill, with corresponding sums in teind maill and vicarage, and a grassum generally every five years. The payments in kind were composed of a certain number of bolls of multure bear, also wedders, lambs, kids, salmon, poultry, geese, and capons, in quantities proportioned to the respective rents. The total amounts of rental and other money payments in 1611 were:—Grassum, £223, 6s. 4d.; land maill, £494, 13s. 4d.; teind maill, £9, 6s. 8d.; vicarage, £15, 4s. 4d. The rents paid in kind were seventeen bolls of multure bear, nineteen and a half wedders, one lamb, twenty-four kids, thirty pounds of salmon, one hundred and seventy-nine poultry, twenty-four geese, and twelve capons.

This barony of Freuchie did not form a compact estate. It was divided into two portions by intervening lands. One of these portions embraced the lands of Freuchie, Auchingall, the two Culfoichs, and Dalfour, all of which were contiguous to the castle of Freuchie. The other portion was situated on the east side of the Spey, higher up the river, and in the parish of Abernethy. It comprised the lands of the two Congashes, Auldcharn and Glenlochy, and these stretching from the Spey to Strathavon, formed a complete section across the parish of Abernethy. The lands which intersected the barony were those of Auchnarrows, Downan, and Port, pertaining to Patrick Grant of Auchnarrows, the son of Marjory Lude, but they were ultimately acquired by the Lairds of Grant.

As thus constituted, however, Freuchie continued to form a distinct barony and the principal possession of the Grant family until 1694, when Ludovick Grant obtained the Crown charter erecting all his lands into the Regality of Grant, and the barony of Freuchie was absorbed in it.

Although the castle or fortalice of Freuchie is not mentioned before the year 1536 in any of the charters which have been preserved, there can be little doubt that in the time of Sir Duncan Grant, the first of Freuchie, and also at an earlier period, the lands possessed a mansion-house. In the year 1489 Freuchie is described as the messuage.[1] It is possible that in the older barony some other place was the principal messuage, and that after the consolidation of his estates in 1493, John Grant of Freuchie chose,

[1] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 38.

as the site of a residence, the lands from which the new barony was named. It is more probable, however, that the lands of Freuchie were always the principal part of the barony of Freuchie; but as the castle and fortalice of Freuchie are first mentioned in the retour of James Grant of Freuchie, his son, on 3d October 1536, it may be presumed that John Grant either rebuilt his residence, or extended the edifice which then existed.

The castle of Freuchie was frequently designated Ballachastell, which, literally rendered, is the town of the castle.[1] In like manner the dominical lands or mains of Freuchie were frequently called the lands or mains of Ballachastell. The names were often used interchangeably. Thus James Grant of Freuchie made his testament on 1st June 1553 at his place of Ballachastell, and a few weeks later, on the 22d of August, it is described as his castle of Freuchie. His son and successor, John Grant of Freuchie, who was in possession of the barony for about thirty years, dated his feudal documents sometimes from Freuchie, but more frequently from Ballachastell, and the latter appears to have been the designation preferred by succeeding Lairds until the erection of the Regality of Grant. Then it took its present designation from the name of its proprietors, and to this day remains Castle Grant.

As the principal residence of the family of Grant, Castle Grant has been cherished and venerated not only by the members of the family, but by all the name of Grant, as the home of their chief. The castle itself is an imposing pile, reared on one of the most commanding positions in Strathspey. Its outlook is at once varied, extensive, and magnificent, over a country which, for many miles around, owns its baronial sway. A writer of the eighteenth century, describing the view, says :—

"The house commands a pretty extensive and pleasing landscape. Southward, the deep forest of Abernethy, its broad dark green plain encroaching on the dusky side of the lofty Cairngorm, the pale rolling cloud seizing at times its summit, equalling its peerless elevation with the humbler hills, and the mountain anon discharging the hovering vapour in lingering detachments, resumes its proud pre-eminence, and looks down upon its neighbours. Spread eastward lies the wide-bending cultivated

[1] It is also sometimes spelt Balloch Castle, that is, the castle in the pass.

CASTLE GRANT

plain of Cromdale, its green level border illuminated by the blue rolling river. On the north and west an irregularly curved range of hill displays upon its side the verdant mantle of flourishing plantation. The park itself is of great extent, diversified with the agreeable variety of thicket, grove and forest, cornfield and meadow ; a double line of tall trees extend a cool shade over a long lane, by the lofty canopy of their intermingled foliage, impervious to the summer sun and the slighter shower ; the trim garden, the ornamented shrubbery, and several pleasant ridings, may suggest a general idea of the environs of this respectable mansion, the extent of which may be conceived by the compass occupied by the wood, nearly four thousand acres." [1]

The fabric of the castle is of various dates, one portion, called Babie's Tower, being considerably the most ancient. Formerly, the castle was built to face the south, and the workmanship on that side is traceable to the fifteenth century, but at a later period, in the time of Sir Ludovick Grant, the principal face was made to front the north, and wings were then built out to the south. Among the internal features of the castle may be mentioned the magnificent dining-hall, forty-seven feet in length, twenty-seven in breadth, and of a proportional height, its walls adorned with numerous and rare works of art, among which are many ancestral portraits. Drawing-rooms, staircases, and several of the numerous bedrooms are similarly ornamented. A list of these portraits and paintings is given at the end of this volume.

The armoury, too, is extensive, and contains an excellent collection of warlike panoply, armour defensive and weapons offensive, of modern and remoter times. A list, dated in 1720, of the guns and other weapons in the castle contains among others the following :—

Baillie Clerk's long gun.
Colonel Grant's long gun.
Glenmorison's long gun.
Belindalloch's eight squair gun.
Peter Haberon's gun.
Belindalloch's carved gun.
Litcheston's whippe.
The gilt gun of the famelie.
The double barrell'd gun.
Mr. Alex[r] Ogilvie's gun.
Pitchases eight squair gun, marked J. G.
The short waipon gun.
My Lady Doun's long fusie.
The Dutch fusie with the brass lock.

[1] Survey of the Province of Moray, 1798, pp. 271, 272.

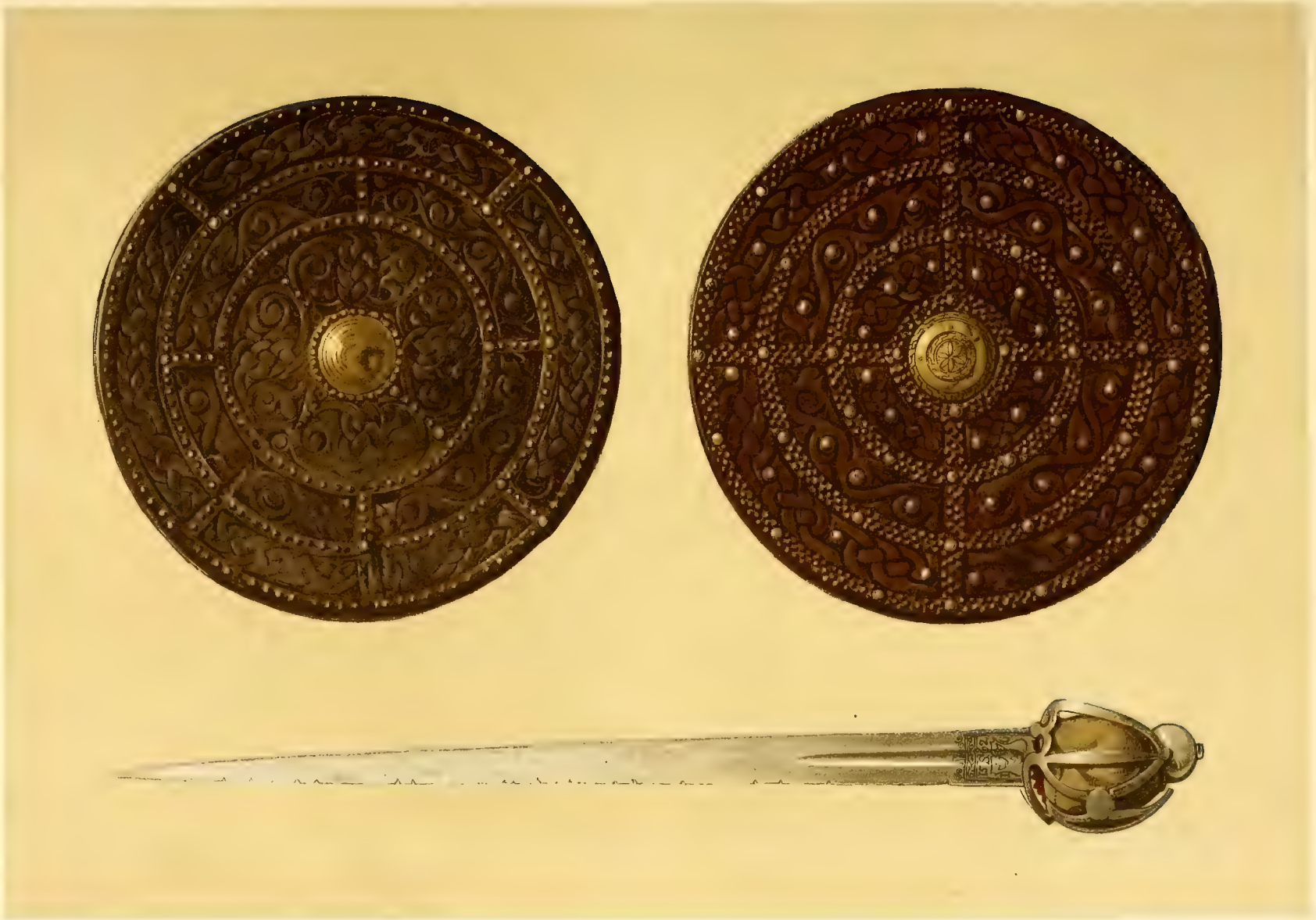
Two round barrelled fusies made by Smairt . . .
The club marked number twelve.
The cartrage rifle.
Delvey's rifle.
Cuthbert's rifle . . .
The Huzar, number nineteen.
Carron's rifle . . .
A rifle by Barber.

Hyland Guns.

Jean Cumming.
Seaforth's gilt gun.
The gilt rifle.
Sir John Grant's litle gun.
Alister More's gun.
The steel gun.
The Glainar.
Tannachie's rifle . . .
Three larg brass blunderbushes.
Two small brass blunderbushes.
Three iron blunderbushes.
A short carraben with a Highland lock.
Kinmillies long gun.
A Highland gun.
Twentie-four muskets in the gun case in the hall.
A case of pistoles, with silver mounting . . .
The two-handed sword.
The sword of the famely.
Seven brod swords . . .
A syd pistoll, with Grant of that Ilk on the barrell.[1]

An interesting inventory of the plenishing of Castle Grant, taken about the year 1711, and estimated upon oath before two justices of Moray, gives details of the rooms in the Castle and their furnishings. In the "roome caled young Grantes room" there was a "bed of dark coullered strip-stuff, lyned with red satin;" and he had also a drawing-room. The "gilded roome" contained "one red silk damask bed, lyned with whyt cessnot; . . . the gray damask roome, one gray damask silk bed, lyned with blew satine; . . . the wester gallarie, one dark coulored cloth bed, lyned with red cessnot; . . . the easter gallarie, one grein stuff bed; . . . the roome above the dressing-roome, one blew stampt worsted stuff bed; . . . the roome above young Grantes roome, one strip bed of hemp and worsted stuff; . . . Gellowaye's roome, an old dark coulered cloth bed," and corresponding furniture in each of these rooms. There are also mentioned the drawing-room, the dining-room, the school chamber, the "nursarie," Rorie's chamber, and Dugall's chamber, two rooms "in the new wark," and the "women house." Other portions of the inventory deal with general furniture, wardrobes, bedding, napery, kitchen and pewter vessels, and among the silver plate are mentioned, "ane large cup with ane cover, gifted be the Laird of Grant to his sone George," a gilded bason, a gilded laver, two

[1] The longest gun has engraved on the barrel, "Clerk to the Laird of Grant;" and on one of the largest brass blunderbusses is inscribed, "Grant's pocket pistol."



OLD TARGETS & SWORD AT CASTLE GRANT.

posset cups, a gilded cup with a cover, "ane old-ffashioned cup and cover," a porringer, "ane litle brandie cup," with knives, forks, candlesticks, etc.[1]

"There is a pleasant summer parlour," wrote Mrs. Grant of Laggan, after a visit to the Castle in 1785, to a friend, "opening with a glass door to the garden, the walls of which are entirely covered with the portraits of those lesser gentry around, who were attached, many of them, by the double tie of kindred and feudal subjection. This last was rather patriarchal sway, as they managed it. Never, surely, was power so gently used, or protection so gratefully acknowledged. Those endearing, though invisible and undefinable ties, that have for generations held these people so strongly to each other and to their chief, produce united effects, which afford one of the most pleasing views of human nature that can be met with." Referring to the portraits, she says, "The castle is a spacious, convenient, and elegant mansion, where many heroes of the family 'on animated canvas seem to frown.' Some of these are very characteristic of the amiable propensity of this family, to cherish the inferior gentry and their humble relations who 'dwelt under their shadow.' . . . Everything evinces an abode where baronial pomp and hospitality still continue to linger, softened by the milder graces of modern elegance."[2]

And so another writer. "Everything within and without denotes the habitation of a chieftain, and brings to remembrance those days in which the head of every tribe was surrounded by his own clan. His castle was their fortress; his approbation was their pride; his protection was both their duty and their interest, for in his safety their own fate was involved. In his hall stood the board to which they were always welcome; there he sat with all the feelings of a father in the midst of his children; he acted as their general in the day of battle; their judge in the time of peace; and was at all times their friend."[3]

To the hospitable board of the castle not only the members of the clan but travellers were made welcome. In the time of John Grant, who was Laird from 1585 till 1622, the "penniless pilgrim" was entertained at the castle during his travels in Scotland in the year 1618. The pilgrim

[1] Original Inventory at Castle Grant. [2] Letters from the Mountains, vol. ii. pp. 100, 101.
[3] Robertson's Agricultural View of Inverness-shire.

was John Taylor, the "Water Poet," who, as explained by the editor of his works, undertook the journey from London without any money. After giving an account of his hunting in Braemar and Badenoch, he tells of his arrival and entertainment at Castle Grant.

"From thence we went to a place called Balloch Castle (Ballacastle), now Castle Grant, a fair and stately house, a worthy gentleman being the owner of it, called the Laird of Grant; his wife being a gentlewoman honourably descended, being sister to the Right Honourable Earl of Athole, and to Sir Patrick Murray, Knight; she being, both inwardly and outwardly, plentifully adorned with the gifts of grace and nature; so that our cheer was more than sufficient, and yet much less than they could afford us. There stayed there four days four earls, one lord, divers knights and gentlemen and their servants, footmen, and horses; in every meal four long tables furnished with all varieties; our first and second course being threescore dishes at one board, and after that always a banquet; and there, if I had not forsworn wine till I came to Edinburgh, I think I had there drunk my last."[1]

During a tour in the north of Scotland in 1787, Robert Burns also paid a short visit to the castle.

During the rebellion of 1745-46, and shortly before the battle of Culloden, Castle Grant had the misfortune to fall into the hands of the rebels, who occupied it for some days. Happily, however, no injury was done beyond the consumption of its stores.

A remarkable relic is preserved in Castle Grant known as "Comyn's skull." It is a human skull, cut in two halves, with hinges added to make the two halves open and shut like a box. The skull, according to tradition, is that of the last Comyn of Freuchie, preserved as a relic of the traditional feuds between the Grants and the Comyns, and the final triumph of the former.

[1] Works of John Taylor, the Water Poet, edited by Charles Hindley, 1872, p. 55.

THE BARONY AND LORDSHIP OF GLENCARNIE

IN THE PARISH OF DUTHIL AND COUNTY OF INVERNESS.

Along with the barony of Freuchie, the family of Grant held, as one of their early possessions, the ancient lordship or barony of Glencarnie, in the parish of Duthil. This barony, though formerly included in the sheriffdom of Inverness, was transferred for a time to that of Elgin or Moray, but by Act of Parliament, passed in 1870, it was restored to its original position in Inverness-shire. The Act defines the boundary line between the two counties as extending "from the mouth of the river Dulnan where it enters the river Spey, up the river Dulnan to the point where the Muckrach or Findlarigg Burn enters it, thence up the Muckrach or Findlarigg Burn to a point thereon where a stone marked 'County Boundary' has been placed, five hundred and seventy-two yards or thereby, measuring in a straight line from the well called Fuaranahanish Well, lying on the south side of the hill called Banmore, and from the last mentioned point on the said Muckrach or Findlarigg Burn in a straight line to the said well, which is a point on the present boundary between the counties of Inverness and Elgin or Moray."[1]

No district in the Grant country is known by the designation of Glencarnie at the present time. The lands comprising the ancient lordship lie, for the most part, in the parish of Duthil, and the parochial name has, for all purposes of utility, taken the prominence, leaving to the older designation a significance mainly historical. But as a historic and ancient lordship, famous not only in its own day of greatness, but even now also for its wealth of traditional and legendary romance, Glencarnie demands more than a merely passing notice.

Glenkerny, Glenchernyn, Glenchairnycht, Glencarnin, from the Gaelic, *Gleann a Ceatharnach*, that is, the valley of the heroes, appears to have derived its name from the use of the place by the natives in prehistoric times, for the purposes of interment, especially of their warriors. The

[1] The Inverness and Elgin County Boundaries Act, 1870.

Scoticised name of Glencarnie seems also a most fit designation for the district, for as each warrior was honoured with the erection of a cairn over the spot where he lay buried,[1] and as the number of these graves with their surmounting cairns was very great, no more suitable appellation for the district could have been invented than the Glen of Cairns, or Glencarnie.

Although the name has changed, the nature of the country is still characteristic of its ancient designation. A learned and observant visitor to Duthil in 1873 has given an interesting description of the district:—

"It was impossible to live for weeks at Carr Bridge and not see a considerable number of cairns. Close to it, indeed, there is a district called Docharn, which probably means the Davoch of the Cairns. I did not count the number of small cairns which are to be found on this and the adjoining farms, but I am certainly correct when I say that there are hundreds. The majority of them are small. There are three, however, of great size. The largest of these is at Tom-tigh-an-leighe—the hill of the house of the doctor. . . . The second in size of the three great cairns, is on the top of a knoll in the wood, just above Dochlagie. It is sixty feet in diameter, and nine to ten feet high."[2] The third cairn is described by the writer as being much smaller in size, and as standing near the old house of Inverlaidnan, where Prince Charlie once passed a night. In this cairn, human remains were found in a stone cist. He describes also a peculiar cairn known as the Granish or Grenish Circle or Ring Cairn, which "lies in the Grenish wood, about five miles from Carr Bridge, on the way to Aviemore, on the west side of a small loch, called Loch na Carraghean. It consists of two great circles of standing stones, the outer circle being sixty and the inner

[1] "These immense accumulations of stones are the sepulchral protections of the heroes among the ancient natives of our islands: the stone chests, the repository of the urns and ashes, are lodged in the earth beneath. The people of a whole district assembled to show their respect to the deceased, and by an active honouring of his memory, soon accumulated heaps equal to those that astonish us at this time. But these honours were not merely those of the day. As long as the memory of the deceased endured, not a passenger went by without adding a stone to the heap; they supposed it would be an honour to the dead, and acceptable to his *manes*. . . . To this moment there is a proverbial expression among the Highlanders, allusive to the old practice: a suppliant will tell his patron *Curri mi cloch er do charne*, I will add a stone to your cairn, meaning when you are no more, I will do all possible honour to your memory." [Pennant's Voyage to the Hebrides, pp. 206, 208, 209.]

[2] Vacation Notes in Cromar and Strathspey, by Arthur Mitchell, M.D., V.P.S.A. Scot.; printed in Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, vol. x. p. 683.

twenty-four feet in diameter. It is thus a structure of great size. The stones forming the circles are about three feet above ground, and are close together. The space between the two circles is eighteen feet wide, and it is filled to the level of the top of the standing stones which define it, with loose stones, which are not large, are generally waterworn, and exhibit no sign of building."[1] The writer expresses the opinion that these cairns are not meaningless aggregations of stones, but that they were collected and arranged methodically with a purpose. "There is another thought," says he, "which seemed ever present to my mind while I was living beside these great cairns, and seeing them constantly. It was this. Do we not look too contemptuously on the people who erected them? Whoever they were they built tombs for their great men, and over these raised vast and enduring monuments. A cairn, seventy feet across, and twenty feet high, is no insignificant conception, nor is it an easy thing to erect such a cairn. They were not stupid savages who conceived and erected such memorials. In whatever light they regarded death, they certainly treated their dead with respect, and thought greatness worthy of commemoration. If we are descended from them, as I hope we are, we have no reason, I think, to be ashamed of our ancestors, who, though uncivilised, were certainly not feeble. It is possible, indeed, that they were potentially as good men as we are. Even in numbers they can scarcely have been much behind us—that is, if we leave out of view our great cities. Looking, indeed, at the number and size of the cairns still remaining in this district, it seems to me that there must have been as great a population between the two Craigellachies in the cairn times as in ours."[2]

The traditions of Glencarnie for the most part encircle the lady who was the last representative of the earliest known Lairds of Glencarnie, and the connecting link between them and their successors, the family of Grant. Traditionally she is known as Bigla Comyn, on the supposition that the early Lairds of Glencarnie, of whom the last was her father, Gilbert, were of the family of the Comyns. For this, however, there is no foundation in fact, as will presently be shown. The remains of an old castle are still visible on a steep bank of the Spey near Boat of Garten station on the Highland

[1] Vacation Notes, p. 685.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 685.

Railway. This is said to have been the site of the lady's stronghold, and is commonly known as Tom Pitlac, or Bigla's Castle. The building stood on an elevated plateau, protected on one side by the river, and on the other three sides by a deep moat. So close to the river was the castle, that tradition relates that a practice existed of fishing from its windows by means of a net let down into the stream, the arrangement of which was such that the fish, in the act of entering the net, rang a bell in a room of the castle. Many other traditions are current in Duthil regarding this lady, connecting her with whatever is peculiar in the district. The building of the kirk of Duthil is also ascribed to this wonderful lady, although there is evidence of the existence of a church there two centuries before the period generally assigned as that in which she flourished. But traditions are proverbially anachronistic, and those of the Duthil heroine are no exception to the rule.

It is the commonly received opinion, based, there can be little doubt, on the traditions which exist with regard to the supposed Bigla or Matilda Cumming, that the old Lairds of Glencarnie were of the Comyn family. This, however, is refuted by the facts now to be stated regarding the early history of Glencarnie and its possessors. That there were Comyns in the neighbouring district of Badenoch and elsewhere is matter of history, but there is not the slightest trace of their alleged connection with Glencarnie. Even the cherished tradition that Glencarnie was first acquired by the Grants through the marriage of Sir Duncan Grant's father with Matilda, the heiress of the last of the Glencarnies of that Ilk,—the lady whose name is generally associated with the traditional Bigla,—must also be discarded in the light of authentic history.

The lands of Glencarnie first appear as a possession of Gilchrist of Glencarnie, a younger son of Gilbert, third Earl of Strathern, the grandson, through Earl Farquhar, his father, of Malise, the first known Earl of Strathern. Earl Gilbert founded the monastery of Inchaffrey in his own earldom. His grandfather appears on authentic record as early as the year 1115, when he witnessed the charter of foundation of the Priory of Scone by King Alexander the First. It was this Earl Malise who greatly distinguished himself at the battle of the Standard, fought on 22d

August 1138, when, indignant at the confidence placed by King David the First in his Norman knights, he exclaimed, "Why, O King, are you more willing to confide in these Normans? Unarmed as I am, not one of them, with all their mail, shall be before me in the fight this day."[1]

The charters of earliest date in the collection printed in this work refer to the lands of Glencarnie in the time of Gilbert, third Earl of Strathern. The first charter is a grant by King William the Lion to Earl Gilbert of the lands of Kinbethach, and appears to have been bestowed about the year 1180. The second charter, also by King William the Lion, contains the earliest reference to the lands of Glencarnie, as it confirms a gift made by Earl Gilbert to his son Gilchrist of the lands of Kinnebethin[2] and Glancarnin, to be held of the Earl in fee and heritage. The charter of confirmation is dated at Forfar, 16th April, apparently about the year 1205. The third charter is by King Alexander the Second, dated at Dunfermline on 12th February, *circa* 1220-6, and confirms the grant of 1205.[3]

Gilchrist, the son of Earl Gilbert, died in 1198, and the lands of Glencarnie appear to have passed into the possession of his brother Gilbert. This Gilbert, who, about the year 1232,[4] is designed son of Gilbert, late Earl of Strathern, and is mentioned as patron of the kirk of Duthil, entered into an agreement on 12th September 1232 with Andrew Bishop of Moray, whereby it was provided that Gilbert and his heirs should hold of the Bishops of Moray the half davach of Kyncarny in feu-farm, for payment to them of three marks yearly and the forensic service due to the King, there being reserved to the Bishops of Moray the persons born on the land (*nativis hominibus*).[5] Some years later the owners of Glencarnie adopted their local designation as a sirname, and Gilbert appears to have been knighted. About 1256 Sir Gilbert of Glencarnie received from Alan Durward (Hostiarius Scocie) a charter of half his lands of Tulachfyny in

[1] Fordun (Ed. 1872), Appendix, p. 443.

[2] As to this name, a Gaelic scholar in the district explains that Kinbethach and Kinnebethin are the same as the modern Kinveachy. The word means the head or end of birch or birchwood. The Gaelic for birch is *beith*, pronounced *veigh*, and birchwood may be translated *beitheach*. The end or head of birchwood would be written Ceann a beithich, and pronounced, Kin-ve-ich. The presence of the letter *v* in Kinveachy is accounted for by the fact that the letter *b* in *beitheach* is in the genitive changed into *bh*, which has the force of *v*.

[3] Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 1, 2.

[4] Registrum Moraviense, p. 93.

[5] *Ibid.* p. 89.

Mar. Sir Gilbert had a son, Gilbert "de Glennegerni," junior, who married Marjory, sister of Sir John Prat, and received with her from Sir John Prat the lands of Daltely or Daltulich in Moray,[1] the charter of which was confirmed by King Alexander the Third at Aboyne on 14th August 1267. At the same time the King also confirmed another charter by Walter Stewart, Earl of Menteith, with consent of Countess Mary, granting to Gilbert, son of Sir Gilbert of Glencarnie, the western half of the town of Broculy, in the district of Menteith.

On succeeding to his father, Gilbert junior assumed the title of third Lord of Glencarnie. Under this designation he, with consent of his second wife, Matilda, on 2d February 1280, granted to his eldest son Gilbert the land of Gerbothy, to be held of the granters for payment of a pair of white gloves yearly at the term of Whitsunday to either of them, and for the rendering of the Scotch service (*Scoticanum seruicium*) due to the king therefrom. The charter is dated at Glencarnie, which indicates the existence of a manor-place or fortalice as the residence of the Lords of Glencarnie.[2]

The lands of Glencarnie, as has been shown, were held of the Earls of Strathern. This is acknowledged, and the terms of holding further elucidated in a letter granted on 24th June 1306, by Malise Earl of Strathern to Sir Gilbert of Glencarnie, in which the former recognises the services of the latter in adhering to, and remaining with him with his forces in the Scottish war, against the tenor of his charter, promises that these services shall not be to his prejudice, and that such should never be required from Sir Gilbert nor his heirs in future unless at their own pleasure.[3] Shortly after this, however, the immediate superiority of the lordship of Glencarnie, for reasons which have not been ascertained, was transferred from the Earls of Strathern to the Earls of Moray. In a charter by King Robert the Bruce to Sir Thomas Randolph, granting him the earldom of Moray, the king annexes to the grant of the Crown lands in Moray as they had existed in the time of King Alexander the Third, certain other lands adjacent to them, stretching from the water of Spey on the east to the western shore of Glenelg, and including Badenoch, Kincardine, and

[1] Daltulich is on the eastern border of the parish of Ardclach, in the county of Nairn.

[2] Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 6, 7.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 8.

Glencarnie, with Lochaber and a large extent of other territory.[1] But after the failure of Randolph's male line, and the resumption of the earldom by the Crown, which appears to have been prior to 1362, the then Gilbert, Lord of Glencarnie, made resignation of his lordship in the hands of King David the Second, and received from him a charter, dated at Aberdeen, 18th January 1362, regranting all the lands of the barony of Glencarnie, with pertinents, within the shire of Inverness, in the earldom of Moray. These lands were to be held of the Crown by Gilbert and the heirs-male of his body, failing whom, by Duncan Fraser and Christian his spouse, Gilbert's sister, and the heirs-male of their bodies, and failing them by the heirs of line of Gilbert for services due and wont.[2]

The barony of Glencarnie continued in the male line of the Glencarnies of that Ilk, and with the exception of the first Laird, in an unbroken succession of Gilberts until the reign of King Robert the Third, when, in 1391, the then Laird Gilbert exchanged with Marjory, Countess of Moray, and Thomas of Dunbar, Earl of Moray, her son, his paternal inheritance of Glencarnie for the lands of the two Fochabers in Strathspey, and the liferent lease of the land of Mayne, near Elgin, to be held in feu and heritage of the Earls of Moray.[3] But in 1398, Gilbert of Glencarnie sold the lands of Fochabers to Thomas of Dunbar, Earl of Moray, the former proprietor, for £100 sterling "of the vsuale monay of Scotland." In the agreement for the sale of these lands, dated at Elgin, 26th March 1398, the seller is designated "Gilbert of Glencherny, than Lord of Fochabirris, tenand of that ilke land," showing that the excambion had been effected, and that Glencarnie had again become a possession of the Earls of Moray.[4]

Sir Duncan Grant of Freuchie, as son to Matilda of Glencarnie, only daughter and heiress of the last-mentioned Gilbert, became heir, after his mother's death, to what remained of her father's lands, as well as to those which had been possessed by Matilda herself. As heir to his mother, Duncan Grant obtained a precept from King James the First, dated 31st January 1434, for his infeftment in the lands of the fifth part of the barony

[1] Registrum Moraviense, p. 342.
[2] Registrum Magni Sigilli, p. 24. Charter printed in vol. iii. of this work, p. 12.
[3] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 14. [4] *Ibid.* pp. 14, 15.

of Rothes Wiseman and Barmuckity, the two Fochabers, and the half part of Sheriffston.[1] As heir to his grandfather, Sir Duncan Grant received a precept from King James the Third, dated 3d March 1468, for his infeftment in the lands of Congash.[2] But no reference is made to the lands or the lordship of Glencarnie as forming any part of the possessions of either Gilbert of Glencarnie or his daughter Matilda.

Matilda of Glencarnie was not a Comyn. It so happens, however, that a part of the lands of Glencarnie had almost passed into the hands of a Comyn about this very time. On 28th May 1408, Sir Thomas of Dunbar, Earl of Moray, promised his sister Euphame in marriage to Alexander Comyn, and pledged himself to give with her twenty merks worth of land within his lands of Glencarnie, his mansion-house and demesne excepted, to the heirs of the marriage.[3] But there were difficulties in the way of the fulfilment of the latter part of the contract. The Lord of the Isles had at the time a lease of Glencarnie from the Earl of Moray, and until it expired, Alexander Comyn was to receive a corresponding amount of land from the Earl of Moray. Shaw states that Comyn never got Glencarnie at all, receiving instead the warrandice lands of Logie, Sluie, Presley, Branchell, and Craigmiln, in the county of Elgin and Forres.[4]

The forfeiture of the Douglases in 1455 brought the earldom of Moray, and with it the lordship of Glencarnie, into the possession of the Crown. Immediately afterwards, Glencarnie appears to have been let on lease at an annual rent of £110, as in the account rendered in Exchequer on 19th July 1457, William, Thane of Cawdor, and Mr. Thomas Carmichael, canon of Moray, the king's chamberlains north of the Spey, credit themselves with £55 as the rent of the lordship for the single term of Whitsunday of that year. In another part of the same account they are allowed on this sum £10, which fell to be deducted from the rent of the lordship of Glencarnie, because the king was letting it at a lower rent for this term than the sum with which they had previously credited themselves.[5] The rental would thus be lowered to the sum of £90 annually.

[1] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 18. [2] *Ibid.* p. 29.
[3] History of Province of Moray, by Lachlan Shaw, p. 475. [4] *Ibid.* p. 475.
[5] Et eisdem ex decidencia firmarum dominii de Glencharny quia pro parte Regis minus assedabantur de hoc termino quam in oneracione supradicta continetur prout facta fuit fides super compotum xli. [The Thanes of Cawdor, pp. 30, 31.]

Out of the £55 received as first mentioned, one-third, £18, 6s. 8d., was paid to Sir John Ogilvy as the terce due from the lands of Glencarnie for the term mentioned to his spouse, Elizabeth of Dunbar, widow of the late Alexander Douglas, Earl of Moray.[1]

Who the Crown tacksman of the lordship of Glencarnie was does not appear. Tradition connects Duncan Grant of Freuchie with the lands of Glencarnie at this date, and it may be perfectly correct in doing so. It is the case that Duncan Grant of Freuchie was, in 1457, the Crown tacksman of the lands of Ballindalloch, which lands are afterwards closely associated with Glencarnie. In the account to which reference has just been made, there is allowed to the accounters by the auditor the sum of £3, 6s. 8d. "of the rents of the lands of Ballyndalach, which comprise one davoch, are situated in Strathown, and pertain to the property of Moray, which Duncan Grant holds, but from the enjoyment of which he is deterred by Sir Walter Stewart."[2] It is not, therefore, improbable that Duncan Grant was the tacksman of Glencarnie, and it is all the more likely from the interest he had in the lands through his mother. Shaw, on the authority of the Exchequer Rolls, states that the lordship of Glencarnie was set in lease by the Crown to Sir Duncan Grant in the year 1478.[3] This is the earliest authentic intimation of the possession of Glencarnie by the Grants of Freuchie, but the lease mentioned in the Rolls may have been only a renewal of a previous one. The lease of 1478 was renewed and converted into a feu in favour of Sir Duncan Grant's grandson and successor, John Grant, second Laird of Freuchie, by a charter of King James the Fourth, dated 4th February 1498, when the rent of the lands is still further reduced. This charter is still preserved at Castle Grant, and narrates the good, faithful, and thankful service, rendered and to be rendered by the said John in peace and in war, for which the King bestows all "our lands of Glencarnie and Balnadalach, and mills thereof, within our sheriffdom of Elgin and Forres," to be held in fee and heritage for a yearly rent of £71 Scots, paid at the customary terms of Whitsunday and Martinmas, in name

[1] The Thanes of Cawdor, p. 29.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 31. Sir Walter Stewart of Strathavon inherited Strathavon from his father, Sir Andrew Stewart, natural son of Alexander Stewart, Earl of Buchan, Lord of Badenoch and Strathavon, who was a son of King Robert the Second. [Antiquities of Aberdeenshire, vol. ii. pp. 295, 296.]

[3] History of the Province of Moray, p. 475.

of feu-farm only. It further stipulates that should John Grant or his heirs fail in payment of the rent at the specified terms, or at least, if one term's payment had not been made on the arrival of the ensuing term, the donation and infeftment were thereupon to be of no force or effect.[1] Sasine of the lands of Ballindalloch was given to John Grant of Freuchie at the "place of Ballindalloch, as the principal messuage" of the lands, on 8th April 1499,[2] and on the same day sasine of the lands of Glencarnie is said to have been given at Mullochard, "locum de Mulquuharde, principale messuagium dictarum terrarum."[3]

After the death of John Grant, which took place on 1st May 1528, his son, James Grant, third Laird of Freuchie, obtained from King James the Fifth a gift under the Privy Seal of the non-entry duties of Glencarnie, Ballindalloch and Urquhart. The gift is dated 24th December 1529.[4] It would also appear as if a question had been raised as to the position of Glencarnie in regard to the King's rental, as about this time James Grant of Freuchie was summoned at the King's instance before the Lords of Council for the payment of the rent of Glencarnie for the then current year, 1529, and arrears for sixteen years immediately preceding.

The earldom of Moray had been bestowed by King James the Fourth on James Stewart, his natural son by Janet Kennedy, and from the date of that king's death it would seem that the payment of the rents of the lands of Glencarnie and Ballindalloch had been made to the Earl of Moray instead of to the Crown, probably at the instance of the young Earl's advisers, who evidently desired the re-annexation of the lordship of Glencarnie to the earldom of Moray. King James the Fifth, however, was not inclined to augment his natural brother's rental at the expense of his own; hence the claim against the Laird of Freuchie. During the dependence of the claim James Grant succeeded in obtaining from King James the Fifth a confirmation of the charter made by his royal father to the late Laird of Freuchie, and in ratifying the deed the king adds, that though the said late John and James Grant now of Freuchie, his son and heir, have failed in payment of the feu-farm rents of these lands to

[1] Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 43, 44.
[2] Original Instrument of Sasine in Grant Charter-chest.
[3] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 44, *note*.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 73.

the Crown for the last seventeen years or thereabout, having instead paid them to the Earl of Moray; nevertheless no injury, damage, or prejudice shall accrue to the said James Grant, his heirs or assignees, and that they shall not incur any risk or danger of the loss of feu-farm or heritage of the said lands, notwithstanding any laws, Acts of Parliament, etc., whatever made or to be made in the contrary. King James concludes by renouncing all claim to these lands on account of the non-payment of the rent. This document is dated 19th March 1529-30.[1]

In return for this renunciation a composition was agreed upon between the Crown and James Grant of Freuchie, which was nothing else, it would appear, than the paying up of the whole of the arrears. This is evident from the decreet of the Lords of Council in the case, dated 30th March 1530, eleven days after the granting of the above ratification, in which James Grant, as heir to his father, is adjudged to pay to the king £71 yearly, for unpaid feu-duties of Glencarnie and Ballindalloch for sixteen years previous to 1529, and £71 for that year's rent. On producing the confirmation by King James under the Privy Seal, James Grant was absolved from the penalty of the forfeiture of these lands. The decreet reserves to James Grant his action against the Earl of Moray, to whom he had paid the feu-duties. This decision was confirmed by King James the Fifth on 2d April 1532.[2] James Grant did take steps to reimburse himself from the Earl of Moray, a notarial instrument being still extant in the Grant Charter-chest, drawn up at Edinburgh on 28th March 1530, in which he required the Earl of Moray to relieve, defend, and protect him from loss in this matter, and protested, in the event of his declining, that he would seek redress in the proper quarter.[3]

The Earl of Moray responded to the demand, and a bond was executed between them at Elgin, on 21st June 1530, stating that forasmuch as James Grant of Freuchie had become "man and seruand" to the Earl of Moray, the latter strictly bound himself to use all possible diligence with the King and others to secure the lands of Glencarnie in the hand of the Laird of Grant, to give up all claim which he had to them in favour of the said James Grant, excepting the feu penny mail only contained in the Laird's

[1] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 74. [2] *Ibid.* pp. 74-76. [3] *Ibid.* p. 266.

infeftment, if he could procure it from the King, and to obtain a sufficient discharge from the King and the Treasurer of the arrears of rent, so that the Laird of Grant should incur no loss.[1] It does not appear that the Earl of Moray succeeded in getting the feu penny mail.

The lordship of Glencarnie, as distinguished from the lands so called, also included the lands of Ballindalloch. Though these lands are situated on the eastern bank of the Spey, and about twenty miles lower down the river, they are mentioned as lying in the lordship of Glencarnie, and are included in the same feudal titles. Soon after their acquisition they were bestowed upon Patrick Grant, who founded the cadet family of Grants of Ballindalloch.

The lands in Glencarnie, or, according to the modern usage, in the parish of Duthil,[2] are all the property of the Earl of Seafield, as Laird of Grant. As in other cases, the lands of Glencarnie were subdivided into davochs and lesser parts, and either disponed in wadset, or leased to tenants, generally of the name of Grant, and not unfrequently were held by members of the Chief's family. The more prominent of these davochs were Bolladern, Aviemore, Duthil, Auchterblair, Dalrachnie, Gellovie, Kinveachie, Lethindie, Inverlaidnan, Kinchirdie, Gartinbeg, Tullochgriban, and Mullochard, and several of them have furnished families of Grants who have won historic fame. Prior to the period at which these lands were wadset, they yielded a considerable rental to the Lairds of Freuchie, payments being made both in money and in kind. Taking the lands in the aggregate, in 1611 the yearly revenue was, land maill, £1893 Scots; teind maill, £62, 10s.; vicarage, £41; with a silver duty of £28. The payments in kind were sixty-two bolls of multure bear, one hundred and twenty-five wedders, three lambs, one hundred and twenty-four kids, three hundred and ninety-eight poultry, twelve geese, and twelve capons, with fourteen stones of butter. A grassum of £770 Scots was payable by the tenants every five years. During the time the lands were in wadset the rental must have become merely nominal, but in 1762, when the wadsets

[1] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 267.

[2] Duthil is thought by some to be derived from the Gaelic *Tuathil*, meaning north, to which some colour is given by the fact that a district in the south of the parish is distinguished by the name *Deishal*, or south. Others connect the name with that of the river Dulnan, which bisects the parish.

had almost all been redeemed, the rental was £2350 Scots. As now let, the lands of the parish of Duthil are valued at £5963, 14s. sterling.[1]

One principal object of interest in Duthil is the parish church, the existence of which can be traced back to the thirteenth century, when, in the days of Andrew, Bishop of Moray, Gilbert, son of the Earl of Strathern, was its patron. As one of the burial-places of the family of Grant it is peculiarly cherished in the Grant country. At one time the architectural features presented by it attracted the attention of Walter Macfarlane of that Ilk, the eminent antiquarian, and he made a note about it, remarking especially the ornate character of the church door. He says, "The bands of the kirk door are very rare, made after the manner of a tree casting out its branches, and covering the whole door after the manner of needlework."[2]

The internal fittings of the church appear to have been of the same character as the door. Several years ago a large piece of carved wood was discovered at the house of Shillochan when it was being taken down. The wood is an excellent piece of Scotch fir, eight feet long, six feet in height, and about four inches thick, quaintly but neatly carved, and may have formed part of a prominent pew or gallery in the church of Duthil. The carving consists of an upper row of panels, eight in number, each displaying the coat of arms of a Highland house—Cumming of Altyre, Gordon of Huntly, Rose of Kilravock, Calder of that Ilk, Grant of Auchernach, Forbes of Auchintie, Leslie of Balquhain, and Lumsden of Cushnie. Below this row of panels is the text of Scripture—

Mark the upright man and behold the just,
For the end of that man is peace.

Immediately underneath is a second row of eight panels variously carved with figures and flowers, followed by another text of Scripture—

The righteous cry and the Lord heareth them,
And delivereth them out of all their troubles.

The last row consists of seven panels of plainer design than those of the other two. A photo-lithograph of the carving is here given from the original at Castle Grant.

[1] Valuation Roll of the County of Inverness for 1879-80.

[2] Macfarlane MSS., quoted by Dr. Arthur Mitchell in the work already referred to.

An interesting document relating to the settlement of a parish clerk in the church of Duthil in pre-Reformation times exists in the Grant Charter-chest, and is printed elsewhere.[1] It affords a curious glimpse of popular election even at that early date. The parishioners, whose names are mentioned, assembled in the church, and the applicant for the vacant clerkship, Mr. Andrew Grant, appeared before them requesting their suffrages. The parishioners unanimously gave him their support, and during the celebration of high mass, which followed, he proceeded to the altar step and in a loud voice requested the parishioners who consented to his election to stand up. Upon this, says the notary who recorded the proceedings, every one in the church arose, so that I saw no one sitting, and all with one voice exclaimed, We choose Mr. Andrew Grant to be our parish clerk of Duthil, and no other, unless we are compelled to the contrary by James Laird of Grant, and if we should be so compelled by the said James to elect another, we will that last election to be null and void to any one accepting it, inasmuch as it could not be called election, but compulsion. The precept for the induction of the clerk was granted by Alexander Dunbar, Dean of Moray, who, as the see of Moray was then vacant, acted as Vicar-General. It is directed to the curate of the church of Duthil, and on the back of the precept a notarial instrument is indorsed intimating that William Wallace, the curate, had performed his function of inducting the new clerk into his office by delivery of the amphora and aspersorium with the holy water, and admonishing the parishioners, under pain of the greater excommunication, to pay the dues and rights of the clerkship to Andrew Grant, and to no other.

[1] Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 268-270.

THE BARONY AND DISTRICT OF STRATHSPEY.

Strathspey, as has already been remarked, was the home of the Grants in Scotland, and, at one period or other, the greater part of the territory lying in the valley, from Laggan to Fochabers, has formed part of their possessions. The voluminous and rapid river which traverses the valley and gives it its designation, is noted as one of the principal water-courses of Scotland, excelled in the extent of its drainage area only by the Tay, and perhaps the Clyde. Taking its rise in Badenoch, at no great distance from Glen Roy, it flows at first eastwards, then, bending in a north-easterly direction near Laggan, pursues that course steadily until it reaches the Moray Firth at Speymouth. Although unsuited for navigation, the river was utilised by the proprietors along its banks for the conveyance of their forest timber to Garmouth, the supply of water in autumn, winter, and spring being, in general, sufficiently copious to permit the passage of rafts. The Grants of Tulchan are reputed to have been the first to attempt the transport of timber from the rich pine forests of Rothiemurchus, Glenmore, and Abernethy to the river's mouth. Their method was to fasten a few trees together by means of ropes, and to pilot the mass down the stream from a "curach"[1] rowed in advance, while assistants, walking along the banks of the river with tail ropes from the float, guided and controlled its movements. The working of the forests was afterwards intrusted to

[1] The curach was simply a frame of wicker-work covered with skins and hides. It was so light that the boatmen easily conveyed it home again on their backs.

A story is told of a sailing match which once took place on the Thames, between a Strathspey woodman with his curach and a number of the Thames boatmen. The contest was occasioned by the following circumstance. The Laird of Grant, being in London on a visit, was one day looking, with an English friend, at the shipping on the Thames, when the latter made some remark in disparagement of the Laird's native river, and its ability to produce a similar spectacle. This elicited the rejoinder, from the Laird, that he had a subject on the Spey who could outstrip, in his boat of bullock's hide, the fleetest of the boats on the Thames. The Englishman ridiculed the idea, and the result was that a wager of considerable amount was laid on the matter. The Laird appealed to his woodmen, and a youth of eighteen years soon appeared in London with his curach to vindicate the honour of his chief. On the day appointed he took his place amongst a numerous host of competitors, and, without the slightest difficulty, easily succeeded in distancing them all. The Laird at once won his wager, and established the fame of his native stream and the inhabitants of Strathspey. [Highland Legends, by Glenmore, p. 41.]

companies of Englishmen, who introduced modern appliances and superseded the use of the curach.

The Spey has frequently proved a source of considerable damage to the inhabitants of its strath, the most notable instance of which is probably that of the floods in the year 1829, so graphically recorded by a late popular writer.[1] Many were the hairbreadth escapes, and many the devices resorted to by the bewildered denizens when they found their retreat impeded by the rising torrents. But, perhaps, none was more remarkable or ingenious than that of a widow and her children at the hamlet of Cullachie of Gartenmore, who succeeded in making their escape upon a "brander."[2]

The Deanery of Strathspey formed one of the four divisions into which the See of Moray was anciently divided, Elgin, Inverness, and Strathbogy being the other three. The "decanatus" of Strathspey embraced the churches of Cromdale and Advie, Kingussie and Inch, Duthil, Inveravon, Abernethy, Kincardine, Rothiemurchus, Logykenny, and Alvie.[3] In 1364 Alexander, Bishop of Moray, was invested, by King David the Second, with powers of justiciary within the districts of Strathspey and Badenoch; and two years later, in 1366, these powers were confirmed to the same

[1] Sir Thomas Dick Lauder, in his Account of the Great Floods of August 1829, in the province of Moray and adjoining districts.

[2] The story, as told by Sir Thomas Dick Lauder, is worth quoting. In making his investigations into the extent of the disaster, he came to Mrs. Cameron, the widow above referred to, and asked the history of her disasters. "'Ou, sir,' said she, 'ye see Spey was just in one sea a' the way frae Tullochgorum yonder, on the tither side o' the Strath, to the muiry hillocks out by there, ayont the King's road forenent us; and, or ere we kent whar we war, the water was a' in aboot huz, and up four or five feet in our houses; an' it destroyed a' our meal, and floated aff oor peat-stacks—see till some o' the peats lyin' oot on yon hillock-side yonder, twa hunder yairds frae whar we're stannin'. I was feared oot o' my judgment for my bairns, and sae I but to be oot o' this wi' them.' 'And how did you escape?' demanded I with the greatest anxiety. 'Ou, troth, just upon a brander,' replied Mrs. Cameron. 'A brander!' exclaimed I with astonishment, arising from my ignorance that the word was applied to anything else than a Scottish gridiron, and thinking that the riding to the moon on a broom, or the sailing in a sieve to Norway, were nothing to this. 'A brander! What do mean by a brander?' 'Ou, just a bit float,' replied the widow, 'a bit raft I made o' thay bit palins and bits o' mossfir that war lyin' about.' 'What! and your children too?' exclaimed I. 'Ou, what else!' replied she, amused at my surprise; 'what could I hae done wi' them else? nae horse could hae come near huz. It was deep eneugh to droon twa horses.' 'And how did you feather yourself over?' inquired I. 'Troth, sir, I hae nae feathers,' replied Mrs. Cameron very simply; 'I'm no a dewk to soom. But, ye see, I sat on my hunkers on the middle o' the brander, wi' my bairns a' aboot me, in a knot; and the wind, that was blawing strong eneugh frae the north, just teuk us safe oot to the land.' 'And how did your neighbours get out?' asked I. 'Ou, fat way wad thay get oot but a' thegether upon branders,' replied Mrs. Cameron." [Account of the Great Floods in Moray, p. 189.]

[3] Registrum Moraviense, pp. 361-366.

bishop.[1] This shows, and there is otherwise abundant proof of the fact, that the bishops of Moray had acquired possession of a considerable portion of the lands of Strathspey, and of that part of Badenoch abutting on the Spey. These lands, in course of time, were consolidated into a temporal lordship, under the name of the Barony of Strathspey. In a rental of the bishopric of Moray, compiled in 1565, Strathspey is named as one of eight baronies paying rent to the bishops. The barony of Strathspey extended from Laggan, in the county of Inverness, to Arndilly, in the parish of Boharm, in Banffshire, and embraced much of the land lying on either side of the river Spey. At the period mentioned above, it was rented at a sum of £187, 3s. 9d., to which, in one or two cases, payments in cattle and grain were added.[2]

Previous to 1539, the greater part of the lands in the bishop's barony of Strathspey were let, on terminable leases, to the Lairds of Freuchie, but in that year negotiations were entered into for giving the lands to the Grants on terms of a more permanent nature, and which ultimately resulted in their acquisition by the Grant family.

On 24th February 1539-40, James Grant, the third Laird of Freuchie, and Patrick, Bishop of Moray, met at Edinburgh, and entered into an agreement by which it was arranged that the lands of Strathspey should be feu-farmed to the Laird of Freuchie and seven other persons, bearing the sirname of Grant. The lands to be thus disponed were the following:— Laggan, Ardinch, with croft thereof, Kinchirdy, Kinakyle, Easter and Wester Elchies, with the mill and croft of Wester Elchies, Allachie, Arndilly with croft thereof, Advoky, Carron, Easter and Wester Daltulie, Auchannochy, Dalvey, with mill thereof, Advie, Rirorie, Calledir, Tulchan, Auchnahandat, and Nether, Mid, and Over Finlarg. The Bishop came under obligations to infeft the Laird of Freuchie and his seven Grant friends in these lands, and either to obtain the consent of his chapter to the transaction, or if they refused, to purchase the service of a commission from the Court of Rome at his own charges. Should he be also unsuccessful in procuring the commission, he pledged himself to grant to the Laird a new lease of the lands for five years following the termination of his last lease of them.

[1] Registrum Moraviense, pp. 361-366. [2] *Ibid.* p. 449.

James Grant, on the other hand, became bound to pay, within a certain period, the sum of four thousand merks, and for the payment of the yearly rental of the lands to the Bishop, augmented by one-third, or as the contract puts it, "in agmentatioun of the said reuerende fadir rentale, extending to the thrid penny mair thane the said reuerend fader rentale beris or euir gaif to the said reuerende fadir predecessouris of befoir." Thus, the previous rental was £93, 10s. yearly, and £31, 3s. 4d. was added, making the new rental £124, 13s. 4d. In addition to this there was the rental of the mill and multures of Dalvey, paid in kind, and amounting to twenty-four bolls victual, sixteen customs marts, and two chalders eleven bolls of customs oats. There was the usual doubling of the feu-farm on the entry of heirs, and the usual knight's service from the lands. From this last, however, the Laird of Freuchie was exempted, as he was "ane baron of the King's grace," but he was required to provide a number of men corresponding to the proportion of the lands of Strathspey held by him. The Laird of Freuchie was to give three suits yearly in the Bishop's three head Courts of Moray, and personal attendance at the Bishop's justice-ayre or ayres, wherever these should happen to be held. Another provision relates to the partition of the lands. James Grant was to receive land to the value of forty merks, and the rest was to be equally divided among the other seven, in such a way that none of them should have more than the value of twenty-four merks, and each was to be obliged to effect certain improvements on the land feu-farmed to him in building of houses, stables, dove-cots, etc., planting trees, and such other meliorations as their particular infeftments might require.[1]

This contract was executed in duplicate by both parties. Both duplicates are still preserved in the Grant Charter-chest. The parties agreed to the contract being registered in the Official Books of Lothian, and this was done the same day, the official, John Weddale, admonishing the parties to the due performance of the terms of their agreement under pain of the major excommunication.

On the back of both contracts an addition was made on the same day to the effect that if the infeftments were offered at the time appointed, the

[1] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 272.

term of Michaelmas following, and refused, the Laird of Freuchie should still be under obligation to pay the four thousand merks, with any other sums the Bishop might be able to recover for the non-fulfilment of the contract. On the other hand, should the Bishop fail in offering the infeftments by the stipulated term, the Laird was to be held as free from the payment of this money. Besides this addition, one copy of the contract has two other indorsations of significant importance respecting this transaction, and also a sentence added to the one just noticed, providing that the seven persons of the name of Grant to whom the infeftments are to be given, should be chosen by the Laird of Freuchie, and that their names should be notified to the Bishop against the specified term.[1]

The first of these two indorsations sets forth that on the last day of February, the same year, in the house[2] of the Cardinal (Betoun), and in his presence, there being also present the Bishop of Brechin, Alexander, Abbot of Cambuskenneth, Henry White, Dean of Brechin, John Weddale, Official of Lothian, Robert Galbraith, Rector of Spot, and others, the Bishop of Moray made the statement before a notary that of his own will, and at the sight of the King, he was content to renounce the contract, and, so far as he was concerned, consented to its dissolution, provided that James Grant, the other contracting party, was willing, for his part, to do the same, but not otherwise.[3]

The remaining indorsation on the Bishop's copy of the contract is also a notarial statement that on the 4th of March following the date of the contract, David Wood of Craig, the King's Comptroller, and James Lermonth of Balcomie, were warned on their own confessions under the pain of excommunication, submitting themselves to "our jurisdiction"[4] in this case, together and separately, in renouncing benefit of division and all privileges or exemptions granted or to be granted to either or both of them for relieving and keeping scatheless the reverend father at the hands of James

[1] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 276.

[2] The house of Cardinal Betoun was long an object of interest to antiquarians and others. It stood in a street of Edinburgh known as the Cowgate, a little to the west of the site of the ancient Scottish Mint. But it has lately been taken down in order to widen the thoroughfare into which it projected, and to permit other desirable improvements being effected.

[3] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 276.

[4] To whose jurisdiction they submitted themselves is not clear.

Grant of all the contents of this contract, and also for employing diligence at the hands of the King to cause James Grant to renounce the contract.[1]

From these additions to the contract it is evident that opposition was being offered by outside parties to the carrying out of the agreement, and even that sinister methods were being employed, and pressure put upon the Bishop and the Laird separately to get the contract cancelled. Certain of the lands mentioned in it, those of Advie, Tulchan, Calledir, Rirorie, and Advoky, appear to have been inhabited, at the time the agreement was made, by John Grant of Ballindalloch, or at least they lay in close proximity to his other possessions, to which he was desirous they should be annexed. He also sought that his brother Patrick should obtain the lands of Dalvey, and by the intervention of King James the Fifth he was successful.[2] The mode in which pressure was brought to bear on the Bishop of Moray will be found narrated in the memoir of James Grant, third of Freuchie.

The King also, it would appear, in furtherance of his designs to give Dalvey and the other lands to Ballindalloch and his brother, had sent letters to the Dean and Chapter of Moray, discharging them from giving their consent to the contract between their Bishop and the Laird of Freuchie. But on the 27th April he wrote again, "We pray zou rycht effectuislie gif zour consent and commoun sele vpoun the said James chartir of feu-ferme of the saidis landis, but ony delay, as ze will do ws singulare emplesour, and report our speciale thankis, nochtwithstanding ony our letteris of discharge gevin to zow in the contrare of before," and referring them to the messenger for further reasons.[3]

If there had originally been any opposition on the part of the Dean and Chapter to the feu-farming of the lands of Strathspey to James Grant of Freuchie other than that evoked by the King's letters, it was overcome, and with the exception of the lands given to Ballindalloch and his brother, the terms of the contract were carried into effect, but with a modification of the sum agreed upon to be paid as grassum to the Bishop by the Laird. In a discharge granted by Patrick Bishop of Moray to James Grant of Freuchie, John Grant of Culcabock, his brother, and John Grant, the Laird's son and heir-apparent, acknowledgment is made of the payment by them

[1] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 277. [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.* p. 84.

OLD CARVED FRAME FOUND AT SHILLOCHAN IN DUTHIL IN 1874 NOW AT CASTLE GRANT.

of thirteen score of merks as the balance in complete payment of two thousand eight hundred merks (instead of four thousand, as originally agreed upon) as gratitudes and grassum, and for the feu of the lands to them by the Bishop with consent of his Chapter.

This discharge then narrates the apportionment made of the lands, as follows :—

Laggan, Ardinch, Auchnahandat, Kinakyle, Auchehangen, Wester and Easter Daltulie, with the Croft of Cardell, Arndilly with its croft, and Allachie, with the fishings of these lands upon the Spey, and those also of the lands of Dalvey, Advie, Calledir, Tulchan, and Advoky, were all feu-farmed to James Grant, Laird of Freuchie.

Easter Elchies, with fishings on the Spey, and other pertinents, were feu-farmed to Duncan Grant, the Laird's son.

Finlarg or Muckrath, Over, Mid, and Nether, were feu-farmed to William Grant, another son of the Laird's.

Wester Elchies, with its mill, fishings on the Spey, porter's croft and ferry coble; Kinchirdie, with its fishings and pertinents, and the lands of Carron, were feu-farmed to John Grant of Culcabock.[1]

Advie, Tulchan, Calledir, Rirorie, and Advoky, as already noticed, were feu-farmed to John Grant of Ballindalloch, and

Dalvey, with its mill, to which were thirled the lands of Auchnahandat, Finlarg, Kinchirdie, Kinakyle, Ardinch and Laggan, to Patrick Grant, the brother of Ballindalloch. The fishings of these lands, however, were left in the hands of the Laird of Freuchie.

Under the Bishops of Moray the Barony of Strathspey included also the lands of Kincardine, Rothiemurchus, and Kingussie,[2] but after it became the property of the Lairds of Freuchie, it lost its distinctive character as a barony. Strathspey, as described in later rentals of the family of Grant, included, besides these, Tullochgorm, Curr, Clurie, Knockando, etc.

All these church lands, with others belonging to the Bishops of Moray, were in 1451 erected by King James the Second into the Regality of Spynie in favour of John, then Bishop of Moray, and his successors, and hence they were for some time usually designed as lying in the regality of Spynie.

[1] Original Discharge, dated 7th May 1544, in Grant Charter-chest. [2] Registrum Moraviense, p. 450.

Those, however, which had been acquired by James Grant of Freuchie were in course of time consolidated by themselves, with the addition of the lands of Bellivat and Ardclach, in the parish of Ardclach and county of Nairn, into a free tenandry called the Tenandry of Finlarg. The date of this erection has not been definitely ascertained, but it appears to have been prior to the year 1613, when one of the Strathspey lands, Auchehangen, is described as lying in the Tenandry of Finlarg. So is it with the estate of Arndilly in 1620.[1] In 1624 Sir John Grant of Freuchie renewed his titles to all these lands, and was infeft in them on 24th May 1624, on a precept of *clare constat* by John (Guthrie) Bishop of Moray,[2] and the terms of both these documents indicate the pre-erection of the Tenandry. In the following year Sir John Grant resigned the lands comprising the Tenandry of Finlarg into the Bishop's hands,[3] and from him received a charter of regrant of them in free tenandry,[4] which was confirmed by King Charles the First.[5] The lands of Nether Finlarg were appointed the principal messuage of the tenandry, one sasine taken there sufficing for the whole. This was in marked contrast to the proceedings at the infeftment of James Grant of Freuchie in his lands of Strathspey in 1554, when, according to the notary's statement in the instrument of sasine, the round of the whole lands had to be made, and sasine taken on each of them separately, a process which, on that occasion, occupied from six in the morning till five in the afternoon.[6]

One of the designations very commonly applied sometimes to the upper and sometimes to the central of the three davochs of Finlarg was that of Muckrath. The name, it seems probable, was derived from former possessors under the Bishops of Moray, one document relating to the district making mention of a Christian M°Crath in 1386.[7] The Castle of Muckrath or Muckraw, of which a representation is here given, is now a ruin. The castle is said to have been built by Patrick Grant of Rothiemurchus while Laird of Muckrath. A large armorial stone bearing the date of 1598, with the initials P. G. for Patrick Grant, and I. G.

[1] Original Documents at Castle Grant.
[2] Precept, dated 19th March 1624, *ibid.*
[3] Instrument of Resignation, dated 17th May 1625, *ibid.*
[4] Charter, dated 18th May 1625, at Castle Grant.
[5] Charter, dated 25th July 1625, *ibid.*
[6] Original Instrument of Sasine, *ibid.*
[7] Registrum Moraviense, p. 196.

MUCKRACH CASTLE,
STRATHSPEY

for Jean Gordon, his wife, with two shields of arms, surmounted by the motto, "In God is al my traist," still exists at the Doune of Rothiemurchus, where it is built into a wall behind the mansion. This stone is said to have been brought from Muckrath when Patrick Grant changed his residence to Rothiemurchus. But the date of 1598 is not consistent with that tradition, as he had previously removed from Muckrath. The armorial stone afterwards served as the lintel of the door of a house at the Dell of Rothiemurchus, until in 1879 it was removed to the Doune.

The lands of Tullochgorm have been rendered famous in Strathspey history, not only as the traditional seat of the Clan Phadric, but more especially in later times from its connection with the song lore of the Highlands. The "Reel of Tullochgorm" is one of the most famous of the world-renowned Strathspey reels. As is well known, words were written to its music by the Reverend John Skinner, Episcopal clergyman at Longside, Aberdeenshire, father of Bishop John Skinner, and it was by this perhaps that his lyric fame became first widely established, one of his commonest designations being the "Author of Tullochgorm."[1] Burns said that Tullochgorm was the best Scotch song ever Scotland saw.

O Tullochgorum 's my delight;
It gars us a' in ane unite;
And ony sumph that keeps up spite,
In conscience I abhor him.

Burns was also much pleased with another Highland strathspey connected with Rothiemurchus. In a letter to Mr. Thomson, editor of the Scots Musical Museum, Burns says, "Many of our strathspeys, ancient and modern, give me most exquisite enjoyment, where you and other judges

[1] Mr. Skinner wrote two other popular songs, John o' Badenyon, and Ewie wi' the crookit Horn. In a letter to his brother James, a writer in Edinburgh, dated at his residence at Linshart, 19th June 1790, Mr. Skinner, *inter alia*, says, "I am very thankful for what I have seen, 'my children's children, and peace upon Israel.' Three of us, and of the same name, in different pulpits at the same time, and in the three orders of the Church (though not in the order of nature), is a curiosity few, if any, of my brethren can boast of, which I own I do, and hope I shall be excus'd and pardon'd if need be for it." The three referred to are himself, his son Bishop John Skinner, and the Bishop's son, also John Skinner, who was then in orders, and became Dean of Dunkeld and Dunblane. [Original Letter in the possession of William Skinner, Esq., W.S., Town-Clerk of Edinburgh, who is also the custodier of several other characteristic letters written by the author of Tullochgorm from Linshart between the years 1779 and 1803.]

would probably be showing disgust. For instance, I am just now making verses for Rothiemurchies' rant, an air which puts me in raptures; and, in fact, unless I be pleased with the tune, I never can make verses to it." The result was his well-known song, "Lassie wi' the lint-white locks."[1] Another song in which Tullochgorm is referred to was written by Sir Alexander Boswell of Auchinleck, of which the following verses may be quoted:—

"Come the Grants of Tullochgorum,
Wi' their pipers gaun before 'em,
Proud the mithers are that bore 'em,
Fee fa fudle fum.

Next the Grants of Rothiemurchus,
Every man his sword and durk has,
Every man 's as proud 's a Turk is,
Fee fa fudle fum."

The fortunes of the lands of Tullochgorm were for long bound up with those of the neighbouring davochs of Curr and Clurie. Prior to the year 1379 all three belonged to John of Inverpeffer, who resigned them into the hands of King Robert the Second, and that king granted them to his son Sir Alexander Stewart, Lord of Badenoch, on 18th October 1379. The charter describes the lands as those of Curr and Cluthry, and the two towns which are called Tulachgorme, with their pertinents, within the shire of Inverness. The tenure was blench of the king for payment of a silver penny annually at Inverness, if asked.[2]

These three lands, which are generally described as lying in the lordship of Badenoch, passed at a later period into the possession of the Earls of Huntly, who were also Lords of Badenoch. Two of them, Tullochgorm and Corroo, or Curr, were disponed on 14th June 1491 by George, second Earl of Huntly, with consent of his eldest son, Alexander Lord Gordon to John Grant of Freuchie "for satisfactioun and contentatioun of the landis of Fotterletter, Innerloquhies, and tua Innerrowries, lyand within the baronie of Strathdowin and sherefdome of Banff."[3] This

[1] Life and Works of Burns, by Robert Chambers, vol. iv. pp. 94, 117.

[2] Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. i. p. 151.

[3] Charter mentioned in Old Inventory of Documents at Castle Grant, dated 1622; also in an Inventory, dated 1794, of papers taken to Edinburgh. See also vol. iii. of this work, pp. 39, 40.

was evidently an excambion, and places the date of the original agreement, so far as Tullochgorm was concerned, much earlier than that stated by Shaw, which is about 1606.[1] This is the date of a later contract of excambion, in which John Grant of Freuchie obtained certain lands in the parish of Abernethy from George Marquis of Huntly, in exchange for Blairfindy and other lands, and in it opportunity is taken to renew and confirm the former excambion respecting Tullochgorm and its neighbouring davochs.[2] The lands of Clurie also were sold to John Grant of Freuchie on 4th February 1491,[3] and all were to be held of the Earls of Huntly.

The rights of the Grants of Freuchie in Tullochgorm, Curr, and Clurie were fully recognised and acknowledged by the Earls of Huntly, until, in 1555, when John Grant of Freuchie, grandson of the Laird who acquired the lands, having been retoured heir to his father in other lands, claimed also to be served heir to his father, James Grant of Freuchie, in these lands. The Sheriff-principal of Inverness, who was none other than George, fourth Earl of Huntly, himself, refused to expede the service, or allow it to proceed, and the Laird of Freuchie had to apply to the Lords of Council, who, after hearing parties, appointed a special Commission to expede his service, as heir to his late father, in these lands, with others acquired from the Earls of Huntly since 1491.[4] But this is the only case in which his title was impugned, and it was afterwards fully acknowledged.[5]

The lands of Tullochgorm were wadset in 1614 to John Grant, son of Patrick Grant, who had formerly been tenant or lease-holder of them, as he is designed sometimes "of" and at other times "in" Tullochgorm; and although a Patrick Grant occupied the lands as early as 1530, no reference to titles prior to the wadset of 1614 is ever made by the descendants of John Grant. These held the estate until 1777, being enabled to do so by a prorogation of the redemption of the wadset in 1752 for twenty-four years. But in 1777 Sir James Grant resumed them, and the Grants of Tullochgorm afterwards were only tenants of the Lairds of Grant.

[1] History of the Province of Moray, third edition, vol. i. p. 241.

[2] Inventory of Documents at Castle Grant.

[3] Original Charter by George, second Earl of Huntly, dated at "our place of Gecht," at Castle Grant. Precept of Sasine, of same date, printed in vol. iii. of this work, p. 40.

[4] Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 117-119.

[5] Precept of *clare constat* and infeftment thereon was given to John Grant in these lands in 1562.

THE BARONY OF ABERNETHY,

IN THE PARISH OF ABERNETHY AND COUNTY OF INVERNESS.

As its name indicates, the barony of Abernethy is situated in the district surrounding the river Nethy, in the shire of Inverness, especially at or near its confluence with the Spey, of which it is a tributary stream. The See of Moray early planted a church there, and as far back as 1226 testimony of the occupation of the lands adjacent is found in the record of a dispute between the church and the proprietor or feuar of the estates around as to what was really church property. The latter was represented by James, the son of Morgund, the former by Andrew, Bishop of Moray, and the dispute respected certain lands in the fee of Abernethy, in Strathspey, to wit, a piece of land at Coningas, now Congash, and another piece said to pertain to Abernethy; and also the sum usually paid to the Crown, in name of cain teinds, by the predecessors of James. The matter was thus arranged:—James and his heirs were to be freed from all exactions made by the Bishops of Moray, or the Dean and Canons, and in return was to provide a suitable manse near the church, with a croft, extending to one acre, convenient thereto, and also to pay one mark sterling yearly, in token of the agreement being firmly and perpetually observed.[1]

Tradition relates that the barony of Abernethy formed part of the possession of the Comyns, Lords of Badenoch, who flourished in the thirteenth and the early part of the fourteenth century. The ruins of an ancient castle or peel still stand in Abernethy. It is called Castle Roy, or the Red Castle, and is usually connected, as so much in the entire district of Strathspey is, with traditions of the Comyns, being reputed one of their strongholds. Lachlan Shaw describes it as similar in construction to the castle of Old Duffus, which stood by the side of Loch Spynie, and to the old Castle of Rait, in the parish of Nairn. The former he describes as square in form, with walls about twenty feet high and five feet thick, and furnished with parapet, ditch, and drawbridge; while within the square,

[1] Registrum Moraviense, p. 76.

buildings of timber were erected against the wall, with stables and all necessary offices.[1]

It has been asserted that upon the forfeiture of the Comyns, the lands of Abernethy were included in the earldom of Moray, erected by King Robert the Bruce, and bestowed by him upon his nephew, Sir Thomas Randolph. The charter of the earldom included all the King's lands in Moray as they had existed in the hands of King Alexander the Third, the last royal predecessor of King Robert, and among these were all the lands of Badenoch, Kincardine, and Glencarnie,[2] to which the lands of Abernethy were adjacent. On the other hand, however, it is to be noted that the lands of Abernethy are not expressly named as included in the earldom of Moray as granted to Sir Thomas Randolph, and they do not appear to have formed part of the earldom of Moray granted by King Robert the Second on 9th March 1373 to his son-in-law, John of Dunbar, and Marion his spouse. From this grant of the earldom of Moray the lordships of Lochaber and Badenoch are excluded, with the barony and Castle of Urquhart.[3] Abernethy, too, appears to have been at this time in the possession of John Comyn—and perhaps it had been one of the estates which remained to the Comyns on the forfeiture of their chiefs—as it was resigned by him at Montrose on 7th February 1381, in the hands of King Robert, and in presence of the Court. This fact is stated in a charter of the lands of Abernethy within the sheriffdom of Inverness, which formerly belonged to John Comyn, granted by King Robert the Second to his son, Alexander Earl of Buchan, at Perth on 7th October 1384. In this charter we have the first notice of the erection of the lands of Abernethy into a lordship. They were to be held of the Crown by the Earl of Buchan and his heirs and assignees in fee and heritage in one entire and free barony.[4]

The improbability of the barony of Abernethy forming a part of the

[1] History of the Province of Moray, third edition, vol. iii. p. 97. The author adds his opinion that these castles were erected as early as the time of King David the First; on which the editor of the third edition adds a note with the opinion of the late Cosmo Innes, that the remaining masonry is not older than the end of the fourteenth century.

[2] Registrum Moraviense, p. 342.

[3] Registrum Magni Sigilli, p. 88, No. 309. In the Exchequer Rolls, Laurence le Grant, Sheriff of Inverness, credits himself in his accounts for the years 1263 and 1266, with twenty-four merks for the ward of the land of Abernethy.—[Exchequer Rolls, vol. i. pp. 13, 19.]

[4] Registrum Magni Sigilli, p. 176, No. 40.

earldom of Moray is further increased by the fact that when, on 12th June 1501, King James the Fourth bestowed that earldom on his natural son, James Stewart, he made to him on the same day a separate grant of the lands and lordship of Abernethy, which, as was the case with the earldom of Moray, in the event of the failure of heirs, were to revert to the King.[1]

From this Earl of Moray, John Grant, second Laird of Freuchie, obtained a grant of the lands and lordship of Abernethy in feu at a fixed annual rent of £40 Scots. This appears from a number of receipts for that amount of land mail for the lordship of Abernethy, paid between the years 1516 and 1578 to the Earls of Moray or their chamberlains.[2] The Lairds of Freuchie had thus Abernethy in possession so early at least as the year 1516, one discharge[3] by James Earl of Moray referring back to that year, as one in which the rents of Abernethy had fallen due. When the earldom of Moray came into the possession of George Earl of Huntly in 1548-9, before it was bestowed by Queen Mary in 1561-2 upon her brother, James Stewart, afterwards the Regent Murray, it is probable that the superiority of the lordship of Abernethy was granted along with it. But the discharges referred to above show that the lordship of Abernethy had been granted with the earldom of Moray to the Regent.

James Stewart, second Earl of Moray, Lord Doune and Abernethy,[4] who was the son of James, the "bonny Earl" of Moray, and Elizabeth Stewart, the eldest daughter of the Regent Murray, on 13th April 1609, entered into an arrangement with John Grant of Freuchie for the feu-farming to the latter of the lands and lordship of Abernethy,[5] for which the Laird of Freuchie was to pay a sum of money. In return, he obtained a charter of the same date, granting to him the lands and lordship of Abernethy, with the manor place thereof, woods, and all other pertinents, irredeemably, and without any condition, provision, or obligation of reversion or redemption whatever. For this the Lairds of Freuchie were to continue to pay annually to the Earls of Moray, as their lords superior, the sum of £40 Scots, which was just the sum they had been paying as

[1] Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. ii. Nos. 2586, 2587.
[2] Original Discharges at Castle Grant.
[3] Printed in vol. iii. of this work, p. 67.
[4] The Earls of Moray had by this time assumed the title of Lords Abernethy from these lands.
[5] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 406.

feu-duty since their first occupation of the lands. The charter was confirmed by King James the Sixth on 17th June the same year,[1] and the Laird was infeft on 1st August.[2]

The grant of the lordship of Abernethy thus made by the Earl of Moray did not comprise all the barony as possessed by the Lairds of Freuchie, but only the upper portion of it. The lower portion, which included the davochs of Gartinmore, Riemore, and Tulloch, was acquired in 1606 by John Grant of Freuchie from George, Marquis of Huntly, by way of excambion for the lands of Blairfindy and others in Strathavon. At the time the exchange was effected, a servitude was imposed on the Laird of Freuchie whereby timber might be taken from the woods of Abernethy for the repair of the Marquis's houses; but this right was afterwards bought up.[3]

The lands and lordship of Abernethy were divided into a number of davochs and smaller portions, the chief of which were the half davoch of Culnakyle, where the Lairds of Freuchie and Grant had a pleasant summer residence, the Auldtoun of Abernethy, Glenbrown, Belliefurth, Auchernach, Clachaig, of which one-fourth was called Lurg, Lettoch, Riemoir, Easter and Wester Tulloch, and Gartinmore.[4] Among these should also be included Glenlochy and Congash, both of which were formerly included in the barony of Freuchie, but, being locally in Abernethy, occupy a place among the Abernethy lands in later rentals.

Among the wadsetters of Abernethy, there were several families of considerable importance, including that known as the Clan Allan, the chief of which was Auchernach. Others were Gartinmore, Tulloch, Lurg, Glenlochy, and Lettoch.

[1] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 407.

[2] Old Inventory at Castle Grant.

[3] The Contract of Excambion is dated 11th September 1606. Inventory at Castle Grant.

[4] The following curious custom is said to have obtained in Abernethy in former days. When any disease broke out among the cattle of a davoch, the fires in all the dwellings of that davoch had to be extinguished. This was supposed to aid in stamping out the disease. The fires were afterwards rekindled by the rubbing of sticks against the cupples of the byres in which the diseased cattle were kept.

THE BARONY OF CROMDALE,

IN THE PARISH OF CROMDALE AND SHIRE OF INVERNESS.

It was the policy of the Lairds of Grant in successive generations, while they added to the family possessions, to aim at the concentration of their estates around their own home in Strathspey. They did not lose any good opportunity of acquiring new estates even at a distance, but they naturally preferred to have them near at hand, and if they could not purchase, they sometimes effected their object by exchanging some remote estate with a proprietor to whose possessions it lay more convenient, for some property which that proprietor possessed in Strathspey. When Baron Grant had determined to sell his estate of Easter Elchies in 1758, Sir Ludovick Grant could not rest in the thought that any other than a Grant should "have a footting within the two Craigelachies." Rather than that he determined to give over his purpose of purchasing an estate on which he had set his mind, that of Kincorth, and he wrote to his law-agent in Edinburgh that he would sell the lands of Allanbuie, Ballintome, and Allachie, in order to secure the continuance of the family sway in the district. Nay, he would even go further, and part, if need be, with his favourite estate of Moy, rather than allow another family to gain an opposing influence in the district.[1] Sir Ludovick's ancestors were of the same mind, and especially so with regard to the district now known as the parish of Cromdale. That was their home, and being so, it in course of time entirely fell into the possession of the family of Grant. The previous owners of the old barony of Cromdale, the Nairns, alienated a portion of it to the Laird of Freuchie, and a century later the entire barony was made over to the Grants.

The barony of Cromdale, before its acquisition by the Grants of Freuchie, was of considerably smaller dimensions than the barony which was erected in their favour. The latter, indeed, may be said to have been an entirely new barony into which the former was absorbed.

The older barony of Cromdale appears to have belonged, in common probably with the surrounding lands, to the Earls of Fife, as, about 1226,

[1] Vol. ii. of this work, pp. 269, 270.

Malcolm, then Earl of Fife, while adjusting with Andrew, Bishop of Moray, some differences which had arisen between them in regard to their respective lands, is said to have, of pure liberality, bestowed in perpetuity upon the bishop and his successors the right of the patronage of the kirk of Cromdale.[1] That the Earls of Fife were the owners of Cromdale and the adjoining lands is further established by these being included in a resignation of certain baronies and lands made by Isabel, Countess of Fife, the daughter and heiress of Earl Duncan, who renounced the earldom of Fife in favour of her brother-in-law, Robert Stewart, Earl of Menteith, afterwards Duke of Albany and Regent of Scotland—"Likeas also the said Isabell, 22d Junii 1389, resigned *ad perpetuam remanentiam* in the hands of King Robert the Third, the barrone of Strathurd, Strabrann, etc., in Perth, . . . the barrons of Crumdail and Affin (probably Advie) within the schireffdome of Innernes, the lands of Strahovie and Abrandolie within the schireffdome of Bamf," etc.[2]

The barony of Cromdale next appears on record in possession of the family of Nairn, the representative of whom, John of Nairn of Cromdale, was in 1431 Sheriff of Elgin and Forres.[3] As held by him and his descendants, who designed themselves Barons of Cromdale, it comprised the lands of Lethindie with its castle and manor, mill, and other pertinents, the lands of Over, Middle, and Nether Auchroisk, Garling, the kirktoun of Cromdale, and the lands of Dellachaple and Rinaballoch, with their respective pertinents.[4] The barony of Cromdale was sold in 1603 by Thomas Nairn of Cromdale, who was presumably the son of John Nairn, younger, to his uncle Thomas Nairn in Dellichaple,[5] and it was probably he who, under the designation of Thomas Nairn of Cromdale, sold the lands and barony to John Grant of Freuchie in 1609, and immediately thereafter resigned them in the hands of the Crown for a regrant to the Laird.[6]

Twenty years previously, in 1589, the same Laird of Freuchie had purchased from James Grant of Auchernach, the lands of the two Auchnarrows,

[1] Registrum Moraviense, p. 68.

[2] Skene de Verborum Significatione, *sub voce* "Arage."

[3] Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. ii. No. 193.

[4] Crown Charter of Resignation by King James the Sixth to John Nairn of Cromdale, elder, in life-rent, and his son John Nairn and his heirs-male in fee, of the barony of Cromdale, dated 24th June 1575. The Original Charter is at Castle Grant.

[5] Charter of Confirmation by King James the Sixth, dated 8th February 1603, of the Charter of Sale, dated 28th January 1603. Original at Castle Grant.

[6] Original Procuratory and Instrument of Resignation at Castle Grant.

Downan, and Port. These lands had formerly pertained to the barony of Freuchie, and had been bestowed by Marjory Lude upon her son, Patrick Reoch (or Roy) Grant, by charter, dated 28th July 1473. On his death in 1513, the lands became the property of his grandson and heir, Nicholas Cumming, but they were apprised from him by James Grant of Auchernach.[1] These lands, with those comprised in the lordship of Inverallan, were resigned by John Grant, fifth Laird of Freuchie, in the hands of the Crown at the same time as Thomas Nairn made his resignation, one procurator appearing for both before Alexander, Earl of Dunfermline, Lord Chancellor, who, as representing the Privy Council, received the resignations.[2] Thereupon, on 28th June 1609, King James the Sixth granted to John Grant of Freuchie a charter of all these lands, erecting them into one entire and free barony to be called the barony of Cromdale, of which the manor and fortalice of Lethindie was appointed the principal messuage, and one sasine taken there was to suffice for all the lands of the entire barony. The new barony was to be held of the Crown in fee for the usual services.[3]

The Laird of Freuchie at that time, amidst other energetic efforts for the welfare of his family and estates, and the general good of the country, evolved a plan for its further development in the foundation of a township or burgh of barony in connection with the barony. The site of the Kirk-toun of Cromdale, which was to form the nucleus of the new town, appears to have been the locality still occupied by the parish church of Cromdale, and in close proximity to the river Spey. The town would thus be favourably situated both in respect of the river and also the road, as the main road through the valley would here have probably intersected the proposed town. It does not appear that the Laird's purpose was ever carried out in regard to Cromdale. The erection of Grantown upwards of a century and a half later in the same parish of Cromdale, or in what, at that time, was the neighbouring parish of Inverallan, and at a spot less than three miles distant across the river from the site of the proposed town of Cromdale, rendered the erection of the latter inexpedient.

[1] Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 394-397.
[2] Original Instrument of Resignation, dated 27th June 1609, at Castle Grant.
[3] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 408.

In the clause of the charter authorising the erection of the burgh, the king describes the district as a wild and barbarous part of Scotland, at a great distance from the sea, and the inhabitants as rude and barbarous, void of civilisation and good manners. His expectation was, that by the erection of the burgh, with magistrates, courts, police, and prison, the inhabitants would become more civilised, and that the irregularities committed by many persons within these bounds would, by fear of punishment, be repressed.[1]

The davochs and smaller portions into which the barony of Cromdale was subdivided are given at length elsewhere. A note of the position of several of these davochs, apparently written about 1775, found in the Grant Charter-chest, is of some interest. After premising that the Castletoun of Freuchie, now called Castle Grant, is in the parish of Cromdale, it states that Dalfour, Auchnagall, and the two Culfoichs lie to the north thereof, and about a mile down the river on the west side; Congash, to the south, at the end of the bridge over Spey, and on the east side of the river in the parish of Abernethy; Auldcharn, about a mile to the east of Congash, at the west side of the Hill of Cromdale, and in the parish of Abernethy; Glenlochy, about three miles distant from Spey on the east side of the river, and rather in the country of Strathavon, having the Duke of Gordon's lands of Inverlochy and Dellavrogatt to the north, the lands possessed by Fodderletter to the east, that large tract of hills called Cromdale to the west, and adjoining, to the south, the lands of Sir James Grant called Braes of Abernethy, in which parish it lies; Lethindie is distant about an English mile from the Kirk of Cromdale eastward; Auchroisk, Over, Mid, and Nether, and Garling, are all contiguous to the Kirk, and between it and Lethindie; Dellachaple, about three-quarters of a mile below the Kirk, on the east side of the water; and Rinaballoch to the east of Dellachaple and north of Lethindie. Inverallan, Glenbeg, Gaich, Craggan, and Dregie, lie all contiguous a short mile to the south of Castle Grant on the west side of the river, and in the parish of Inverallan; Auchnarrows and Downan in the hills to the north; and the Port at the Boat of Cromdale, all on the west side of the river and in the parish of Cromdale.

On the recommendation of the Commissioners of Parliament for the

[1] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 409.

planting of Kirks, the parishes of Inverallan and Cromdale were united in 1618, and the parish of Advie had previously, in 1593, been annexed to Inverallan.[1] In terms of a mandate by the Lords Commissioners, intimation of their decree was made to the Laird of Freuchie, who, as tacksman of the united parishes, was required to provide the modified stipend of five hundred and twenty merks annually to the minister who supplied the spiritual wants of the people. Mr. David Dick was then the incumbent, and he was appointed to the united charge.[2]

Cromdale had the distinction of affording the last battle-field in Scotland, where an appearance was made on behalf of King James the Seventh at the time of the Revolution. Claverhouse had fallen at Killiecrankie, amidst the shouts of victory, and his place was taken by Colonel Cannon. Even if he had possessed the military experience of Dundee, Cannon yet wanted the tact for obtaining the confidence of the Highlanders. General Mackay, the commander of King William's troops, had already atoned for his defeat by the activity with which he took steps to counteract its effects, and Cannon shortly afterwards was obliged to retire. He was succeeded by Major-General Buchan, whom James sent over from Ireland to take the command of the Jacobites in Scotland, and under him another effort was made in the Highlands. On his way through Lochaber and Badenoch, Buchan marched down Strathspey with about eight hundred men, and on the last day of April 1690, encamped on the plains between the hills of Cromdale and the Spey, making the Castle of Lethindie his headquarters. Castle Grant was fortified for the Government, and on Buchan's position being discovered, the Captain of the castle informed Sir Thomas Livingstone, who had been ordered to operate against Buchan. With assistance furnished by the Grants, Livingstone surprised Buchan's camp, and inflicted a severe defeat. The slaughter among Buchan's troops was very great, and it would have been greater but for the shelter afforded by the morning mists on the hills, which hid the fugitives from their pursuers. This battle is referred to in the well-known song, "The Haughs of Cromdale."[3]

[1] Fasti Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ, vol. iii. p. 232.

[2] Precept by the Lords Commissioners, dated 7th July 1618, at Castle Grant.

[3] Browne's History of the Highlands, vol. ii. pp. 189, 190.

THE BARONY AND CASTLE OF URQUHART,

IN THE PARISH OF URQUHART AND GLENMORISTON, INVERNESS-SHIRE.

The barony or lordship of Urquhart, which lies about eight or ten miles south-west of Inverness, and on the west side of Loch Ness, is of considerable extent, measuring from east to west eighteen miles, and from north to south twelve. It forms the outlying province of the Grant possessions, being entirely separated by intervening estates from the lands in Strathspey, but notwithstanding its remote position, this barony has been faithfully retained by the Lairds of Grant since their acquisition of it in the year 1509.

One of the earliest authentic notices of the barony of Urquhart is the gift of it by King David the Second to William Earl of Sutherland in exchange for all the lands in Kincardine, which he received in marriage with the king's sister Marjory.[1] It was afterwards gifted, in 1371, by King Robert the Second to his son David Stewart, Earl of Strathern, and failing heirs of David, to pass to another son, Alexander Stewart, known as the Wolf of Badenoch.[2] In consequence, no doubt, of this charter, the barony with the castle was carefully excepted from the grant of the earldom of Moray made in the following year to John of Dunbar.[3] In the exercise of his rights over Urquhart, the Earl of Strathern leased the barony to his brother, the Earl of Buchan, with this result, that in April 1385, Earl David appeared before the king in council, and complained that his brother was keeping back and occupying the barony to the complainer's prejudice. The king advised the brothers to compromise the matter and agree together, the case being delayed to that end, but the Records of Parliament do not relate the sequel.[4] At a later date, after the decease of both Earls, the Parliament ordained that the castle of Urquhart should be placed in the hands of King Robert the Third, who was to appoint a proper captain to defend the same till the kingdom was at peace from malefactors, the

[1] Robertson's Index, p. 49. [2] Registrum Magni Sigilli, p. 85. [3] *Ibid.* p. 119.
[4] Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. i. p. 189.

castle to be then restored to those entitled to restitution.[1] In 1455 the barony and castle of Urquhart were inalienably annexed to the Crown,[2] but they appear to have been for a time bestowed upon John Earl of Ross.[3] His forfeiture in 1475 placed them again in the hands of the Crown.

For some years after this the lands of Urquhart became a source of contention between the Mackintoshes and Rose of Kilravock, the latter having obtained a lease of them against the wishes of the former. Resort was had, in 1479, to the arbitration of neighbouring chiefs, by whose advice the Earl of Huntly, as king's lieutenant in the north, renewed the lease of Urquhart to Hugh Rose of Kilravock. That lease was discharged in 1482, and the Earl of Huntly appears then, or shortly thereafter, to have granted the barony to the Laird of Freuchie on a similar footing. The Grants must certainly have acquired an interest in Urquhart so early as 1488, as in a dispute between the Laird of Freuchie and Alexander Lord Gordon, in the end of the year 1492, about the rents of Urquhart, they are stated to be four years in arrear. It has been asserted that the Laird at this time held the office of Crown Chamberlain on the Urquhart lands,[4] which included the baronies of Corriemony and Glenmoriston, but the statement is not corroborated.

For the purpose of securing good government and a settled condition of affairs among the inhabitants, and for reducing the refractory and disobedient to a dutiful allegiance, King James the Fourth, on 8th December 1509, granted feu-charters of these lands to John Grant, second Laird of Freuchie, and two of his sons. The Laird himself received the lands of Urquhart,[5] all united and erected into one barony, to be called the Barony of Urquhart, with the castle of Urquhart as the principal messuage. The office of forester of the royal forest of Cluny was included in the grant,

[1] Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. i. p. 209.

[2] *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 42.

[3] Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. ii. p. 462.

[4] Statistical Account of Inverness, p. 45.

[5] The lands are detailed in the charter of 1509, vol. iii. of this work, p. 51. In a report upon Urquhart in 1763, by Mr. William Lorimer, the tutor of Sir James Grant, it is stated that a great part of the lands of Urquhart seem to have been the property of the Church. There is a farm in it still called the Temple, where stand the ruins of a church and a consecrated well, to which superstitious people resort for curing several diseases. There is also a farm called St. Ninians, which was the burial-place. The report here adds—These are proofs of the goodness of the soil, as the clergy always chose the best grounds. [Report at Castle Grant.]

but by a special exception the forest itself was to continue the property of the king. The lands of Pitcherill Chapel, which were reserved to the chapel of St. Ninian of Urquhart, were also excepted.[1] The terms of holding were the annual feu-duty of £46 Scots, and 6s. 8d. yearly of augmentation. John Grant and his heirs were to find and support three sufficient horsemen for each £10 of the lands, for royal service in time of war beyond the kingdom, to convene at the king's command with all the fencible men dwelling on the barony. The Laird was also bound to repair, construct, or build up in the capital messuage of Urquhart, a tower with a counterscarp or rampart (cum antemurali siue propugnaculo) of stones and lime, for the keeping and preservation of the lands and their inhabitants from the inroads of thieves and malefactors. Within the castle also he was taken bound to construct hall, chamber, and kitchen, and to build all other needful houses, etc., such as a pantry, bakehouse, malthouse, granary, woodhouse, furnace, a cot, dove-grove (luco columbari), and orchard, to provide tree fences, and to till or reclaim wild land in meadows and pastures, make enclosures or "stiling," improve the public highway within the barony, and supervise and care for the common benefits, such as stone and wooden bridges, "faldzettis," and stiles, and provide common passage within the lands and barony.

On similar conditions were granted to John Grant, youngest son of the Laird of Freuchie, the lands of Corriemony, all united and erected into one barony, to be called the Barony of Corriemony.[2] The annual feu-duty was £27 Scots, with 6s. 8d. yearly of augmentation.

The other son, to whom were given the lands of Glenmoriston, was John Grant, an illegitimate son of the Laird of Freuchie, and designated "Mor," to distinguish him from his brother of the same name, who received Corriemony. He also held the lands of Culcabock, and appears to have been a man of unusual stature or bulk, as, in one document of the time, he

[1] In vol. iii. of this work, pp. 121-124, there are printed a presentation by Mary Queen of Scots, and letters of Collation following thereon in favour of Sir John Donaldson, Chaplain of St. Ninian, of that chaplainry, with the forty shilling land of Pitcherrill and a croft; and also the croft and relics of the crucified Saint Drostan. Induction was given by delivery of the horns and ornaments of the high altar, and of the keys and bell-ropes of the church.

[2] The lands are detailed in the charter of 1509, vol. iii. of this work, p. 54.

is styled "Meikle John Grant of Culcabock." He obtained the lands of Glenmoriston, Conachan, Craskie, Inach, Auchlayn, Tullechard, Dundreggan, Innerwick, Blairy, Inver, Coulnakirk, and Meikle Cluny, all erected into a barony, to be called the BARONY OF GLENMORISTON. The feu-duty was also £27 Scots, with 6s. 8d. of yearly augmentation, and the conditions were similar to those already narrated.[1] The descendants of John Mor Grant still continue to hold the lands conferred upon him by King James the Fourth, but the barony of Corriemony has been alienated. The last Laird, James Grant, who sold the barony, died in 1835, at the patriarchal age of ninety-three years. The family of Corriemony, whose descendants still survive, gave origin to the family of Grant of Sheuglie, so called from an estate of that name held by them from the Lairds of Freuchie, and this family have the honour of giving birth to the distinguished statesman, Charles Grant, Lord Glenelg, and his brother, Sir Robert Grant, Governor of Bombay. It also is still represented by living descendants.

One of the objects for which the barony of Urquhart was conferred on the Lairds of Grant was that it might be improved, and its inhabitants rendered more prosperous and happy. Consideration and regard for their dependants was ever a prominent characteristic of the chiefs of Grant, and expedients for amelioration of their condition were often devised, but rendered impossible by the troublous nature of the times. As will be shown in the memoirs of the chiefs, Urquhart often suffered severely in tribal and more widespread civil dissensions, and it was not until the middle of last century that circumstances permitted the application of the more civilising agencies of life to Urquhart. Brigadier Alexander Grant had it in view to build a town on a beautifully situated moor between Balmacaan and the church of Urquhart, but it was left to Sir James Grant, commonly called "the good Sir James," to execute this purpose, which he did about the year 1767. The town was to be named Lewistown or Kilmore, and Sir James intended that it should consist of one great street about sixty feet wide, and several smaller streets about twenty-four or thirty feet in width. Manufacturers and artisans were to be invited to settle, the harbour was to be rendered commodious and safe, good roads were to be constructed

[1] Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. ii. p. 726.

CASTLE URQUHART, GLEN URQUHART INVERNESS-SHIRE.

and maintained to facilitate communication, and a weekly market was to be held, with fairs at appointed times.

Being a remote estate, considered, in fact, as a distant province, Urquhart was usually administered by a chamberlain, whose house and offices were at Balmacaan. The chamberlain was also baron-bailie, and presided in the courts appointed for the dispensation of justice. For this latter service he received from each of the tenants what was denominated the "bailie-darracks," or services from the tenants, which being discretionary, were often very oppressive. In the time of Sir Ludovick Grant (1747-1773) these are stated to have been the labour of seventy-two horses for one day yearly, and of twenty-four reapers in harvest.

The castle of Urquhart is situated on the lands of Borlum in Urquhart, and stands on a peninsular rock on the western shore of Loch Ness. It is now a ruin, and a representation of it is here given. While it stood in its strength Castle Urquhart was an almost impregnable fortress. The waters of Loch Ness washed its rocky base on three sides, while it was separated from the mainland by a moat, sixteen feet in width, and from twenty to twenty-five feet deep. The whole extent of the rock was strongly walled in by double walls, terraced in some places, and having platforms on which the soldiers stood while discharging missiles against assailants. Entrance to the castle was by means of a drawbridge across the moat, and the spacious gateway, flanked by two guard-rooms, projected beyond the general line of the walls, and was secured by a succession of strong doors, and an enormous portcullis. On either side of the portcullis rose a circular tower. The keep or great tower was square in form, fifty feet high by fully thirty feet broad. It consisted of three stories, surmounted by a crenelated battlement and watch-towers at each of the four corners. Its walls were nine feet thick, and the castle could accommodate between five and six hundred soldiers.

A fabulous antiquity is claimed for the Castle of Urquhart, but very little is on authentic record respecting it prior to the year 1297, when it fell into the hands of King Edward the First of England, during one of his incursions into Scotland. He found it necessary, however, to retake it several years later, in 1304, and the castle has, since then, figured pro-

minently in several national and civil struggles. It was annexed by the Crown, and became one of the royal fortresses. When the barony of Urquhart was granted to John Grant of Freuchie, the castle was appointed the principal messuage, but as there is no mention of its preservation in a military capacity, and the Laird was taken under obligation to repair it, and, evidently, to convert it into a mansion-house, it must, before that time, have ceased to hold the position of a fortress, and, probably, was somewhat decayed. The Lairds did utilise it as a residence, and several documents were signed by them there. Still, in 1545, it was an armed house, for in the raid on Urquhart by the Macdonalds and Camerons in that year, no fewer than twenty pieces of artillery, with a powder vessel, were among the multifarious spoils borne off. Urquhart Castle was also the residence of Mary Ogilvie, Lady Grant, after the death of her husband, Sir John Grant of Freuchie, but she possessed it in evil times, for the covenanting struggle, which then raged, forced her to flee from it, and when, in 1647, immediately after her death, her son, James Grant of Freuchie, sent to the castle to value the plenishing, there was nothing found in it save a timber bed, a table and a bench in the chamber above the hall; another timber bed and a table in the vault chamber; a board (dining-table?), a bench, a table and a chair in the hall, and an old chest in the cellar; the whole valued at not more than £20 Scots. [Vol. iii. p. 342.] Of all the Grant estates, Urquhart appears to have suffered most frequently in troublous times. Successive Lairds expended considerable sums on repairing the old castle, but time and the elements have deprived it of its pristine glory, and crumbled it down to a picturesque ruin.

In Glenmoriston there is a cave where, after the defeat of Prince Charles Stewart at Culloden, he lay hid, cared for by seven faithful Highlanders, who, despite the enormous reward of £30,000 sterling set upon the Prince's head, concealed him, and furnished him with the necessaries of life, and information. Sir Alexander Boswell of Auchinleck commemorates the deed in one of his poems, entitled, "On the fidelity of the Highlanders in the Rebellion, 1745-6"—

"Exulting we 'll think on Glenmoriston's Cave."

THE REGALITY OF GRANT.

In addition to the baronies and lordships already considered, acquired by the Lairds of Freuchie from time to time, separate lands in Strathspey and elsewhere were also added by them to their estates. Some of these were only held for a short time, but others became more permanent acquisitions. Among the latter was the barony of Mulben, comprising the lands of Mulben with tower and fortalice, Balnabreich, Cardeny, Auldcash, and Forgie, certain of which were in the possession of the Grants before 1510. They were parts of the earldom of Rothes, and were previously held by the families of Cumming of Erneside and Dumbreck of Orton. Other lands were those of Knockando, Glencumrie, and Brodland in the parish of Knockando, which originally pertained to the chaplainry of St. Andrews or Knockando, a dependency of the Cathedral Church of Moray, but were granted by Alexander Douglas, chaplain of St. Andrews in 1545, with consent of the dean and chapter of Moray, to James Grant of Freuchie and Christian Barclay his spouse.

These lands, with the baronies of Mulben, Freuchie, Cromdale, Urquhart, and Corriemony, the lands of Glencarnie and Ballindalloch, the barony of Cardells, the lands of Muldaries, Bridgeton of Spey, and the large tenement in the town of Elgin, which had belonged to Thomas Mackenzie of Pluscardine, were all consolidated by Laird Ludovick into one holding, called the Regality of Grant. The crown charter of erection is dated 28th February 1694. It appointed the castle of Freuchie the chief messuage of the Regality, and changed its designation to the Castle of Grant. It also erected the Castletown of Freuchie into a town and burgh, to be called the Regality town of Grant, and confirmed in the hands of the Lairds of Freuchie, whose title henceforth became more uniformly than before Lairds of Grant, the patronages of the churches of Inveravon, Kirkmichael, Knockando, Urquhart, Glenmoriston, Cromdale, Advie, Abernethy, Kincardine, and Duthil.

This erection of the Regality of Grant invested the Lairds as Lords of

Regality, with full jurisdiction of justiciary, free chapel and chancery, with power of holding courts, appointing all necessary officers therefor, and either by themselves or by bailies-depute, to sit as judges in all actions, civil and criminal, lese-majesty and treason only excepted. All escheats within the bounds of the Regality, save for the excepted crimes, were to belong to the Lords of Regality. Over several of the lands in the Regality, which were held from subject superiors, such as Cardells, the tenandry of Muldaries and several adjacent lands, the Lairds were appointed hereditary bailies, with powers similar to those they exercised within their own Regality.[1]

Five of the court books of the Regality, covering the period from 1690 to 1729, are still extant. Up to the year 1700 there seems to have been only one bailie, James Grant of Gellovie, cousin-german to Laird Ludovick. Except when the Laird was personally present, he presided over the courts. These were generally held at Balintome, which was the place of punishment and execution, and was near the confluence of the Dulnan with the Spey; but not unfrequently courts were held at Grantown, Castle Grant, Coulnakyle, Rothiemoon, or Duthil, to suit the convenience of those whose presence was required at the courts. Subsequently to the year 1700, district bailies were appointed, each of whom presided over the courts of the portion of the Grant estates committed to him. The Cross of Grantown was the Regality Cross from which proclamations were made.

The suppression of crime by punishments, the preservation of the policies, and of the rights of property in general, and the enactment of ordinances for the guidance of the subjects and vassals in the regality, were all portions of the jurisdiction and administration of the courts. The preservation of the forests of fir and birch frequently called for intervention, and the gentlemen wadsetters were taken under obligation to prevent their tenants and servants from destroying the woods. The killing of deer also formed a subject of inquiry, and was prohibited under severe penalties. To diminish the depredations made among flocks of sheep by foxes, it was in 1706 "statut and ordained, with consent of the haill parish of Duthell and lordship of Glencharnek," that each person who killed a fox should receive 20s. Scots and the skin of the animal. To create a

[1] Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 476-482.

GRANT TARTAN-FULL DRESS

fund for these payments, each "auchten pairt" was taxed one merk, or, if they preferred it, one lamb, and every "melander" (cottar) that had sheep half a merk. Twenty-one years later, when foxes and eagles both inflicted "continual and daily losses" by killing the sheep, each gentleman and tenant in the four parishes of Strathspey was ordained to pay one year old wedder or two shillings sterling, and each "melander" one lamb, or 12s. Scots. From the fund provided by this impost every man who killed a fox or an eagle, young or old, was to receive for each £2 Scots.

At another time it was ordained that every one who fished in Lochindorb, or in the burns thereof, should be obliged to give the half of their fish for the Laird's table, either at Castle Grant or Coulnakyle, the Strathspey residences of the Lairds.

To secure uniformity in the dress of the clan, the bailie of Tulchan and Skiradvie, on 27th July 1704, at the command of the Laird of Grant, younger, ordered that the whole tenants, cottars, maltmen, tradesmen, and servants on these lands should each provide, against 8th August following, Highland coats, trews, and short hose of tartan, of red and green set, broad-springed, with sword, pistol, and dirk, and be prepared to present themselves at a rendezvous within Strathspey, upon forty-eight hours' advertisement, for the hosting and hunting of the Laird or his father.

Social questions were not lost sight of in these courts. In 1712, Mr. James Chapman, minister of Duthil, complained that, on a couple giving in their banns to be proclaimed for marriage, the nephew of the intended bridegroom stopped the marriage by a grave charge against the bride. On the matter going to trial, and reference being made to the woman's oath, the charge was found to be false, and the slanderer was condemned to stand in the "jogs" during the pleasure of the session, or suffer imprisonment. Three years later, the minister of Abernethy, Mr. William Grant, made a representation to the bailie of the regality of Grant, "against the heathnish custom of calling of fidlers to likwakes, and other barbarous uses," whereupon the bailie "statute and ordained that no fidler, housekeeper, or any other person within the said parish (Abernethy) be employed in fidling or dancing, or any other barbarous or sinful custome, or playes at the walking of dead people, under the faillzie of £10 Scots ilk person in

all time coming *toties quoties*, to be uplifted by the session's collector after convictioune, by and attour being liable to church censure, and that ilk ane of them be liable in the failzie of £3 money forsaid *toties quoties* they shall disobey the church censure, to be likewayes uplifted by the said collector, and appoints this act to be intimate from the pulpit by the minister."

To protect the trading interest, the four bailies of Strathspey, in 1703, with consent of the gentlemen of the country, ordained that the brewers within the four parishes should buy their malt within them, and that "none presume to buy or import malt out of any place without said parishes, under pain of confiscation;" also that no aquavite be imported to the four parishes. The brewers were ordained to brew aquavite of the country malt, and serve the four parishes "at reasonable rates, of sufficient stuff."[1]

In connection with the aquavite of the district a curious case is recorded in the court books of the Regality. In 1703 three women were charged with the crime of conveying aquavite clandestinely to prisoners in ward at Castle Grant, who drank to such excess that they died. So unique and peculiar was the charge that the ablest lawyers in the nation were consulted by the judge, who was on this occasion Brigadier Alexander Grant. He was advised that as the charge could not be made a capital one, and as it could not be construed into poisoning, the ends of justice might be served by the infliction of an arbitrary punishment with banishment upon the confession of the prisoners. The three women were condemned to be taken to the Regality Cross at Grantown and tied thereto, their bodies made bare from the belt upwards, and scourged with cords by the hangman, each receiving thirty stripes. They were then to be banished from the Regality. At the same sederunt the court adjudged another woman to be similarly scourged and banished, and one of her ears cut off, for haunting with a notorious freebooter called the Halkit Steir, and other outlaws.

Another case of scourging occurred with a man who had stolen a steer. He was ordained to be taken to the gallow's-foot at the hill of Ballintome,

[1] In his account of the parishes of Duthil and Rothiemurchus, about 1790, Mr. Patrick Grant says, "The only principal inn in the parish is at Aviemore. There are no alehouses. The number of houses in which whisky (a beverage which seems fit only for demons) is sold is ten. There were many more, until of late, when they were suppressed by the proprietor." [Old Statistical Account, vol. iv. p. 317.]

GRANT TARTAN

to be bound thereto and scourged by the hangman with thirty stripes. His mother, who appears to have resetted the steer, was required to restore it, and to pay four pounds, under pain of poinding.

Thieves, however, did not always escape so easily. Banishment from the Regality, or in graver cases, "from the countrey of Strathspey and from all countries of Scotland benorth the toun of Perth, never to return, or reside, travel, or have any intercourse in the said places in time coming," under the pain of death, was the sentence sometimes pronounced. For the theft of the sock of a plough, a lad of seventeen years was sentenced to have "his lug nailed with ane irone naill to ane post, and to stand thus for the space of ane hour without motione, and then allowes him to break the grip nailed without drawing of the naile." For resetting the stolen sock, the lad's master was fined £50 Scots. The encouragement or concealment of theft was met with severe measures, and one ordinance of the Regality Court was to the effect that all persons within the country "apprehending theaves with the fang or without fang upon attemptes shall not ffyn with them and let them go frie, under the failzie of ane hundreth poundis *totties quoties*, except they present the theaves to justice: Moreover, whoever compones with ane thief shall pay the same unlaw: Moreover, they shall be in the transgression of the premises if the theiff be in the power of any person to apprehend and lets him go frie."

Capital punishment was frequently inflicted. On one occasion, two prisoners, for housebreaking and stealing cheese, were condemned "to be brought to the Gallow Hill of Belintome, and betwixt two and four hours in the afternoon, to be both hanged upon the gallows by the neck by the hand of the executioner till they be dead."

These powers of justiciary and general jurisdiction had also been exercised by the previous Lairds of Freuchie, fragmentary decisions of their courts from about 1580 occasionally appearing among their papers. According to traditions in Abernethy, the bailies under the Lairds often wielded their power with despotic cruelty. In the parish of Abernethy it is said there were three such bailies, and that one of these, Robert Grant, called Bailie More, would hang people for merely disobliging him. He rarely called juries, and is said to have on one occasion hanged two brothers on a tree,

and buried both in one grave by the roadside. Another bailie, James Grant, called Bailie Roy, is said to have perpetrated an act of "Jeddart justice," by first hanging a man and then finding him guilty by an assize. On another occasion he is said to have hanged two notorious thieves, and after par-boiling their heads, set them up on poles; and at another time to have placed two men in sacks and drowned them in the river. The third bailie bore the designation of Bailie Bain, and made himself so odious to the people that they drove him with his horse into the Spey, where he was drowned. By the execution of their office these bailies often enriched themselves. They had the bailie's darg, as it was called, or the services of each of the tenants for one day in the year; the escheated goods of all who suffered capitally; the fines of those who were mulcted for breach of the laws of Court; and the herial horse or cow, being the best horse or cow, or other article possessed by any tenant at the time of his death.[1]

According to another authority, culprits often escaped by securing the favour of the bailie; but if this was not done, or any who were tried before these Courts were under the displeasure of the judge, they were almost certain to be hanged, even if innocent. Brigadier Grant is credited with putting an end to this injustice in Strathspey, by hanging eleven of his own clan in one day, and declaring his resolution never to show partiality or compassion to a thief of his own name. In 1704, when the Brigadier went to live at Ballindalloch, it is said "there were but four honest men in all the parish of Inverawen."[2]

Over the Grant estates these unjust practices were terminated, about 1738, by Sir Ludovick Grant, and in 1747 such powers of jurisdiction were abolished over the whole country by the Heritable Jurisdictions Act, under which the present system of legal administration by sheriffs was introduced.

By the charter of erection of the Regality, as has been remarked, the Castletown of Freuchie was changed into the burgh and town of Grant or Grantown. It was to be the principal burgh of regality, containing a market cross, from which proclamations might be made, also a tolbooth and a jail. Burghal authorities were to be constituted. From the references to the town and cross of Grantown in the court books of the Regality

[1] Old Statistical Account, vol. xiii. p. 151. [2] MS. Notes by Mr. William Lorimer, at Castle Grant.

already referred to, their existence then is established. This village appears to have been nearer the castle, and to have been removed on the foundation of the new town.

The present town of Grantown, however, is of more modern date, having been projected in 1765 by Sir Ludovick Grant of Grant and his son, the good Sir James. The site of this town was formerly a barren heath moor called Feavoit. Plans and leases were prepared, and by 1766 the first houses were erected. It was especially the project of Sir James Grant, and he used every means in his power to promote the prosperity of the town. Under his fostering care it prospered greatly, and in 1780 it had become so important as to memorialise for the establishment of a post-office and special mail service. Establishments for brewing and baking were set up, linen and woollen manufactories and a bleachfield were commenced and carried on, and tradesmen of all kinds were encouraged to follow their crafts in the new town. Schools for boys and girls were erected, and so early as 1767 Sir James Grant had projected a technical school of arts to be maintained by voluntary contributions, where the children of artisans might be properly instructed in the process of linen and woollen manufacture and agriculture. Twenty-six years after its foundation the town could boast of three hundred inhabitants, many of whom when they settled "were worth nothing," but in 1792 are said to be "in affluent circumstances." A plentiful supply of water has been introduced, new roads made and bridges built, and under the patronage of the succeeding Lairds, Grantown has continued to prosper, and to bring prosperity to its inhabitants. It consists of one long street with a large central square, adorned with trees, and is considered one of the healthiest towns in the north of Scotland. In 1871 the population had increased to upwards of thirteen hundred.

During one of her Highland tours with the Prince Consort, Her Majesty Queen Victoria passed a night in the old inn in the town of Grantown. The presence of royalty was kept a secret till the party had left.

RETROSPECT OF THE GRANT ESTATES:

WADSETS, LEASES, DAVOCHS, FORESTS, ETC.

Questions of land rights have lately formed the subject of keen controversy in the Highlands, and are still engaging public attention. It is no part of the object of this work to discuss such questions, as the Grant country is happily not involved in them. But in this concluding chapter of the introduction to a work which relates to a large portion of the Highlands, allusion may be made to the statements of certain writers, who assert that chiefs of clans took advantage of their tenants and vassals, and reduced them from being with their chiefs co-proprietors of the soil, to the position of mere landless men. Whatever may have been the case with other Highland chiefs, such a state of matters had no place under the Chiefs of Grant. Their relations with their tenantry and dependants have ever been of the most harmonious character.

In the beginning of this introduction, and also in the memoir of the late Chief of Grant, one instance has been given of the reciprocal affection which may be said to have been hereditary on both sides. It has been there shown how much he was beloved in life and lamented in death. But in nothing, perhaps, was his remarkable popularity more manifested than in the great rejoicings which took place when he was created Baron Strathspey of Strathspey. In many parts of Scotland the creation of a peerage of the United Kingdom in favour of a Scottish nobleman already holding a higher dignity might have passed with little or even no popular demonstration. But it was otherwise with the Chief of Grant. The enthusiasm of his people was unbounded. Upwards of thirty "enormous bonfires" illuminated the whole country. The very Spey seemed in a blaze of fire with the reflected brilliancy of such a general conflagration. Besides these fiery beacons, banquets, balls, triumphal arches, house illuminations, and other enthusiastic demonstrations evinced the joy of the Clan Grant at the honour done to their head. Such devotion could

only have been evoked in favour of the good chief who had always proved himself to be the father and friend of all his people.

The territorial possessions of the Grant family, far from having been taken by force from their dependants, were acquired by purchase or by gifts from the Crown in return for services rendered to the State. On the other hand, the clan, composed of the younger descendants of the family, and it may be also of natives of the soil who assumed the name of Grant, had never any other claim to the Grant estates than what was conferred by the nature of the tenures under which they held their respective possession from successive Lairds. These tenures were chiefly of two kinds—wadsets and leases.

WADSETS.—This mode of holding, so far as the Grant estates were concerned, appears to have been inaugurated by John, fifth Laird of Freuchie, whose extensive purchases of land probably required him occasionally to borrow large sums of ready money. The wadset was of the nature of a mortgage, but it provided that the lands disponed should be possessed by the holder of the wadset and his descendants, until the Laird or his successors repaid the sums advanced, and thereby redeemed the territory. The amount of money lent on wadset over any land was commonly no more than a sum of which the annual interest would equal the valued yearly rental of the land. This arrangement obviated the twofold transaction of the holder paying rent to the owner, and the holder receiving from the owner the annual rent of the sum lent to him.

While the wadset remained unredeemed, the holder of it was practically the proprietor of the lands. He was considered a lesser baron, and he could elect, and be himself elected to serve in Parliament. He was designated by the name of the lands. He sublet the whole or portions of them to tenants and cottars, who became his servants. They paid their rents and rendered services to him, and were controlled by him without reference to the actual feudal proprietor. This system saved the latter much trouble in dealing with a numerous tenantry. But it had dis-

advantages which outweighed any supposed benefit. During the progress of the country, and the advance in the value of land, the benefit accrued not to the real owner, but to the holder of the wadset.

The Grants of Tullochgorm, who, in 1614, obtained for £2000 Scots a wadset of the davoch of land on the banks of the Spey which bore that name, were designated therefrom the Grants of Tullochgorm, and that family held the land in wadset until the year 1777. So attached did these families become to the ancestral possession, that it was frequently with the utmost reluctance they consented to its redemption by the chiefs, preferring rather to pay large annual feu-duties and considerable sums as grassum, which the rise in value of the lands justly demanded, that they might thereby obtain a prorogation of the redemption of the wadset. In the case of the Grants of Tullochgorm this was twice done, and the same favour was conceded in other cases also ; but Sir James Grant, the successor of Sir Ludovick Grant, wisely resolved to discontinue the practice, and emancipate himself from the "gentlemen wadsetters," as they were called.

The system of wadsetting was not confined to Strathspey, but was from early times a recognised form of tenure in different parts of Scotland. On this subject, Mr. Lorimer, who in the interests of his pupil made a tour of several large estates in the Highlands, informed Sir James Grant that Lord Breadalbane had formerly had many wadsetters on his estate. His lordship described them as oppressors of the poor. He had redeemed all his wadset lands, and remarked with evident satisfaction, "I am now master of all my own estate." The system, Mr. Lorimer also stated, was still maintained in Argyllshire and the Isles, where the principal tenants or wadsetters lived like lairds, and the poor-subtenants and cottars were almost slaves.[1]

Wadsetting of lands, which was once so common a mode of lending and borrowing money on estates, is now almost entirely discontinued throughout the Highlands as well as the Lowlands of Scotland. The generally observed form of borrowing money on the security of landed estates is that of mortgage, as it is technically called, or on heritable bonds or bond for the sum borrowed, and a disposition of the lands to the lender in security of his loan.

[1] MS. Notes, dated in 1763, by Mr. William Lorimer, tutor to Sir James Grant, at Castle Grant.

Tacks or Leases.—The other form of tenure was that of tacks or leases, by which the lairds let one or more farms to tenants for a stated number of years, in return for a fixed annual rent. This rent consisted of money and grain, with certain other "customs," such as butter, sheep, hogs, hens, capons, peats, linen yarn, etc., according to the products of the country. These payments in kind were in effect the marketings of the landlords, and being made at different times, according to arrangement, kept their larders replenished. About 1730, Sir James Grant converted the "customs" into money, as owing to his residing chiefly in London, they were of no avail to him. But when his son, Sir Ludovick, came to live at Castle Grant, he found he could get neither mutton nor fowls for his table, and was accordingly constrained to restore the "customs." In addition to these payments, the tenants were obliged to render services, with their men and horses, for a certain number of days yearly to the Laird, generally in tilling his lands, carting his peats, and such like labours. The leases contained irritancies of various kinds, providing that if the tenants were convicted of shooting at deer, killing black fish, moorburn, theft, or reset of theft, rebellion, etc., the leases should become null and void. These services and payments were ultimately entirely commuted into equivalent money payments.

In 1763, according to Mr. Lorimer, the services paid by each auchten (eighth) part yearly, consisted of two "carriage horses," or £6 Scots for each; two horses every three months, to carry stones, lime, slate, and timber, or £1, 10s. Scots for each; two horses in the spring, to plough, manure, and harrow, or £1 Scots for each; and two shearers in harvest, or twelve shillings Scots for each.

Feuing.—Another form of land tenure known in Strathspey, as elsewhere, was that of feuing, by which, for a sum of money and the payment of a yearly duty, certain lands were granted in perpetuity to the feuar. It was in this way that the Chiefs of Grant themselves obtained several of their baronies from the Crown and others, and the granter of the lands retained no other property in the lands than his rights of superiority. In only one

or two cases, however, did the family of Grant resort to this mode of disposing of their lands, the chief cases being those of Ballindalloch, Rothiemurchus, and Wester Elchies. For the purpose of creating votes, Brigadier Grant is said to have sold the superiority of these lands in 1713 to the then Lairds. Rothiemurchus was valued at £400 Scots, and Wester Elchies at twenty-eight years' purchase, and it is said a present of these sums was made by the Brigadier to the Lairds of Rothiemurchus and Wester Elchies. A proposal to feu out all the lands of Strathspey was at one time laid before Mr. Humphrey Grant, elder brother of Sir Ludovick Grant, the benefits of such a system being stated as twofold, namely, that he would be sure of his rent, and he would also thereby rear around him a body of men, all Grants, who would be well-affected to him, and fight for him on all occasions. It is added by the narrator that Mr. Grant would probably have agreed to this proposal. "But, luckily, he died, and the scheme did not take place. It would have almost annihilated the family of Grant."[1]

Davochs.—In accordance with the divisions of land common to the north of Scotland, the Grant estates were portioned into davochs and aliquot parts of a davoch. From the earliest times of charter records davochs have been the prominent designation of the principal divisions of land in the northern Highlands. Thus the parish of Kirkmichael, in Banffshire, is said to consist of ten davochs,[2] and the Grant family possessed no fewer than fifty-two of these davochs in the parishes of Cromdale, Abernethy, and Duthil.[3] The "aucht-and-forty dauch of Huntly," in Strathbogie, was well known among the Gordon farmers, and is one of their favourite toasts at meetings.[4]

Opinions still differ respecting the origin and signification of the word davoch. Some consider the term to be derived from the two words, *daimh*, oxen, and *ach*, a field, importing as much land as could be tilled by eight oxen;[5] while, among other hypotheses, it is maintained that "davoch"

[1] Mr. Lorimer's Notes, 1763.
[2] Old Statistical Account, vol. xii. p. 426.
[3] MS. Notes by Mr. Lorimer in 1763.
[4] Innes's Legal Antiquities, p. 273.
[5] Old Statistical Account, vol. xii. p. 426.

simply means *the pasturage.*[1] In respect of extent, these davochs were composed of four ploughlands, each of which was sufficient to occupy one plough in a year. Two ploughlands formed a half-davoch. Ploughlands were again sub-divided into two, and the parts called auchten parts, each being the eighth part of a davoch, and these auchten parts were quartered into oxgates, the *bovata terræ* of the Regiam Majestatem, each of which contained thirteen Scotch acres; and thus a davoch was equal to thirty-two oxgates of land of thirteen acres each, or four hundred and sixteen acres. This was determined by law at an early period in Scottish history. "In the first tyme that the law wes maid and ordanit, thai began at the fredome of halikirk and syne at the measuring of lands. The plewland thai ordanit to contene viij oxingang, the oxgang sall contene xiij akeris, the aker sall contene four rude, the rude xl fallis, the fall sall hald vj ellis."[2]

Notwithstanding this strict definition of the contents of a davoch, the fact remains that in reality it was an indeterminate quantity of land, and so was the oxgate. In some davochs there were ten or even twelve auchten parts, and few davochs were commensurate one with another. Some of the oxgates in Strathbogie, it is said, do not extend to six acres, while others contain nineteen.[3]

The Mill; Teinds.—Under the former management of the estates a prominent feature was the mill. It was erected by the landlord, who obliged all his tenants to have their meal ground at the mill, for which they paid to the tenant, or "goodman of the mill," a proportion of the meal, called multure meal, besides some small donation to the miller, who was the servant of the "goodman." Tenants who violated the rule of sucken or thirlage to a particular mill by going to another, were liable to the payment of astricted multures. In general certain lands were astricted or thirled to a certain mill, but in Strathspey a custom obtained of allowing the tenants to go to any mill belonging to their landlord, provided they did not go to

[1] Robertson's Early Scottish Kings, vol. ii. p 271.
[2] Fragmenta Collecta in Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. i. p. 751.
[3] Old Statistical Account, vol. xix. p. 290.

those of any other proprietor. It was claimed on behalf of this system that it made the miller careful and obliging, as he had to attract custom, and had no monopoly. He was paid by the tenants what was called dry multure, but this was ultimately commuted for money payments. The tenants thirled to a mill were also obliged to render certain services towards its maintenance and repair, and to assist in drawing the mill stones and timber.

Another peculiar custom observed and noted by Mr. Lorimer was, that in Sir Ludovick Grant's leases to his tenants, he always let "the teinds." By this clause in their leases every removing tenant was required to leave to his successor the tenth part of his corn, which tenth part belonged to the Laird. This custom, Mr. Lorimer suggested, was probably introduced after the long famine in King William's time, from 1695 to 1701, when many tenants died, and the lands lay unpossessed. To assist and encourage poor tenants to take farms, corn or money had been given them to the value of the tenth part of what they might grow in a year, which on removal they were obliged to leave to the incoming tenants. Mr. Lorimer also mentions a proposal to sell this teind to the tenants, a step which he believed they would welcome. This was probably done by Sir James Grant.

Forests.—The forests of Strathspey are portions of what once composed the great Caledonian fir forest, which is said to have extended from Glenlyon and Rannoch to Strathspey and Strathglas, and from Glencoe eastward to the Braes of Mar. Rothiemurchus is said to derive its name from the forests, its etymology denoting a great stretch of fir. Large tracts of country which are now peat-bogs show evidence of having once been included in this forest range, but the devastations of forest fires have changed their aspect and condition. Such fires were frequent, and one occurred accidentally in the forest of Abernethy in the year 1746, when nearly two and a half millions of trees were destroyed before the progress of the conflagration was arrested. On the occasion of another forest fire which is said to have occurred about 1770 and to have threatened disastrous consequences, the Laird sent the fiery cross through Glen Urquhart, to summon his dependants. These assembled to the number of five hundred armed with axes, but they

succeeded in arresting the progress of the flames only by cutting a gap, 500 yards in width, between the burning wood and the rest of the forest.[1]

The chief forests belonging to the Lairds of Grant were in Abernethy, where they extended for miles. In 1631, for the sum of £20,000 Scots, Sir John Grant of Freuchie leased them and other woods in Glencarnie for a period of forty-one years, to Captain John Mason, apparently acting for the Earl of Tullibardine. During that period all the trees in the forest were to be at the Captain's disposal for manufacture and transport. Reference has already been made to the mode of transporting wood by floating the logs down the Spey, their course being guided by men in currachs. A lease of the forests of Abernethy was made in 1728 to the York Buildings Company, who, after working for some time with the currachs, introduced for the first time into Scotland an improved system of transport by rafts. In these rafts large trees were lashed together and covered with deals and boards, and the men in charge being provided with benches and oars, worked the passage to Speymouth from the rafts themselves. This change in the mode of transport necessitated the removal of some rocks which impeded the channel of the river.

By the terms of the contract betwixt Sir James Grant of Grant and this Company, a lease of the forests of Abernethy was granted for fifteen years, during which they were to cut and transport to sea sixty thousand fir trees. For this right the Company were to pay the sum of £7000 sterling in the course of seven years. The principal station of the Company was at Coulnakyle, which was also leased to them, and they began by erecting saw-mills and iron furnaces, and making roads and bridges in the woods. Their chief agent and superintendent was Mr. Stephens, who resided at Coulnakyle. He had formerly been a Member of Parliament, and such was the credit and influence of the Company, that for some years his notes of hand passed as readily for cash in Strathspey and the neighbourhood, as bank notes now do. It is said that the Company were very extravagant and profuse; that they used to display their vanity by making bonfires, and opening hogsheads of brandy to the people, and that on one of these occasions five persons died in one night through excess of drinking.

[1] Letter, Sir Walter Scott to Lord Montagu, 23d June 1822, in Lockhart's Life of Scott, vol. v. p. 188.

The Company ultimately became insolvent, leaving the place without clearing off their debt to the Laird of Grant, but also leaving among the inhabitants a knowledge of their improved system of working the forests, the effect of which was in some respects beneficial.

After the failure of this English company, contracts were frequently entered into by the Lairds for the sale of their woods, and one made by Sir James Grant with two London merchants for the sale of one hundred thousand of the best pines in Abernethy and Glencarnie, stipulated that his eldest son, Mr. Ludovick Grant, should become a partner with them. A still later contract was made in 1769 for the sale of one million choice fir trees of Abernethy and Dulnan, to be cut during the ensuing fifteen years.

Until a comparatively modern period no special regard was had to the utilisation of these vast forests, and little attention was paid to their culture. What existed was apparently of nature's own sowing. It is stated that the first and early method of making deals by splitting the wood with wedges and dressing it afterwards with the axe and adze subsisted for long in Strathspey. A high room in Castle Grant appears to be floored with deals made in this way and never planed, the marks of the adze across the boards being still visible, and, it is added, such is the superlative quality of the timber, that though this floor appears to be of great antiquity, it may continue as sound as it now is hundreds of years hence. This floor has also another mark of antiquity in the nails, their bonnets being as broad as a halfpenny. The price obtained for wood at no very remote period, was only one merk a year for what a man chose to cut and manufacture with his axe and saw. So recently as the early part of last century it was 1s. 8d. a year, then the sum doubled to 3s. 4d., and afterwards the Laird of Rothiemurchus (Macalpine) raised it to 5s. and one pound of tobacco.[1]

But during the latter half of last century, and more especially since that time, arboriculture in Strathspey and the other Grant possessions has been as much cared for as agriculture. The woods being formerly free to the tenants were subjected to many abuses. These freedoms were latterly prohibited, the woods placed under strict preservation, and in many cases

[1] Old Statistical Account, vol. xiii. pp. 132, 133.

the tenants were obliged to plant trees. Since the time of Sir James Grant of Grant, commonly called the good Sir James, no landed proprietor in the north of Scotland has exceeded the Lairds of Grant, now Earls of Seafield, in the extent of ground which they have planted, the greater part of which would otherwise be altogether unproductive.

The abundance of the Muniments of the family of Grant have necessitated the arrangement of this work in THREE VOLUMES. The FIRST VOLUME contains the history of the successive chiefs of Grant, who are traced from their advent in Scotland, and especially from their first settlement in Strathspey, through the varying vicissitudes of Scottish Highland life, for upwards of six centuries, down to the present time. This introduction, dealing with the territorial baronies which they have possessed, was deemed necessary and appropriate as elucidating and illustrating the memoirs.

The SECOND VOLUME contains selections from the immense collection of correspondence of the Chiefs of Grant, preserved at Castle Grant. These have been arranged in several sections—Royal Letters and Warrants; State and Official Letters, including several letters from the Marquis of Montrose and his rival Argyll; Family and Domestic Correspondence, embracing letters from many of the most prominent Highland Chiefs and others connected with the Family of Grant. Another section of the correspondence consists of letters written by the famous Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat, selected from a large number written by him to the Lairds of Grant and others. Lovat was an indefatigable correspondent, and many of his letters have been formerly published in his Memoir and in other works; but the present is probably the largest collection of his letters which has ever been printed. They afford plentiful illustrations of the peculiar epistolary style of this distinguished Highland chief. Other sections of the volume of correspondence contain letters from Henry Mackenzie, author of "The Man of Feeling," who was a brother-in-law of Sir James Grant of Grant, from several members of the Grant family, and from the more distinguished of the cadets. Later discoveries of additional letters of importance have found room in a supplementary section.

The THIRD VOLUME of this work contains the more important Charter Muniments of the Family of Grant. They extend from the reign of King William the Lion, in the twelfth century, to that of Her present Majesty, Queen Victoria, and affect not merely the Grants of Grant and the clan, but much of the surrounding country, in fact the whole of the Scottish Highlands. Almost every form of legal document which obtained in the north of Scotland is represented, and they throw upon the manners and customs of the remoter inhabitants of Scotland a light which is peculiar to such antique witnesses. In addition to a selection of nearly three hundred documents printed in full, comprehensive abridgments have been added of upwards of one hundred more.

In drawing to a close my long labours on this protracted work, I am conscious that from its nature there must necessarily be found many imperfections which no amount of care, however anxiously bestowed, can altogether avoid. But while candidly confessing this, I can at the same time claim that much labour and anxiety have been undergone in order to attain to accuracy throughout all the sections of Memoirs, Correspondence, and Charters. The late and present Earls of Seafield cordially co-operated with me in every encouraging way, and they intrusted to me, with the most generous confidence, their extensive collections of Grant Muniments. All the gentlemen officially connected with the Grant estates have readily aided me when local questions had to be investigated. To many members of the Clan Grant I have also been indebted for much valuable assistance, particularly in reference to the pedigrees of the cadet branches. Although printed in tabular form only, these pedigrees contain the essence of thousands of documents and records. My own assistants have afforded me willing and valuable aid. To all these contributors of assistance in various forms, too numerous to particularise without the risk of omissions, I have endeavoured, from time to time, to express my grateful acknowledgments.

WILLIAM FRASER.

EDINBURGH, 32 CASTLE STREET,
June 1883.

THE CHIEFS OF GRANT.

I.—SIR LAURENCE LE GRANT, Sheriff of Inverness.

1258–1266.

THE Family of Grant, like all other great families in the Highlands, have had their bards or *seannachies*, who sang the praises of their chiefs, and assigned to them a glorious ancestry of fabulous antiquity. In the case of the Grants, the licence usually given to the imaginations of the family bards has been largely exercised, the earliest ancestor claimed for the clan being no less a personage than Odin or Wodine, the well-known Scandinavian warrior or demigod. But the muse who presides over modern history permits no such flights of a romantic spirit, and the present work treats only of those members of the family or the name of Grant who appear in historic times and authentic records.

The origin of the Grants, like that of many other ancient families, has formed the subject of keen discussion. But recent investigations have displaced the fabulous ancestry assigned to them, and put the history of the family on a true and sure foundation. Wodine and Hacken Grant, with many generations of their supposed descendants, may now be discarded as ancestors of the Grants, as unceremoniously as the fabled Thanes of Lochaber, Banquo, and Fleance, who were long accepted as the ancestors of the royal and illustrious house of Stewart.

Besides the Scandinavian ancestry ascribed to the Grants, various other origins have been assigned to the family and name of Grant,[1]—a

[1] The name Grant is variously spelled, Grant, Graunt, Graunte, Grawnt, Grantt, Grand, and Graund, and in the early documents and records it is generally preceded by the particle "le." But except in the case of quotations, the name is given in its modern form throughout this work.

Celtic, both Gaelic and Irish, an English and a Norman extraction, have all been urged. Of those who seek to establish a Gaelic origin, some make the family a branch of the Macgregors, one of whom acquiring the surname *grannda*, *i.e.* ill-favoured, from some personal deformity or defect in his appearance, was the remotest ancestor of the Grants; others assume them to be indigenous to the country of Strathspey, and explain the surname by transference from an extensive moor there, called Griantach, or Sliabh Grianais, the plain of the sun. The apologists for the Irish theory contend that several of the names current among the Grants, as Patrick, Duncan, etc., are native to Ireland, and thus establish the connection, the more especially that one distinct family of the clan bore the Irish appellation of Cheran or Chiaran. A similar line of argument is adopted by those who favour the theory of a Danish origin. They find the names Suene, Alan, etc., in frequent use among the Grants, and thence postulate that the family in which these names occur originated on Danish soil. The Norman or the Anglo-Norman theory, founding etymologically upon the word Grant being identical with the French appellative *Grand*, *i.e.* great, traces the family from France through England into Scotland. This theory best accords with the known history of the early Grants.

The Rev. James Chapman, A.M., who was minister of Cromdale from 1702 to 1737, wrote a memoir of the family of Grant, which is said to be preserved in MS. in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh. Copies are also preserved in the charter-chests of several families of the name of Grant. It commences with Prince Wodine in the year 600, and brings down the history of the Grants through Wodine and his descendants to James Grant, Laird of Grant, who married Lady Mary Stewart, daughter of the Earl of Murray. Mr. Chapman's compilation is a somewhat strange production, and is a record quite unworthy of the race of Grant.[1]

Setting aside, therefore, all the fabled successors of Prince Wodine, whom the family genealogists were wont, in former days, to place in the forefront of the long line of historic Grants, the first persons of the name of Grant who appear in any way connected with the north

[1] Sir Archibald Grant of Monymusk, Baronet, printed Mr. Chapman's history for private circulation. The title is "An Account of the Rise and Offspring of the name of Grant," 1876, 8vo. pp. 40.

of Scotland are Sir Laurence and Sir Robert le Grant. They are named among the witnesses to an agreement, dated in 1258, made between Archibald, then Bishop of Moray, and John Byset, a member of the powerful family of that name, by which the Bishop surrendered certain claims over lands in the Aird in Inverness-shire, and was to receive in return an annual payment of three pounds weight of silver.[1]

A person named Gregory le Grant has been claimed by previous historians of the family as their first authentic ancestor, and the father of Laurence and Robert le Grant. In proof of this statement a recent writer has quoted the Chamberlain Rolls, which are said to instruct that "Gregory le Grant was Sheriff of Inverness in 1263."[2] But this is a misreading, for the page of the Rolls referred to shows that Laurence le Grant, and not Gregory, was Sheriff of Inverness at that time.[3]

Laurence and Robert le Grant are the first of their name on record in Scotland, and the manner in which their names are written may be adduced as a proof that they, and, by consequence, the family of Grant, are of Anglo-Norman extraction. But this is not the sole evidence on the matter, and the theory of Norman origin is by no means merely conjectural, as in a list of the companions of William Duke of Normandy, in 1066, compiled by a recent writer from authentic sources, there appears, along with Melville, Hay, and other names well known in Scotland, the name of "Robert Grante."[4] The same writer claims that from the famous Norman family of Grante or Grantemesnil, a name also found among the first Norman invaders of England, came the first Grants in England. The arms of the Norman family of Grant differ from those borne by the Chiefs of Grant in Scotland, but the motto is, by a curious coincidence, nearly identical, "Tenons ferme."[5] Holingshed, in his history of England, gives the name "Graunt" in the Roll of Battle Abbey.[6] The name of Grant does not appear in the survey known as Domesday Book, made about 1083, but that of Grantemesnil figures prominently, and at a later date the name of Grant is found in English Records. Thus in 1270, King Henry the

[1] Registrum Moraviense, pp. 133-135.
[2] History of the Priory of Beauly, p. 55.
[3] Chamberlain Rolls, vol. i. p. 21.
[4] Nobiliaire de Normandie, by E. de Magny, p. 4.
[5] *Ibid.* pp. 171, 172.
[6] Holingshed's Chronicle, Edition 1577, p. 295.

Third gives permission to a number of Anglo-Norman knights to proceed to the Holy Land, among whom is William le Grant.[1] In 1288, Peter le Grant witnessed an obligation made to the English king by Alfonso, King of Arragon, in favour of the Prince of Salerno, dated at the camp of the French in Arragon, on 27th October 1288. He must have been a person of some distinction, as he acts as a substitute for the mayor-domo of the King.[2] In England the name of Grant appears so early as the year 1228, when Richard le Grant, chancellor of the diocese of Lincoln, was elected Archbishop of Canterbury, and lived only a short time after his consecration.[3]

In the same diocese, and about the same date, lived William le Grant. He possesses a special interest for the Scottish family of Grant, inasmuch as he was closely connected with the family of Byset, who at that period were powerful both in England and Scotland, possessing in the latter a large portion of the province of Moray. In right of his wife William le Grant held the manor of Athelington, in the county of Lincoln, and also the manor of East Bridgeford, in the county of Nottingham.[4] The authorities cited show that the wife of this William le Grant was Albreda Byset, one of the heiresses of Henry Byset.[5] In King Henry the Second's reign the manor of East Bridgeford was possessed by Manassar Byset, sewer (steward) of the royal household, who conveyed it to his brother William. In 1242 John and Walter Byset were forced to leave Scotland, having been accused of the murder of Patrick Earl of Athole at Haddington.[6] In the following August, 1243, King Henry Third bestowed the manor of East Lowdham, or Ludeham, in Nottinghamshire, upon Walter Byset, who went to England, while John passed over to Ireland. The object of the grant, as set forth in the charter, was to maintain Walter Byset in the king's service as long as the latter pleased.[7] The manor of East Lowdham adjoined the manor of East Bridgeford, the property of the English Bysets, which was about

[1] Fœdera, vol. i. p. 483. [2] *Ibid.* p. 692.

[3] The name of this Archbishop is somewhat disputed, but see authorities given in Leland's Collectanea, vol. i. pp. 266-284, vol. ii. p. 401; compared with the Chronica de Mailros, p. 142.

[4] Thoroton's Nottinghamshire, edition 1677, p. 149; Calendarium Genealogicum, vol. ii. p. 461.

[5] A Henry Byset or Bisset, with other nobles, is a party to a league between Richard I. of England and Baldwin Count of Flanders in 1197.—Fœdera, vol. i. p. 68.

[6] Fordun a Goodall, Lib. ix. cap. 59.

[7] Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland, vol. i. No. 1621.

that time held by William le Grant and his wife Albreda. It is distinctly stated that William le Grant held his manors by right of his wife and in trust for her heirs, but it is an important fact that shortly before the appearance of the Grants in Scotland, in attendance on or as companions of John Byset, Lord of the Aird, a William le Grant was not only a neighbour of the Bysets in England, but also was allied to that powerful family by marriage.

As an association between the families of Byset and Grant prior to 1258 is thus indicated, it may not be amiss briefly to show the high position held by the Bysets both in England and Scotland. The earliest member of that family found in English records is Manassar (or Mauncell) Byset, who, so early as 1152, was sewer or steward of the household to Henry Duke of Normandy, afterwards King Henry Second of England, and held that office for many years after Henry came to the throne.[1] He it was who acquired the manor of East Bridgeford, as already stated. In 1168, as shown by a charter to the priory of Thurgarton, confirmed by King Henry II. in that year, Manassar Byset's family consisted of himself, his brothers William, Henry, and Ansold, and two of a younger generation, Ernulph and Henry Byset.[2] Manassar Byset's position about the king's person shows that he was of high rank, and the Bysets or "Biseys" are named among those young nobles of England, the Baliols, Bruces, and others, who accompanied King William the Lion to Scotland on his return from captivity in the year 1174.[3]

At a later date, between 1180 and 1198, a Henry Byset or Biset witnesses two charters of King William the Lion, both granted at Selkirk.[4] The Register of the Bishopric of Moray shows that in the time of King Alexander Second, John Byset was Lord of the Aird, and held large possessions in the north.[5] He was the founder of Beauly Priory in 1231,[6] and his uncle Walter was Lord of Aboyne, in Aberdeenshire, and of Stratherrick, in Inverness-shire.[7] Other members of the family had possessions both in

[1] Fœdera, vol. i. pp. 16, 18, 23, 41, 42.

[2] Authorities quoted in "History of Beauly Priory," pp. 20, 299.

[3] Scalacronica, p. 41.

[4] Liber de Melros, vol. i. pp. 107, 123.

[5] Registrum Moraviense, pp. 15, 27, 59, 77, 82, 97, 332.

[6] History of Beauly Priory, p. 14.

[7] *Ibid.* p. 35; Chronica de Mailros, p. 155; Robertson's Index, p. xxv.

the north and south of Scotland, notably Abertarff, in Inverness-shire, and Upsetlington, in Berwickshire.[1] In 1242 Walter Byset and his nephew John left Scotland, and Walter, as stated, became a neighbour of William le Grant in Nottinghamshire, where the Bysets already held property.

The exile of the Bysets from Scotland was not of long duration, as Walter Byset appears as a witness to a charter of King Alexander Second to the monks of Dunfermline, dated at Stirling on 13th January 1249.[2] John Byset, Walter's nephew, and the founder of the Priory of Beauly, died between 1244 and 1258, leaving a son, John Byset, that Lord of the Aird who, in the last-named year, entered into the agreement with the Bishop of Moray to which Laurence and Robert le Grant were witnesses.

In view of these facts, and as it is in this agreement that the Grants are first named in Scotland, the suggestion is a very probable one, "that the Grants were brought to Scotland from England by John and Walter Byset on their return from the exile of 1242."[3] This remark is qualified by the statement of the same writer, that John Byset, the exile, did not go to England, or did not remain there, and that no evidence exists of his return to Scotland. But, as has been shown, Walter Byset of Aboyne, who was the neighbour of William le Grant, the husband of Albreda Byset, did return to Scotland. Laurence and Robert le Grant may have come to Scotland in his train, and after his death, which took place in 1251,[4] they probably continued their attachment to his family. Any weight which can be assigned to the traditional accounts of the family of Grant tends to support the above statement, as it is uniformly asserted that at a very early period the Grants possessed lands in Stratherrick, and Walter Byset was lord of that territory.[5] Defenders of the theory that the Grants were connected with the north of Scotland at a period anterior to the settlement of the Bysets in Moray, may naturally contend that Walter Byset merely became overlord of the Grants who originally held the territory. But no proof has been found in favour of such contention, while the presumption in favour of the migration of the Grants from England is very strong.

[1] History of Beauly Priory, pp. 33, 37.
[2] Reg. de Dunfermelyn, p. 44.
[3] History of Beauly Priory, p. 53.
[4] Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland, vol. i. No. 1836.
[5] Robertson's Index, p. xxv.

If Laurence and Robert le Grant followed Walter Byset to Scotland, to push their fortunes there, they only adopted a course which was not uncommon among young chevaliers of that day, many of whom, though Anglo-Normans, became the founders of the proudest families in the northern kingdom. At this period there was much intercourse between England and Scotland, and some of the greatest barons at either Court held estates in both countries, so that they and their retainers were frequently passing to and fro. In 1251, Alexander the Third, the young King of Scotland, was married with great pomp to the Princess Margaret, daughter of King Henry the Third of England. It is not improbable that some of the English chivalry followed the young monarch across the Border. There is proof that at least one person did so by special permission from the English king, either then or when Alexander the Third returned to Scotland, after a visit to England in 1256. In 1261, King Henry the Third, at the King of Scotland's suggestion, pardoned an offence against the forest laws committed by "William le Graunt, who lately, by the king's precept, set out with Alexander King of Scotland for that country," and who was accused of taking venison in Sherwood Forest on the journey.[1] This may have been the crusader already referred to as receiving permission in 1270 to go to the Holy Land, but in any case the fact that a William le Grant was in the train of the King of Scotland is established. It is also worthy of notice that at the time of the Scottish king's marriage in 1251-2, a Thomas le Grant acted in the capacity of his "merchant," and for some reason was, at the king's desire, removed from his office of viewer or keeper of the English king's works in York Castle.[2]

If Laurence and Robert le Grant were the sons of, or related to William le Grant of East Bridgeford, the neighbour of Walter Byset, they were excluded from succeeding him in his English manors. From an inquest held in 1292, some time after his decease, it appears that William le Grant had held the manors of Athelington and East Bridgeford only in liferent, and that the true heirs of the estates, and lawful successors to the Bysets therein, were the three daughters of his wife Albreda (probably by

[1] Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland, vol. i. No. 2250.
[2] *Ibid.* Nos. 1857 and 1863.

a previous marriage). They were the proprietors, and he only held the lands as from them with consent of their husbands.[1] This being so, it is evident that whether William le Grant had sons by his wife Albreda or not, it is doubtful whether he could have provided them in the lands in which he himself was only a liferenter; and if he had sons by another wife, it would be natural that to further their interests he should seek the aid of his powerful neighbour and kinsman Walter Byset. That the latter was returning to resume the lordship of his extensive domains in Scotland was an excellent opportunity for preferring such a request. The facts known, however, do not warrant the affirmation that Laurence and Robert le Grant were children or relatives of William le Grant of Bridgeford, but the coincidence of names, dates, and other circumstances is certainly worthy of attention.

The history of Laurence and Robert le Grant themselves may now be given so far as it has been ascertained. There is a difficulty in deciding whether they were brothers or not. Family tradition claims Laurence to have been the elder, as he was certainly the more prominent, and also that he was the direct ancestor of the family of Grant. Robert le Grant, however, is the first of the two who can be in any way proved to have actually possessed land in Moray. About 1258, John Prat, a *miles* or knight, bestowed on Sir Robert le Grant the land of Clonmanache, now Coulmony, on the river Findhorn, which had been the subject of dispute between Robert and the father of the granter.[2] These lands lay on the west bank of the river, and adjoined Daltely or Daltullich, which also belonged to John Prat, and which he gave to Gilbert, the younger of Glencarnie, who had married Marjory Prat, the granter's sister.[3] It is not improbable that this contiguity of the properties of Robert le Grant and Gilbert of Glencarnie gave rise to the tradition that a Grant had intermarried with the Glencarnie family at that remote period. Such may have been the case, but the marriage with the heiress of that family did not take place until a hundred and fifty

[1] Calendarium Genealogicum, vol. ii. p. 461.

[2] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 5.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 6. Another lady of the name of Prat intermarried at an early date with the family of Melville, as between 1180 and 1213 William the Lion confirmed a charter of certain lands in Fife, given to Richard Melville by Reginald Prat with his daughter Margaret.—[Melville Charter-chest.]

years later. It may be noted that Sir John Byset is a prominent witness to Sir John Prat's charter. The fact that the lands had been in dispute between the elder Prat and Sir Robert le Grant, certainly indicates that the latter had resided some time in Moray, but this in no way disproves the facts above stated. The date of the charter is not given. John Byset of the Aird died in 1259, but he left a son, who may be the witness here named.[1] The charter of Daltulich is not confirmed until 1267.

But though Robert le Grant was apparently the first to acquire territory in Moray, Laurence le Grant takes the more prominent part in public life. He became, some time prior to the year 1263, the king's Sheriff of Inverness, which sheriffdom at that time comprehended also the present counties of Ross, Sutherland, and Caithness. In this capacity several important matters passed through his hands. He received from the Earls of Sutherland and Caithness, in the year 1263, certain sums of fine or king's silver, which may imply that both these Earls were under age, or that the fines inflicted on the northern districts, which had incurred the royal displeasure, had been converted into an annual payment to the Crown.[2] It may be gathered also from Laurence le Grant's accounts that the loyalty of the natives of Caithness was deemed precarious at this period, the time of King Haco's descent upon Scotland, for these show that not only was a fine of 200 cows imposed upon them, but certain of them were detained as hostages for a considerable period.[3] In his account as Sheriff rendered to the Crown for the year 1266, Laurence le Grant credits himself with a sum for the expenses of certain Friars-preachers or Dominicans, going on a mission to Norway. This was the embassy of Reginald of Roxburgh, a monk of Melrose, which resulted in a treaty by which the King of Norway ceded all rights over the Isles to the King of Scotland.

Laurence le Grant was also bailie of "Inverchoich" (Inverquoich). His account in this capacity has not been preserved, but from an account rendered

[1] History of the Priory of Beauly, p. 54; Calendarium Genealogicum, p. 266. It would appear from an entry in the last-named work, p. 265, that a family of the name of Prat also held lands in Nottingham. The Bysets, Prats, and Grants were thus near neighbours in England as well as in Scotland.

[2] Exchequer Rolls of Scotland, vol. i. pp. 13, 19.

[3] *Ibid.*

in 1264 by G. de Cambusmychel, as bailie of "Inverkoych," it appears there was a castle there, the constable of which was paid two merks of silver yearly.[1] It is difficult to discover precisely where this castle stood. It was probably a small place, and may be represented by the "Entrekoyt Chastelle," where King Edward the First of England passed a night during his progress through Scotland in 1296.[2] From its position on his route it seems to have been near the junction of the Alyth Burn with the river Isla, and probably is identical with an old castle in the parish of Ruthven in Forfarshire, said to have belonged to the Earls of Crawford, which was demolished in last century.[3] This supposition is corroborated by the evidence of a charter under the Great Seal of King Robert the Second to Sir James Lindsay, of date 3d February 1375. In that charter the King grants, in addition to other lands which had been resigned by Lindsay, "also the place of our castle of Inuercuych . . . in the thanage of Alyth and sheriffdom of Perth." This grant is followed by other charters of the same lands.[4]

A further question arises as to Laurence le Grant's connection with Inverquoich. In 1262-3, G. de Cambusmychel was bailie of that place.[5] A year later he is described as "formerly bailie," having apparently resigned.[6] Laurence le Grant was bailie of Inverquoich in 1266, and rendered the account for that year.[7] But between the two dates there is an account rendered by Alexander Comyn, Earl of Buchan, as bailie of "Invery."[8] He paid a certain sum of money for repair of the house and drawbridge, and for the building of a new hall within the castle; also for the food of eight men who occupied the place for six months during the time of King Haco's attempt on Scotland. Then a question arose in the Exchequer as to whether the Earl of Buchan or Laurence le Grant, the Sheriff of Inverness, ought to answer to the king for the rents of "Invery." From this conjunction of "Invery" and the Sheriff of Inverness, it has been concluded that the copyist of the transcripts, which are all that remain of the earliest Exchequer Rolls, made a mistake, and wrote "Invery"

[1] Exchequer Rolls, vol. i. pp. 3, 33.
[2] Historical Documents, Scotland, vol. ii. p. 28.
[3] Gazetteer of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 628.
[4] Registrum Magni Sigilli, pp. 137, 141, etc.
[5] Exchequer Rolls, vol. i. p. 3.
[6] *Ibid.* p. 16. [7] *Ibid.* p. 33. [8] *Ibid.* p. 18.

instead of Ulerin or Vlerin, which is said to be the modern Blervie, near Forres, and the only royal castle in that district not elsewhere mentioned in the accounts.[1] But independently of the fact that Blervie is usually known in early documents as "Blare" or "Blarie,"[2] the fact that though Laurence le Grant was Sheriff of the great sheriffdom of Inverness, he was also appointed bailie of a royal castle, which has been shown to lie on the borders of Forfarshire, indicates that mere locality had little to do with such appointments. It therefore seems probable that "Invery" simply means Inverquoich, which was a royal castle, that it had then changed hands, and that Laurence Grant had been appointed bailie. The Earl of Buchan, as Justiciary of Scotland, may, during the transfer, have paid the money for repairs on the fabric of the castle, but it was to be expected that the new bailie would account for the rents.

It is indeed not improbable, though the deficiency of contemporary record forbids absolute certainty, that the choice of Laurence le Grant, though Sheriff of Inverness, to be bailie of the castle of Inverquoich, may have arisen from his having some influence in the neighbourhood. This point will be referred to in the next memoir.

Nothing further is known of Laurence le Grant than what can be gleaned from the notices of him already quoted. The original possession of Stratherrick is assigned by tradition to the Grants. There is undoubted evidence that, at a later date, the Grants were Lords of Stratherrick, and it may be that from Walter Byset, while Lord of Stratherrick, Laurence le Grant acquired lands there which enabled him to hold the high office of Sheriff of Inverness. This, however, is wholly matter of conjecture, and though he was undoubtedly the first of his name who had authority in the north of Scotland, it is impossible to give further particulars of his history or possessions. The name of his wife is also unknown both to history and tradition. It is usually stated in histories of the Grants that Gregory le Grant, the alleged father of Laurence, married Mary, daughter of Byset of Lovat, and with her got Stratherrick. As shown, however, it is not proved that there was a Gregory le Grant, and Byset of Aboyne, not Byset of

[1] Exchequer Rolls, vol. i. p. xlvi, note.

[2] Cf. Registrum Moraviense; Statistical Account of Scotland, Elginshire, p. 248.

Lovat, held Stratherrick. If, as has been suggested, the Grants did acquire that territory by marriage, facts would point to a daughter of Walter Byset of Aboyne, but no evidence on the subject is known to exist.

In regard to the strong presumption stated in this memoir that there was a family connection between the Bysets and the Grants prior to 1258, a few remarks as to the armorial bearings of the two families may not be out of place. Setting aside the fabulous or romantic theory of the well-known three crowns in the Grant arms, indicating their descent from as many Scandinavian kings, it is somewhat remarkable that no authentic origin has been assigned to them by any genealogist or herald. Unhappily the oldest seals in the family charter-chest date no further back than early in the sixteenth century, and thus afford no evidence as to the earliest period at which the three crowns were used as armorial bearings by the Grants. About the year 1325 John le Grant, the first Lord of Inverallan, affixed his seal to a charter by Sir Patrick Graham of Lovat.[1] It is important to know that the Grants bore arms at so early a date, but though the charter is extant, the seal is gone, and no conclusion can be drawn from it as to the bearings.

On the other hand, a certain amount of evidence is obtained from another source, by comparing the armorial bearings of the Frasers of Lovat at their first acquisition of Lovat, and at a later date, after they acquired Stratherrick. Hugh Fraser became Lord of Lovat in 1367, and in 1377 and 1390 he executed certain charters, to which he affixed his seal. The device upon that seal is described as "Couché, a triangular shield bearing three rosettes or cinquefoils within a border charged with nine stars or mullets." The crest is a stag's head, the supporters two lions rampant regardant, and the legend "Sill H . . . Fraser."[2]

Such was the Lovat seal in 1390. In 1431, the grandson of the first Hugh Fraser used a seal which is described as "Quarterly: first and fourth, three cinquefoils for Fraser; second and third, three crowns. Crest on helmet, a stag's head. Supporters, two lions sejant."[3] Stratherrick was resigned, in 1419, in favour of her son, James Mackintosh, by Elizabeth

[1] Charter quoted in History of Beauly Priory, p. 78.

[2] The Frasers of Philorth, vol. ii. pp. 171, 182; Laing's Catalogue of Scottish Seals, vol. i. No. 351.

[3] Laing's Ancient Scottish Seals, vol. ii. No. 388; Rose of Kilravock, p. 129.

le Grant, the then heiress of the Grants, and lady of that territory, as related in a subsequent memoir. Three years thereafter, on 9th August 1422, Thomas Dunbar, Earl of Moray, entered into a contract with Hugh Fraser of Lovat for the marriage of their children, and bestowed upon Lovat the barony of Abertarff, in terms of a charter formerly granted, from which it would appear that Hugh Fraser already held the *dominium utile* of the lands conveyed.[1] The barony of Abertarff at a later period included Stratherrick, and if this was so in 1422, it is remarkable that a few years afterwards, Hugh Fraser is found bearing in addition to his own arms the three crowns assigned by tradition as the cognisance of the Grants from time immemorial, and which were certainly borne by them at a later date. This fact raises a strong presumption that the three crowns were assumed by the second Hugh Fraser as the bearings of the former Lords of Stratherrick. It has been suggested that the first Hugh Fraser in 1390 had adopted the stag's head crest because it was that of his feudal superior the Earl of Moray, whose seal is affixed to the same document.[2] This suggestion tends to corroborate the presumption that Hugh Fraser's descendant on acquiring Stratherrick also assumed the bearings of his immediate predecessors in that territory, who in this case were Grants.

There is thus, in default of actual proof, a certain amount of presumptive evidence that the three crowns were really the cognisance of the Lords of Stratherrick, and borne by the Grants as such. The question then arises, whence did the Grants derive these armorial bearings? The opinion formerly prevailed that the three crowns quartered in the Fraser of Lovat coat were those of Byset. Were this clearly established, it would bear out all that has been said about the connection between the Bysets and the Grants. Sir David Lindsay, however, in his Heraldry, gives the cognisance of the Bysets of Beaufort as a simple ordinary, a bend *argent* on a shield *azure*. The same arms are borne on a seal of Elizabeth Byset, a granddaughter of the founder of Beauly, attached to a Kilravock charter, about 1280.[3] The cognisance of the bend may, however, have been confined to one branch of the family, as the seals of the Bysets show a variety of

[1] Spalding Miscellany, vol. v. p. 256. [2] The Frasers of Philorth, vol. ii. pp. 174, 182.
[3] Rose of Kilravock, pp. 29, 111.

charges. Thus a William Byset bears in 1292 a "bend with a label of five points;" another William Byset bears a peacock passant, not on a shield; a Walter Byset bears "an eagle with wings expanded, not on a shield;" a third William Byset bears "a boar's head couped, not on a shield, and in the background two mullets." The three seals last mentioned are detached, and the dates are not known, but from their devices they must be of an early period. Later Byset seals are also given, different from the foregoing, but none of them bearing a bend.[1]

This variety of cognisances among the Byset family renders it less possible to decide that they bore a particular charge on their shields, and it shows that the bend was not universally adopted by them. On the other hand, there is one Byset cognisance which suggests the arms borne by the Grants. It is found on the seal of a certain Baldred de Bisset, which is appended to an acquittance to a bursar of Durham for £10 arrears of pension, dated in 1288.[2] It is thus described, "A fleur-de-lis between two roses or cinquefoils, beneath an arched crown, not on a shield, the seal itself being of that shape." Legend, "Sigill. Baldredi de Bisset." Nothing further can be ascertained regarding this Baldred. It is possible he may have been a cleric. But be this as it may, the seal suggests the possibility that a crown may have been borne by some branch of the Bysets, and this may have led to its adoption by the Grants, with a difference.

[1] Laing's Ancient Scottish Seals, vol. i. Nos. 117-120; vol. ii. Nos. 98-102.

[2] *Ibid.* No. 98. Original *penes* Dean and Chapter of Durham.

II.—JOHN LE GRANT, first of Inverallan, in Strathspey.

1296–*c.* 1325.

According to the traditional pedigree of the family of Grant, Sir Laurence le Grant had two sons, John and Robert le Grant. But though for the sake of orderly sequence the pedigree handed down by tradition may be followed in the early portion of this work, it is simply to be understood as indicating the chronological order of generations, not as indorsing its statements, except in cases where relationship is definitely proved. Therefore, though John and Robert Grant are here linked together, because they are named together in history, it is to be noted that there is no actual proof of any relationship between them and Sir Laurence, or that they were kin to each other. All that is known of them is that they were present at the battle of Dunbar on 27th April 1296, were taken prisoners, and after a year's imprisonment, were set free on condition of going with King Edward the First to Flanders. These are all the facts which can be ascertained concerning John and Robert le Grant conjointly. One of the two returned to Scotland, and became prominent in the north; the fate of the other is not known. But these salient points of their joint history are rendered interesting by various attendant circumstances, which also throw light on the pedigree of the name of Grant at this period.

If, as has been suggested, Sir Laurence le Grant was in friendly connection with the House of Byset, it seems probable that John and Robert le Grant began their career under the auspices of another powerful northern family, that of the Comyns. When King Edward the First, in 1296, led an army against Berwick, and captured and sacked that town, it was the northern Earls of Buchan, Ross, Athole, Mar, and Menteith, and the great northern barons, John Comyn of Badenoch and his son, who were most prompt in summoning their retainers to retaliate on the English

the wrongs of the Scots. These nobles marched at the head of a large army into England and ravaged Northumberland with fire and sword.[1] A detached party from this large force threw themselves into the castle of Dunbar. On being summoned by the English commander, the Earl of Surrey, who, at the head of 11,000 men, had been sent to besiege the castle, the garrison agreed to capitulate within three days unless relieved by the main army of the Scots. This led to the battle of Dunbar, in which the Scots, chiefly through their own rashness, were wholly defeated, a large number being slain by the English in the pursuit.

The battle of Dunbar was fought on 27th April 1296, and the next day the garrison of the castle, who had been greatly dismayed at the rout of their countrymen, capitulated to King Edward in person, "placing life and limb at his disposal." The king, however, would make no condition nor give any promise of favour. The English historian who thus records the surrender of the castle gives the names of the leaders. He states that the names of those who were taken (in the castle, not in the pursuit) were these:—William Earl of Ross, (John) Earl of Athole, Alexander Earl of Menteith, John son of John Comyn (of Badenoch), William of St. Clair, Richard Syward, John son of Geoffrey Moubray. With these magnates also were found and taken thirty-one knights and one hundred esquires (including, as will be shown, John and Robert le Grant), with two clerics, John Somerville and William St. Clair.[2] All these the king sent in divisions of twelve or sixteen to various castles in England, to be kept in firm custody.[3] In addition to the magnates just named, another English historian enumerates John of Inchmartin, Alexander Moray, and Edmund or Edward Comyn of Kilbride, and makes a slight variation in the number of attendant knights and esquires.[4]

The garrison of Dunbar may therefore be said to have consisted of three earls, some prominent barons, and their immediate and personal followers. They were, as stated, distributed in various castles throughout England. The Earls of Ross, Athole, and Menteith, John Comyn younger,

[1] Hemingford, vol. ii. p. 101.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 104, 105; William St. Clair afterwards became bishop of Dunkeld.

[3] Hemingford, vol. ii. p. 105.

[4] Scalacronica, p. 123.

John Mowbray, Richard Siward, John of Inchmartin, and others, were sent to the Tower of London.[1] The warrant of committal and other official papers bearing on their custody are very precise in stating that the prisoners were taken in the castle of Dunbar in Scotland, and that the conflict there had been between the king and them.

The less important prisoners were sent, some to Gloucester, others to Bristol and Corfe Castles. Among those in Gloucester, as appears from an account of Walter de Beauchamp, constable of that place, were Master William St. Clair, one of the clerics above referred to, and John le Grant, with three others, one of them a knight, all of whom are said to have been taken in the Castle of Dunbar.[2] The account of the constable of Bristol Castle names among the prisoners there Richard Siward, younger, Alexander Comyn, knights; John, son of Alexander of Moray, and Robert le Grant, with two others, also all described as taken in the Castle of Dunbar. The sum charged for the maintenance of the cleric and each knight was 4d. a day, and for each esquire 3d. Their keepers also received 3d. each *per diem*.[3]

These accounts imply that John le Grant and Robert le Grant were at that date simply esquires, and therefore attached to the train of some knight, that in his service they might win their spurs. In the case of the Grants it is probable that their leader was John Comyn of Badenoch, then the most powerful baron in the immediate neighbourhood of Moray.

On 30th July 1297, after the Scots taken at Dunbar had been rather more than a year in captivity, they were released on condition of serving King Edward in his expedition against France. The Earl of Athole was first released, ample bail being taken for his performing his promise. On the same date, there were liberated among others the following knights :— Alexander Comyn, brother of John Comyn of Badenoch, David Graham, brother of Patrick Graham, David Graham his nephew, Hugh of Erthe, and Robert Comyn, brother of John of Badenoch. The securities for these knights were, with others, the two John Comyns of Badenoch, elder and younger.

Immediately after those knights the following were liberated :—John le Graunte, Alexander Corbet, Robert (or Ralph) le Graunte, Alan

[1] Fœdera, vol. i. p. 841. [2] Historical Documents, Scotland, vol. ii. p. 54. [3] *Ibid.* p. 55.

Lascelles, and others, for each of whom John Comyn, the elder, of Badenoch, and David Graham, pledged themselves.[1]

In regard to the first of these securities, while the fact that John Comyn of Badenoch pledged himself for the Grants raises a certain presumption that John and Robert le Grant were, while at Dunbar, in his following, there exists other evidence of intercourse between the family of Comyn and that of Grant. During the interregnum between the death of the "Maid of Norway" and the accession of King John Balliol to the throne of Scotland, the Scottish fortresses were in the hands of those barons who had been appointed guardians of the kingdom, and the matters relative to these castles were administered partly by the King of England and partly by the guardians of Scotland, of whom John Comyn of Badenoch was one.

In June 1291 the guardians of Scotland yielded the fortresses of Scotland to Edward the First as Lord Paramount, and among those thus given up was the castle of Clunie. From the fact that the salary of the castellan of this fortress continued to be paid by the bailie of Sir John Comyn, it cannot be doubted that the latter was the guardian under whose special charge this castle was, and the custodier of the fortress was Patrick le Grant. The ruins of the castle of Clunie may still be traced on an island in the lake of that name in Perthshire, and must have been of considerable extent, as King Edward himself visited it during his progress through Scotland in 1296, and remained there no fewer than five days, thus proving that the place was commodious.[2] From Clunie the king passed to Inverquoich, the small castle which has already been shown to have been under Laurence le Grant as bailie.

Patrick le Grant was castellan of Clunie before 24th August 1291, but from that date, until 27th July 1292, his receipts for his salary of two shillings a day have been preserved. These receipts occur at regular intervals, and run in the name of Hugh of Erthe, bailie of Sir John Comyn in the abthanage of Dull, by whom Patrick Grant's salary was paid until 28th July 1292, on which day he delivered over the castle

[1] Fœdera, vol. i. p. 869.

[2] Itineraire de Roy Edward en Escoce A.D. MCCXCVI. Ragman Rolls, p. 178. Bannatyne Club, 1834.

of Clunie to the same Hugh of Erthe, as directed by a precept from the Bishop of Durham [Anthony Beck].[1] This Hugh of Erthe was one of the knights already named as having been taken in the castle of Dunbar, and among those for whom the Comyns of Badenoch became surety on the same day with the Grants. At this date several other Grants are on record whose names may be mentioned, although, as in the case of the castellan of Clunie, there is no documentary evidence to instruct their relationship. In 1295 and 1296 David le Grant was Sheriff of Stirling for King Edward the First,[2] and in 1296 a Robert le Grant swore fealty to the English king for lands in the county of Fife.[3] It is not improbable, however, from the context, that the last named was a churchman.

While so much may be said why John Comyn, the elder lord of Badenoch, should pledge himself for the Grants, the name of his fellow security, Sir David Graham, is even more suggestive of their connection with the north of Scotland, and, in particular, with Stratherrick, the early possession of the Grants.

Sir David of Graham here named, was the husband of Muriel Byset, the youngest daughter and co-heiress of that John Byset who entered into the agreement already referred to with the Bishop of Moray in 1258, to which Laurence and Robert le Grant were witnesses. John Byset died in 1259, leaving a son, who died without issue, and three daughters, who succeeded to his property.[4] Of these three, Muriel, the youngest, the wife of Sir David Graham, inherited the lands of Lovat, close to the Priory of Beauly, founded by her grandfather. In an agreement with the Bishop of Moray about the land of Kiltarlity and the fishings of the river Farrar, Sir David Graham is styled Lord of Lovat,[5] and his son, Sir Patrick Graham, before 1325 granted a third part of his lands of Altyre to the Priory of Beauly, for the multures of Lovat, Fingask, and Donaldston.[6]

That Sir David Graham, the successor of the Bysets in a third part of

[1] Historical Documents, Scotland, vol. i. pp. 247-335, *passim*.

[2] *Ibid.* vol. ii. pp. 17, 80.

[3] Ragman Rolls, p. 142.

[4] History of the Priory of Beauly, p. 54; Calendarium Genealogicum, vol. i. p. 265.

[5] Registrum Moraviense, p. 135.

[6] History of the Priory of Beauly, p. 78.

their large territory, the lordship of Lovat, which lordship afterwards comprehended Stratherrick, should interest himself in John and Robert le Grant, is a fact of considerable importance, tending very strongly to connect them with the northern family of Grant and their territory of Stratherrick. The friendship here shown by Sir David Graham towards the Grants was continued by his son and successor, Sir Patrick Graham, who became Lord of Lovat before December 1298.[1] Sir Patrick Graham appears to have been a prisoner in England for some time after 1304, but between 1315 and 1325 he executed various charters, to one of which, namely, the charter of the third of Altyre, already referred to, John le Grant was a party under special circumstances. To that document Sir Patrick Graham appends, along with his own seal, the seal of John le Grant, a proceeding which infers a high degree of intimacy, or that John le Grant had in some way an interest in the lands conveyed. If this was the case, such interest could have been derived only through connection with the family of Byset. The lands affected by the charter were Lovat, Fingask, and Donaldston, in the barony of Lovat, part of the possessions of John Byset, founder of Beauly Priory, which had descended to his granddaughters. These lands lay at some distance from Stratherrick, which was on the south-eastern shore of Loch Ness. Stratherrick is not proved to have belonged to John Byset, the founder of Beauly Priory, but it certainly belonged to his uncle Walter, in whose train the Grants came from England. If, as has been suggested, a matrimonial connection existed between the Bysets and the Grants, it may have been such as would give the latter family an interest in the Lovat territory.

It may be noted, however, that John le Grant's seal is appended as if he were a party to the deed rather than a witness, and he is not named among the witnesses. The names of these latter are important :—Thomas, Bishop of Ross, Sir William Fenton and John his son, John son of Cristin of the Ard, Harold son of Dofnald, Andrew le Grant, Alexander Corbet, Alan of Lascelles, and others. Sir William Fenton was either the uncle of Sir Patrick Graham by marriage with Cecilia Byset, or his cousin, probably the latter, as the husband of Cecilia Byset seems to have died before 1315.

[1] Registrum Moraviense, p. 136.

The Fentons therefore were specially interested from their alliance with the Bysets. So also were the de Ards, but Cristin de le Ard is said to have been a comrade of Patrick Graham's father in 1296.[1] Alexander Corbet and Alan de Lascelles, two of the witnesses, are identical in name with two fellow-prisoners of Sir Patrick Graham's father, taken with him in the castle of Dunbar, and liberated on his security. They are named in the same list with John and Robert (Ralph) le Grant as engaging to cross the sea with the English king, and the fact of their now being found in company with Sir Patrick Graham and John le Grant seems to prove what otherwise might have been doubtful, that the John le Grant, whose seal is here used, was the same John le Grant who was liberated in 1297.

The name of Alexander Corbet as a witness to Sir Patrick Graham's charter is further of interest, in that the earliest mention of the family of Corbet in the north of Scotland, like that of le Grant, is in connection with the Bysets. Archibald and Hugh Corbet witness a deed of arrangement in 1221 between Brice, Bishop of Moray, and John Byset, the founder of Beauly Priory. Hugh is also a witness to several other deeds of the same John Byset, in one case along with three members of the Byset family.[2] Thus in Sir Patrick Graham's charter three persons are named as in company, John le Grant, Alexander Corbet, and Alan Lascelles, comrades in arms, fellow-prisoners in 1296, and liberated together in 1297. They had also been fellow-soldiers of Sir Patrick Graham's father, and might on that account claim friendship with the son; but, besides that bond, two of them had another link of connection between their families and that of Graham,—the tie of a prior friendship with the house of Byset.

From all these circumstances it may be concluded that of the two le Grants on record as present at Dunbar in April 1296, John le Grant at least was connected with Morayshire, and he may therefore have been a son, or more probably a grandson, of Laurence le Grant, the Sheriff of Inverness-shire. Of Robert le Grant, nothing further has been ascertained than what has been stated. He and John le Grant doubtless fulfilled their engagement to go abroad, but the latter alone is proved to have returned to Scotland.

[1] History of the Priory of Beauly, pp. 74, 75, 81. [2] Registrum Moraviense, pp. 16, 60, 333.

John le Grant, the subject of this memoir, has the distinction of being the first of his name who is known to have possessed lands in Strathspey. In the romantic history of the family of Grant, already referred to, the Grants are said to have removed at an early period from Stratherrick to Strathspey, under the leadership of Sir Patrick Grant, Lord of Stratherrick. This, however, is mythical, as an early transcript of the charters of Inverallan, the first possession of the Grants in Strathspey, has been preserved, which clearly proves that these lands were first acquired by John le Grant about the same time that he affixed his seal to Sir Patrick Graham's charter.

On 18th October 1316, William of Federeth, younger, a son or grandson of that William of Federeth who, between 1262 and 1294, married Christian of Moravia, a co-heiress of Freskin of Moravia, last of the old Lords of Duffus, acting as superior of the lands of Inverallan, confirmed to John le Grant a charter of sale of these lands. The charter confirmed is undated, but must have been granted in 1316. By it John of Inverallan, son of Gilbert, brother of Augustine, Lord of Inverallan, and heir of his uncle through the decease of Gilbert, alienated to John le Grant his whole land of Inverallan, namely, three davachs of land in all, to be held of the king for forensic service.[1] John le Grant was then infeft in the lands, in which he was succeeded by his son Patrick, as will be shown in the next memoir.

The time at which John le Grant became lord of lands in Strathspey was a period of transition in the history of Moray. King Robert Bruce had secured the independence of the kingdom of Scotland by the victory at Bannockburn. From the first moment of his determination to achieve the liberty of his country, Bruce had waged a deadly feud against the Comyns. Not only, while engaged in his earlier struggles against the English, did he ravage the lands of the Comyns in Galloway, Badenoch, and Buchan, but now, when firmly seated on the throne, he bestowed their territories on his faithful followers. The wide territory of the Earldom of Moray, from the Spey on the east to Glenelg on the west,[2] including Lochaber, Badenoch, and Glencarnie, was bestowed, about the year 1315, upon Thomas Randolph,

[1] Ancient Transcript of Inverallan Charters at Castle Grant; vol. iii. of this work, pp. 257, 258.
[2] Registrum Moraviense, p. 342.

the king's nephew, who became feudal superior of all the smaller barons who had held under the Morays, the Bysets, or the Comyns. It may have been in consequence of this change of overlord that the Augustines, who had been Lords of Inverallan from before 1250, effected the transfer, in 1316, of their lands to John le Grant, who thus became the first of the Grants in Strathspey.

Whether this charter of Inverallan be later in date than the charter of Sir Patrick Graham, cannot readily be ascertained, but the probability is that Sir Patrick Graham's charter was the most recent, though not later than 1325.[1] If so, then it seems to be the latest authentic record of John le Grant, first of Inverallan. A John Grant is stated by an English historian to have been present with Sir Patrick Graham and other "nobiles milites" in the Earl of Moray's division of the Scottish army at Halidon Hill in 1333. At first it appears as if this were John le Grant of Inverallan, who, as a baron of Moray, would naturally follow the standard of his overlord the Earl of Moray, and that he had been made a knight. Probable as this supposition may appear, however, the precise terms of a charter by King Robert the Second in 1371, fully narrated in a subsequent memoir, forbid such a conclusion, and indicate that the John Grant of 1333 is to be identified not with John le Grant of Inverallan, but with another member of the family. The probabilities are indeed very equally balanced, but the evidence and the conclusions to be drawn therefrom will be further discussed in a later memoir.

In former pedigrees of the Grant family, three John Grants are made to follow each other at this period. John Grant who fought at Halidon in 1333 has been assumed to be a son of John Grant who was taken prisoner at Dunbar in 1296, and father of John Grant who in 1346 was appointed custodier of the castle of Tarnaway, and was prominent between 1357 and 1368. Comparison of dates and other circumstances, however, lead to the conclusion indicated in this memoir, that the John Grant of 1297 is identical with John le Grant the first of Inverallan, who survived till about 1325, while a second John le Grant appears at a later date. There were thus only two John Grants in succession.

[1] History of the Priory of Beauly, p. 78. Thomas, Bishop of Ross, one of the witnesses, died in 1325.

Some difficulty arises in regard to the posterity of John le Grant of Inverallan. According to one version of the traditional Grant pedigree, Sir John le Grant of 1297 is said to have married Bigla Comyn of Glencarnie, and to have had three sons, Sir John (of 1333), Sir Alan, and Thomas, an ecclesiastic. No authority for this statement can be found, and the marriage with Bigla of Glencarnie belongs to a later date. Who was the wife of John le Grant of Inverallan has not been ascertained, and there is authentic evidence only for one son, Patrick le Grant, Lord of Strath-errick and Inverallan, the subject of the next memoir.

But though the evidence as to John le Grant's posterity is thus imperfect, yet, for reasons which appear in a later chapter, Sir John le Grant, the custodier of Darnaway in 1346, has been in this work admitted to a place in the Grant pedigree. There is good ground for believing him to be a relative, if not a son, of John le Grant of Inverallan.

As to other Grants named at this period, and who may have been members of the same family with the subject of this memoir, there is first Alan Grant, of whom nothing further is known than that he was in the Earl of Moray's division at Halidon, and therefore probably holding land of the Earl. It is only, however, from English historians that this information is obtained, and they may have made a mistake. No Alan Grant appears on record, but an *Andrew* le Grant is named along with the Fentons and others in Sir Patrick Graham's charter, already referred to. He and Sir Patrick Graham are again named together as witnesses to the charter conveying Inverallan to John le Grant in 1316.[1] He must therefore have been a person of some note. In the charter of Inverallan also a name occurs, afterwards allied with the Grants, Alexander Pylche, burgess of Inverness. Andrew le Grant himself was connected with that burgh, as appears from the accounts rendered to Exchequer on the 30th November 1331 and 8th March 1333 respectively, by the Provost of Inverness.[2] A question arose as to a sum of 15s., the rent of four lands in the said burgh belonging to Andrew le Grant, and it was decided that he was due nothing to the king from them. As the date of these accounts precedes the battle of Halidon

[1] Transcript of Inverallan Charters; vol. iii. of this work, p. 258.

[2] Exchequer Rolls, vol. i. pp. 354, 417.

by a few weeks, and after that event no mention is found of Andrew le Grant, it is not improbable that he is identical with the Alan Grant of the English historians. If so, his being in company with John le Grant of Inverallan on various important occasions suggests a connection between them. They may, as is traditionally alleged, have been brothers.

Another person who may have been a member of the family is Maurice Grant. He is first named as acting on behalf of the Provosts of Inverness in rendering their accounts to Exchequer, at Berwick, on 16th March 1331, and at Scone, 8th March 1333. He also rendered the account for the regality of the Earl of Moray within the sheriffdom of Inverness, at Aberdeen, on 30th December 1337. In 1340, if not for some time before that date, he filled the important office of Sheriff of Inverness,[1] a post similar to that held by Sir Laurence le Grant. No further trace of this Maurice Grant can be discovered after 1340, and no proof of any relationship to John le Grant of Inverallan can be established. From this date onward, however, as will be shown in later chapters, the name of Grant became prominent in Inverness, though it cannot be proved that the Grants of Inverness had a right to claim kindred with the family of Inverallan.

A Thomas le Grant, who is inserted in pedigrees of the Grants as a son of John le Grant, also appears at this time. All that is known of him is that in 1333 he was one of an assize held at the Hospital Hall of Aberdeen upon a recognition of the possession by Reginald of Rane of certain lands in the shire of Aberdeen.[2] This Thomas le Grant is claimed as the ancestor of the Grants of Normandy, through two sons ascribed to him, Thomas and William, who are said to have passed over to that country in 1359.[3]

[1] Exchequer Rolls, vol. i. pp. 310, 417, 440, 465.
[2] Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis, vol. i. p. 53.
[3] Memoires de la Maison de Grant, par Charles Grant, Vicomte de Vaux, 1796.

III. 1.—PATRICK LE GRANT, Lord of Stratherrick and Inverallan.

1345–1362.

The subject of this memoir, who, according to authentic record, succeeded Sir John le Grant in possession of Inverallan, has hitherto in former pedigrees of the Grants either been altogether ignored, or his biography has been misstated.[1] Very little is known of Patrick le Grant's history, but that little is important. It is derived chiefly from charter evidence, which proves clearly, on the one hand, that he was son of, or at least directly descended from Sir John le Grant of Inverallan, and, on the other hand, that he was in actual possession of Stratherrick. In a charter dated between 1357 and 1362, Patrick le Grant, as Lord of Stratherrick, conveyed to his son-in-law part of the lands of Inverallan.[2] The details of the document will be treated of presently; its bearings on the subject of Stratherrick only need be considered now.

This charter is the first authoritative proof that the Grants possessed Stratherrick, no other document in which the territory is named having been found of any date between the charter to Walter Byset already referred to and this charter by Patrick le Grant. This dearth of documents concerning Stratherrick is accounted for by their destruction in the time of the troubles with the Islesmen, to which reference has already been made in the Introduction. But not even in the Register of the Bishopric of Moray is any reference made to Stratherrick, except a casual allusion to the king's dues from that district. That Walter Byset had a charter of the territory at an early period is undoubted, but no document records when the Grants acquired possession. The sole proof of their being lords of the territory rests upon this one charter; and one of two conclusions seems inevitable, either that Patrick le Grant obtained the

[1] Shaw's Moray, pp. 25, 26.

[2] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 10.

land and was the first of his family there, or that tradition is correct, and Stratherrick was the earliest home of the Grants in the north, and was inherited peacefully from father to son from Sir Laurence le Grant downwards, thus leaving no record of its transference. The latter is the more likely; and if Sir Laurence le Grant is not found to be designated Lord of Stratherrick, it is doubtless because that designation was eclipsed by the higher title of his important position as Sheriff of Inverness.

The history of Patrick le Grant, apart from this important charter, may be told in brief space. He appears on record for the first time about the year 1345, as a witness to a charter by John Randolph, third Earl of Moray, bestowing upon Sir Robert of Chisholm certain lands in Urquhart, Lochletter, etc. The place at which the charter was granted is not stated, but among the witnesses are the Bishops of Dunkeld, Moray, and Ross; William Wiseman, Reginald le Chen, and James of Kerdale, knights; the Earl's Chancellor; Simon Fraser, William of Kerdale, and others.[1] All these barons held lands within the earldom of Moray, and owed military service to the Earl, as did Patrick le Grant by the tenure of his lands of Inverallan and Stratherrick, which were also territorially comprehended in the earldom of Moray.[2]

The next notice of Patrick le Grant is in the charter of Inverallan, already referred to. The date of this charter is fixed as between 1351 and 1362, because Alexander, Bishop of Ross, one of the witnesses, was promoted to that see in March 1351, and Robert, Prior of Beauly, another witness, ceased to be prior before 1362. By that charter Patrick le Grant bestowed upon his son-in-law William, called Pylche, burgess of Inverness, that whole davoch of land of Kyldreke (Dreggie), and the half davoch of Glenbeg, with the pertinents, lying within the granter's lands of Inverallan. These lands were to be held by William Pylche and his spouse Elizabeth, the daughter of Patrick le Grant, and their heirs, as freely as Patrick's predecessor held them of the king, or he himself had held them of Thomas Earl of Moray and his heirs; and failing heirs of William and Elizabeth the lands were to return to Patrick le Grant and his heirs. William

[1] The Familie of Innes, pp. 59, 60.

[2] Chamberlain Rolls, quoted in the Thanes of Cawdor, p. 24.

Pylche was to render "forensic service" to the king, so far as pertained to Kildreke and Glenbeg, in accordance with the terms of the charter of infeftment of Inverallan, granted to Patrick le Grant's father.[1] This last clause is conclusive proof that Patrick le Grant was the son of Sir John Grant of Inverallan, as the above tenure is precisely stated in Sir John le Grant's charter of infeftment in 1316.

Nothing more is known, from authentic sources, regarding Patrick le Grant. Tradition, however, supplies the lack with various incidents, one of which is of a romantic character; but, as may be expected, dates and statements are not consistent. One tradition, which may be correct, asserts that Patrick le Grant married a daughter of Wiseman of Mulben; another asserts that Patrick, about 1400, married the famous Bigla Comyn; and a third attributes to Patrick le Grant a remoter antiquity, and states that he sold his lands of Stratherrick to his brother-in-law, Lord Lovat, and with sixteen followers came to Strathspey about the year 1250. All these stories have clustered round the name of Patrick le Grant, Lord of Stratherrick, but, as will be shown, they are the mythical embellishment of one or two facts which happened at a much more recent date. The Grant traditions also relate that after the final settlement of Patrick and his friends in Strathspey, while he was on a visit to the Baron of Kincardine, he was attacked by a party of Cummings,[2] surrounded by numbers and put to death. The Grants pursued the murderers, who took refuge in the church of Kincardine. This brought the Grants to a stand, as their minds were divided betwixt the desire of revenge and the fear of shedding blood within a sanctuary; but one of their number eased his conscience as to bloodshed, and also satisfied his revenge, by shooting a blazing arrow at the heather-thatched roof of the church. It immediately caught fire, and the church and the Cummings were burnt together, save one man of great stature, who escaped by fleetness of foot, but was overtaken, and lost his head with the blow of a two-edged sword, "which sword," adds the chronicler, "to this day lies in the representative of Clan Cheran's house."[3]

[1] Vol iii. of this work, p. 10.

[2] The name Comyn or Cumin, after this date, appears more frequently in its modern form Cumming.

[3] Mr. Chapman's Account of the Grants, print of 1876, p. 21.

It is possible the last story may be based on some real event, as more than one massacre of the same kind is recorded by tradition, but there is nothing to fix the date or to prove that Patrick le Grant met his death at the hands of the Cummings, though tribal feuds were sufficiently common to warrant the possibility. The allegations of tradition as to the sale of Stratherrick to Lord Lovat, while evidently based on the fact that Stratherrick did pass into possession of the Frasers of Lovat, who added the arms of Grant to those of Fraser, are altogether erroneous as regards Patrick le Grant. In regard to his family also, tradition errs. It asserts that he left only one daughter and heiress, Marjory or Maud, that in spite of parental opposition, which was latterly overcome, she married an Andrew Stewart, Sheriff of Bute, who changed his name to Grant, and became ancestor of the Grants of Grant, and that afterwards they "lived quietly and comfortably together for many years." But this romantic little episode is disproved by the charter of Inverallan already quoted, and other authentic evidence regarding the descendants of Patrick le Grant of Stratherrick.

In these traditions there may be a certain amount of truth, which, however, bears the same proportion to pure legend as did Falstaff's bread to his gallon of sack. There was such a person as Andrew Grant in the preceding generation, and though the name of Patrick le Grant's only known daughter was Elizabeth, whose husband was William Pylche, yet it is true that Patrick le Grant's lordship of Stratherrick did pass away from the family through failure of male heirs. On 28th August 1419, Elizabeth le Grant, Lady of Stratherrick, gave to her son, James Mackintosh, the whole right which she had, or could claim, in the lands of Stratherrick. This gift was made with some solemnity at Kildrummy Castle, in Mar, in the presence of Robert, Bishop of Dunkeld, and Alexander (Stewart), Earl of Mar. The lady publicly declared that she had never, in times bygone, made any alienation of the lands other than she then proposed to make, and that the transaction might be more binding, she begged that the Bishop of Dunkeld would append his seal to the instrument narrating her disposition of the lands.[1]

There is no indication in the deed of concession as to the parentage of

[1] Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 15, 16.

Elizabeth le Grant, and at first sight it might appear probable that she was identical with Elizabeth le Grant, the wife of William Pylche, retaining her maiden name, and that James Mackintosh was the offspring of a second marriage. But a document, preserved in the Grant charter-chest and printed elsewhere, shows that she was the granddaughter of Patrick le Grant, and his nearest heir. On 29th September 1433, as granddaughter and nearer heir of the late Patrick le Grant, Lord of Stratherrick, she conveys to John Seres, her nearest heir, grandson descending in direct line (recta linea) from her, all her lands and possessions whatsoever, which she, at the time of granting, held by hereditary right, as well as all other lands and rents belonging to her, but not now in her possession; the lordship and freedom (libertatem) of the same, however, remaining as formerly with her during her life.[1]

No mention is here made of Stratherrick, which was then probably in the hands of Mackintosh or Fraser of Lovat; nor is any special reference made to Inverallan, though part of it was for a time in the hands of John Seres. But it seems clear from the document last quoted that Patrick le Grant must have left a son, whose only child and heiress was Elizabeth le Grant. The name of this son has not been positively ascertained, but it is not improbable that he was the Malcolm le Grant who appears among other barons of the neighbourhood, in a court held by Alexander Stewart, Earl of Buchan, the "Wolf of Badenoch," on 11th October 1380. On that occasion a dispute which had arisen between the Bishop of Moray and the Earl as to the holding of certain lands was finally adjusted, and the judgment of the Earl affecting the bishop's rights was ordered to be torn from the rolls of the Court, and given to a notary to be burned, which was done with much ceremony in a large fire kindled within the chamber. Among those who stood round that fire in the great chamber behind the hall in the castle of Ruthven, witnessing the destruction of the documents, were a number of clerics and barons, among the latter being Gilbert, Lord of Glencarnie, Andrew Fauconere, Hugh de Ros of Kilravoc, and Malcolm le Grant.[2]

Malcolm le Grant's name occurs also in an agreement between Thomas (Dunbar), Earl of Moray, and Alexander of the Isles, Lord of

[1] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 259.

[2] Registrum Moraviense, pp. 183-187.

Lochaber, made at Cawdor, in Nairn, on 25th September 1394. It was agreed that Alexander should have under his protection for seven years all lands, church lands and others, of the regality of Moray, except the lands of Hugh Fraser, Thomas de Chisholm, and Sir William of Fodrynham (the Sheriff of Inverness), and should adhere to the Earl against all persons save the king and certain others named. The Earl in return agreed to pay yearly 80 merks worth of land, namely, le Bonacht (Bona) for £20, the lands of Essy for £20, and 20 merks to be paid in money, until the Earl of Fife should decide as to the 20 merk land held by Malcolm le Grant, whether or not it belonged to the Earl of Moray.[1]

In a previous memoir, the probability of a feudal connection between the Comyns and the Grants was pointed out, and, admitting this, the fact that Malcolm le Grant was in attendance on the Lord of Badenoch in 1380, suggests that he was a successor or descendant of John le Grant, for whom John Comyn, elder, of Badenoch was surety in 1297.[2] Gilbert of Glencarnie is also an attendant on the Lord of Badenoch. Glencarnie was not a part of the lordship of Badenoch, but in 1338 the Earl of Ross granted to Malmoran of Glencarnie two davochs in Badenoch, Dalnavert, and Kinrara,[3] which rendered Malmoran and his heirs liable to the usual services to the Lords of Badenoch for the time. These considerations suggest that Gilbert, Lord of Glencarnie, and Malcolm le Grant were both in the audience-chamber of the Lord of Badenoch in the castle of Ruthven for the same reason—feudal service required of both. The fact therefore that Elizabeth le Grant, granddaughter of Patrick le Grant, in 1419 travelled to Kildrummy Castle to make her declaration before the Lord of Badenoch, as if he had an interest in the transfer of her lands, taken in connection with Malcolm le Grant's presence at Ruthven in 1380,

[1] Registrum Moraviense, p. 354.

[2] The lordship of Badenoch was bestowed by King Robert the Second upon his son, the "Wolf of Badenoch," in 1371, and should have reverted to the Crown on the Lord of Badenoch's death, without lawful issue, in 1394. But there is no evidence, in the Exchequer Rolls or elsewhere, of any such reversion, and Badenoch seems to have been retained in possession by the Wolf of Badenoch's eldest son, who became Earl of Mar. After the forfeiture of the Comyns, Badenoch formed a part of the earldom of Moray, conferred on Sir Thomas Randolph. In 1338, however, it was held by the Earl of Ross, and in 1372, while granting the earldom of Moray to John Dunbar, King Robert the Second specially excepted Lochaber and Badenoch. Alexander, Earl of Mar, and his father, were therefore the successors of the Comyns as Lords of Badenoch.

[3] Spalding Club Miscellany, vol. v. p. 125.

seems to suggest that Malcolm was the father of Elizabeth and son of Patrick le Grant. That she was the latter's granddaughter is conclusively proved.

It is possible, however, that the presence of Elizabeth le Grant at Kildrummy Castle was due to some cause peculiar to her husband's family. Who her husband was has not been clearly ascertained; that he was a Mackintosh is proved by the name of her son, but of what family is doubtful. Some light is thrown on the subject by a recent writer on the subject of the Mackintoshes, who, on the authority of MS. histories of that family, states that James Mackintosh of Rothiemurchus, son of the Shaw Mackintosh who led the Clan Chattan in the famous conflict on the North Inch of Perth in 1396, married "the daughter of Gregor Grant."[1] From the same source, it would appear that James Mackintosh fell at the battle of Harlaw in 1411, a few years before Elizabeth Grant's charter of 1419. There is no plain statement of the fact, but the lady of Stratherrick's independence of action, without the consent of a husband, seems to imply that she was a widow. There is no evidence of the existence of a Gregor Grant at the period in question, and as the tradition of the Mackintoshes points to a union between James Mackintosh and a lady named Grant at that period, it is not improbable that Elizabeth le Grant is the person referred to, and that she was the wife of James Mackintosh of Rothiemurchus. This probability is so far strengthened by the fact that Rothiemurchus and Inverallan were neighbouring properties. James Mackintosh of Rothiemurchus is said to have left two sons, Alexander, who succeeded to Rothiemurchus, and Adam, ancestor of the Tordarroch family. James is not mentioned, but he may have died young, and without issue; and as Stratherrick soon after passed into the Lovat family, this seems probable.

If Elizabeth le Grant was the wife of James Mackintosh of Rothiemurchus, which was within the bounds of Badenoch, she may have deemed it necessary, although the Bishop of Moray was superior of the lands, to make her declaration before the titular Lord of Badenoch, who probably held Rothiemurchus in feu-farm, in terms of a charter granted to his father in 1383.[2] But the Lady of Stratherrick does not present herself before

[1] The Mackintoshes and Clan Chattan, by A. M. Shaw, p. 549. [2] Registrum Moraviense, pp. 189-191.

the Earl of Mar as if he were *her* overlord. She does not in any way resign her lands into the Earl's hands, as if he were her feudal superior. She simply makes a declaration in his presence that she had bestowed her own lands upon her son James Mackintosh. If the latter were a scion of the Rothiemurchus family, he would, for the reason stated, be liable to the jurisdiction of the Lord of Badenoch, and hence his mother's declaration, which also was doubtless meant to insure the validity of the transaction, by showing that it was done on her part without compulsion.

After 1419 Stratherrick passed away from the Grants, and was never again possessed by them. In the year 1456, the territory is known to have been in possession of Thomas Fraser of Lovat, but there is evidence of an earlier occupation by his family. Hugh Fraser, Lord of Lovat, entered into a contract with Thomas Dunbar, Earl of Moray, for the marriage of his son and heir (the above-named Thomas Fraser) to a daughter of the Earl. The latter, on his part, conveyed to the Lord of Lovat the barony of Abertarff and other subjects.[1] Abertarff, as well as Stratherrick, had belonged to the Bysets, William Byset in 1231 being patron of the parish church of Abertarff.[2] At a later date Abertarff included Stratherrick, as the modern parish of Boleskine and Abertarff now does. It seems probable that the *dominium utile* of Abertarff had belonged to the Laird of Lovat previous to 1422, as the Earl of Moray's grant refers to a previous charter. After that date, however, in 1431, Hugh Fraser of Lovat is found using a seal in which the three crowns of Grant are quartered with the three rosettes or cinquefoils of Fraser. From this fact, taken in connection with Elizabeth le Grant's charter of 1419, it may be concluded that between 1419 and 1431, Stratherrick had been acquired by Hugh Fraser, though whether these lands were comprehended in the charter of Abertarff by the Earl of Moray in 1422, cannot be conclusively ascertained. From that time Stratherrick came to be known as the country of the Frasers.

The other lands known to have belonged to Patrick le Grant, Lord of Stratherrick, namely, those of Inverallan, in Strathspey, appear to have been the first possessions of the Grants in that district, and, as has

[1] Contract, dated 9th August 1422, printed in History of Priory of Beauly, p. 305. [2] *Ibid.* pp. 33-38.

been shown, were sold by John of Inverallan, the heir of the Augustines, to John le Grant in 1316. They were inherited by Patrick le Grant, and were in part conveyed by him to his son-in-law, William Pylche, on the marriage of the latter with Elizabeth le Grant. The lands given to Pylche were the davach lands of Kildreke (Dreggie) and the half davach lands of Glenbeg; but these seem to have been only the half of Inverallan, as in the charter to John le Grant in 1316 it is described as containing three davachs.[1]

William le Pylche, the husband of Elizabeth le Grant, belonged to one of the principal families in the town of Inverness. In 1263, Patrick Pylche was one of the jury on an inquest made as to the age of Patrick of Blantyre, and his succession to his father Stephen.[2] In 1328, Alexander Pylche was Sheriff of Inverness, and in 1342 he was provost of that burgh,[3] while in 1327 and 1330, Alan Pylche (perhaps Alexander's father) also was provost of Inverness.[4] William Pylche, the husband of Elizabeth le Grant, was probably the son of Alexander Pylche, and seems to have been made a knight. In 1361 he is mentioned as proprietor of lands in Inverness.[5] In 1376 he is styled Sir William Pylche, knight, and is also a proprietor in Inverness, in which capacity he appears in a charter by King Robert the Second, dated 20th March 1379.[6]

What family was born to William Pylche and Elizabeth le Grant does not appear. In 1482, on 20th May, the lands of Inverallan, including Gaich, Glenbeg, Craggan, and Dreggie, were resigned by Elizabeth and Marjory Pylche, then both in their widowhood, into the hands of the Crown, for new infeftment, to be granted to Alexander Hay of Mayne, under reservation of the granters' liferent interest in the subjects.[7] Elizabeth and Marjory Pylche also at the same time resigned in favour of Hay their lands of Culcabock, Knockintinnel, and the Haugh, near Inverness. This last grant makes it probable that they were the daughters of William Pylche, Lord of Culcabock, who is mentioned in a document con-

[1] Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 257, 258.
[2] Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. i. p. 102.
[3] Exchequer Rolls, vol. i. pp. 103, 478.
[4] Exchequer Rolls, vol. i. pp. 59, 261.
[5] Registrum Moraviense, p. 306.
[6] Charters quoted in "Invernessiana," pp. 63, 79.
[7] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 33.

firmed by the Bishop of Moray in 1508. His widow, Elizabeth Pylche, granted before 1455 certain lands in Inverness to the altar of St. Michael there.[1]

Elizabeth and Marjory Pylche were certainly the daughters of William Pylche, Lord of Inverallan, who must have died before 1427, as they were infeft as his heirs in the lands of Inverallan and others by the command of Thomas Dunbar, Earl of Moray, who deceased about that date.[2] In 1453, Archibald Douglas, Earl of Moray, directed Duncan le Grant of Freuchie to give sasine to John le Hay of Mayne of the half town (vill) of Inverariane (Inverallan), the half town of Glenbeg, and the half town of Dreggie, which had been resigned by Elizabeth Pylche, then deceased.[3] As Elizabeth Pylche, the daughter of William Pylche of Inverallan, was alive in 1482, it is probable that the Elizabeth who was dead before 1453, was the Elizabeth Pylche above referred to as widow of William Pylche of Culcabock. That the latter had also two or more daughters, seems proved by a statement that "in 1458 a deed is granted by a lady styling herself Elizabeth Pylche, daughter, and one of the heiresses of William Pylche, *dominus de Culcabock.*"[4]

These facts point to the conclusion that William Pylche, Lord of Culcabock, and William Pylche, Lord of Inverallan, were one and the same. That he was a descendant, probably a son, of William Pylche and Elizabeth le Grant seems also proved from his possession of the lands of Inverallan. These lands were, as already stated, resigned by Elizabeth and Marjory Pylche in favour of Alexander Hay of Mayne, who received a Crown charter to himself and his heirs, dated 25th October 1482.[5] The history of the lands is given in the Introduction.

[1] Invernessiana, pp. 186, 188.
[2] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 20.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 22.
[4] Invernessiana, p. 47.
[5] Original Charter at Castle Grant.

III.—2. SIR JOHN LE GRANT, Knight, Castellan of Darnaway. ELIZABETH his wife.

1333–*c.* 1370.

The subject of this memoir is accepted as a member of the Family of Grant in all hitherto published pedigrees, and it seems probable that from him is descended the present Chief of the Grants. But though he was a man of considerable activity in his day, and one who appears frequently on record, his parentage is uncertain, and it can at the most only be surmised that he was nearly related to the Grants of Stratherrick and Inverallan; while, having regard to the limited number of persons of the name of Grant then in the north, it is possible that tradition may be correct. From the authentic testimony already given, it will be evident that Stratherrick and Inverallan both passed from the Grants through the failure of male heirs, and the probability is that neither John le Grant nor his children could succeed to Patrick le Grant, Lord of Stratherrick, in preference to the heirs-female of Patrick. This, however, in the absence of complete proof, cannot be asserted, for, as already stated, the direct line of the Grant descent cannot at this period be traced with accuracy.

In the hitherto received pedigrees of the Grant family, Sir John le Grant is usually alleged to be the eldest son of the John le Grant, who, as has been shown, was the first Grant of Inverallan; but this is disproved by the facts narrated in the preceding memoir as to Patrick le Grant of Stratherrick, and no proof has been found of a filial relationship betwixt the two John le Grants. It is possible that the younger John le Grant *may* have been a son of the elder, but no evidence of the fact is known to exist. In these circumstances the family historian can only sum up the evidence which has been discovered bearing upon this Grant knight, and assign to him such a place in the family pedigree as he is supposed to have held according to the most probable import of the evidence.

That such uncertainty should exist as to the true descent of an

ancient family at so remote a period is not surprising. In this case the elder, or at least more prominent line, failed of male heirs at an early date, while the cadets of the name of Grant bestirred themselves so actively in public life as not to possess, or at least not to be known by any territorial designation. Add to this the fact, already well known, that the Records of Scotland, which might have given valuable information, are at that period sadly deficient, and the marvel then is, not that so much is uncertain, but that so much should be known regarding a family who have usually preferred to dwell among their own people.

One link which may tend to connect the subject of this memoir with John le Grant of Inverallan consists in the fact that the first appearance of the younger John le Grant is in the train of the Earl of Moray, who was overlord of Inverallan. As already indicated in a previous memoir, there is evidence on the testimony of English historians that a John and Alan (or Andrew) Grant were present in the Earl of Moray's division of the army at the battle of Halidon, on 14th July 1333. That Earl of Moray was John, the second son of the famous Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray, the nephew and comrade of King Robert Bruce. The first Earl of Moray died at Musselburgh on 20th July 1332, and was succeeded by his elder son Thomas, who was killed at Dupplin on 12th August in the same year. He was succeeded by his brother John, who thus became third Earl of Moray, in whose train at Halidon were John and Alan Grant.

After the battle of Halidon, John, Earl of Moray, escaped to France, where he remained for a year, and then returned to Scotland. In 1335 he was taken captive and conveyed to England, but obtained his liberty in 1342. By that time Scotland had become more tranquil, and was recovering from the disorders which followed the defeat at Halidon Hill, while King David the Second had returned from his sojourn in France. The Earl of Moray, therefore, being less required in the public service, had more leisure to attend to his own affairs, and was in the north for some time between 1342 and the month of October 1346. At the latter date he again followed King David into England, and fell at the battle of Durham. During his stay in the north the Earl granted to Robert of Chisholm the charter already referred to in a previous memoir, to which

Patrick le Grant was a witness; and on 1st April 1346, he bestowed upon his "beloved and faithful John le Graunt and his heirs," the whole land of Dovely (the valley of the Divie, or Dunphail), together with the custody of the tower and manor place of Darnaway. To these was added the keepership of the Earl's whole forest beyond the park, to be held by John le Grant and his heirs, of the Earl and his heirs, in perpetuity.[1]

This charter helps to a solution of the question as to whether it was the elder or the younger John Grant who was present at Halidon. Further evidence on the point is obtained from a charter by King Robert the Second, dated 10th November 1371, bestowing upon Thomas le Grant the lands of Dollynduff and Dovely (Dounduff and Dunphail), with the offices of forester of the royal park and custodier of the manor of Darnaway (then in the hands of the Crown), and other privileges. The king's charter narrates that these lands and others were conferred for the faithful and praiseworthy service of the late John le Grant, father of Thomas le Grant, formerly rendered, carefully and faithfully, to Thomas Randolph, Earl of Moray, and Thomas and John Randolph, his sons, Earls of Moray, and also for the faithful and careful labours which the same deceased John le Grant manfully and stoutly undertook in the defence of the kingdom, both within and without the realm, in the time of Robert (Bruce) and David, grandfather and uncle of the King. For these reasons, and also for his own services, the charter is given to Thomas le Grant of the subjects in question, which had formerly been his, but had been held by Richard Comyn on a gift from the late king [of date 6th January 1369].[2] This gift had caused disputes betwixt Comyn and Grant; but these having been amicably arranged, and a formal resignation made in the king's hands, he bestowed the lands on Thomas le Grant.[3]

This narrative is very important, as indicating that it was the subject of the present memoir, and not John le Grant of Inverallan, who was present under the Earl of Moray's banner at Halidon. This charter leaves no room for doubt that the John le Grant who is there spoken of was the same who received, in 1346, the office of keeper of

[1] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 8. [2] Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. i. p. 60.
[3] Registrum Moraviense, pp. 473, 474.

Darnaway Castle, as the trustworthy follower not only of John, Earl of Moray, who bestowed that office, but of the first Earl of Moray, who died in 1332, and that his services extended back to the days of King Robert the Bruce. John, Earl of Moray, having been so long a prisoner in England, had no means of showing the value he set upon John le Grant's services, but that the charter of 1346 was intended as a reward to the Earl's "beloved and faithful" follower can scarcely be doubted. That the charter of 1371 traces back John le Grant's services to a date antecedent to the battle of Halidon Hill, renders it most probable that the John Grant who is named as present in that engagement, and the newly appointed custodier of Darnaway, were the same person; while the statement that his services to the Earls of Moray were followed by labours within and without the kingdom during the reign of King David the Second, militates against any probability that the custodier of Darnaway might be identical with John le Grant of Inverallan.

On the other hand, though no filial relationship between John le Grant of Inverallan and his namesake has been established, yet the younger John le Grant may readily be claimed as a collateral relative if not a direct descendant of the Laird of Inverallan. This statement might be assumed on the ground of mere probability, as the number of Grants in Moray was then so limited that they might all be considered as related to each other, but there is more substantial evidence. In the memoir of Sir Laurence le Grant, it has been shown that Sir Robert le Grant, who is named along with Sir Laurence in 1258, received, about the same date, a charter from John Prat, knight, of the lands of Cloumanach. The same John Prat then, or a few years later, bestowed upon his sister Marjory and her husband Gilbert of Glencarnie, younger, the lands of Daltely, in Moray.[1] Cloumanach has been identified with Coulmony on the Findhorn, while Daltely or Daltulich adjoins it on the north, lying between it and the lands of Dounduff.

John Prat narrates in his charter that the lands of Cloumanach or Coulmony had been in dispute between his father and Robert le Grant. The date of John Prat's charter is somewhat doubtful, but a William Prat

[1] Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 5, 6.

appears in a charter of John Byset's so early as 1226,[1] and also as witness to a charter of King Alexander the Second in 1235.[2] He was apparently Sheriff of Nairn (Invernairn). If, therefore, he were the father of John Prat, the fact that Sir Robert le Grant had a contention with him about Coulmony, seems to imply that the Grants had been resident in Moray for some time before 1258. There is, however, a total want of evidence on the point, and if, as has been suggested, the Grants came from England with Walter Byset in 1249, they would, in 1258, have completed a ten years' residence in the north.

It is, however, a fact worthy of consideration that Coulmony, the first possession of the Grants in Moray, according to charter evidence, lies close to the lands given in 1346 to John le Grant. Doubtless the lands of Dovely and others were allotted to the castellan of Darnaway as his fee. This suggests that John le Grant may have been selected as castellan not only because of his services, but because of the near neighbourhood of his own lands, and that, though belonging to the family of Grant, he was descended not from Sir Laurence but from Sir Robert le Grant of Coulmony. If so, he would be a collateral relative of the Grants of Inverallan, but not sufficiently near to admit of his lawful male heirs succeeding to their estates in preference to females. At the same time, if he were Laird of Coulmony, he would be bound in military service to the Earl of Moray as overlord.

How long John le Grant enjoyed the office of castellan of Darnaway thus bestowed upon him, there is no evidence to show, as a few months afterwards the earldom of Moray and castle of Darnaway fell into the hands of the Crown by the death of the Earl, who was slain at the battle of Durham on 17th October 1346. King David the Second, on 6th January 1368-9, granted the same lands of Dovely[3] to one of his favourites, Richard Comyn, with the office of forester of the forest of Darnaway, but it would appear that they were out of the hands of John le Grant previous to that date.

[1] Registrum Moraviense, pp. 77, 78.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 126.

[3] Tradition relates that the fortalice of Dunphail was taken from the Comyns by Randolph, Earl of Moray, under circumstances of special barbarity.—[The Bruces and the Comyns, p. 443.] There is, however, no authentic evidence of its existence during his time, as it is not named in any charter of the lands around it.

There is no trace of John le Grant's history between the years 1346 and 1357, but he seems to have attached himself chiefly to the Earl of Mar, though there is also evidence of a connection with the family of Gordon, who had obtained the lands of Strathbogie, on the east side of the Spey, and at no great distance from Inverallan. At some period also between these dates, or it may have been before 1346, John Grant obtained a gift of a pension of £40,[1] but owing to the loss of the Exchequer Rolls, except a fragment, for that period, there is no evidence for how long a term the money was paid.

Before October 1357, John le Grant had the honour of knighthood conferred upon him. On the 24th of that month, as John le Grant, miles, he received a safe-conduct from King Edward the Third, for himself and three domestics, to endure until the following midsummer. The safe-conduct is said to be granted that the bearer may pass beyond seas, but the purpose of the journey is not stated.[2] It is not improbable, however, that it was made on behalf of or at the instance of Thomas, Earl of Mar, by whose precept a payment was made in the same year to Sir John le Grant of the sum of £13, 6s. 8d. The Earl of Mar was then Chamberlain of Scotland, and became responsible for that sum to the Sheriff of Banff, who had paid the money.[3] Sir John le Grant was certainly engaged in the service of the Earl of Mar about that time, as on 24th March 1358-9 he received another safe-conduct, authorising him to pass, with six horsemen of his train, from England to Scotland, there to further certain affairs of the Earl of Mar, and afterwards to return to England.

Some historians, notably Dr. Abercromby in his "Martial Atchievements of the Scots Nation," assert that Sir John le Grant was in 1359 appointed ambassador to France, along with Sir Robert Erskine and Norman Leslie, and that he was associated with them in the treaty signed in the new hall of the Palais Royal on 29th June 1359.[4] But there is a deficiency of proof for this assertion. In a French catalogue of treaties between France and Scotland, Sir Robert Erskine and Norman Leslie alone are named as the ambassadors,[5]

[1] Robertson's Index, p. 45.
[2] Rotuli Scotiæ, vol. i. p. 815.
[3] Exchequer Rolls, vol. i. p. 550.
[4] Dr. Abercromby's "Martial Atchievements," etc., edit. 1715, vol. ii. p. 124.
[5] Report on Fœdera, Appendix D, p. 126.

to them only are expenses paid by the Scotch Exchequer;[1] and Fordun names them only as appointed by the king of Scots.[2] Norman Leslie received a safe-conduct to pass through England to the Continent on 24th March 1359, while, as has been shown, Sir John le Grant was at that date on the eve of a journey to Scotland on the Earl of Mar's affairs. The balance of evidence is therefore against Sir John's taking any part in the embassy to France. It is probable that an event in the history of Robert Grant, the subject of the next memoir, who certainly was an ambassador to France, has been erroneously transferred to the traditional account of Sir John le Grant.

Between the years 1356 and 1362, Sir John le Grant was occasionally at Kildrummy with the Earl of Mar. This is proved by his appearing as a witness to charters by the Earl, one of which must have been executed between these dates, probably about 1357. It is a charter to John Cameron, conveying to him and Ellen de Montealto (or Mouat), his wife, in free marriage, certain lands in Strathdon.[3] Alexander, Bishop of Aberdeen, who was promoted to that see in 1356, is one of the witnesses.[4] The other charter conveys the lands of Auchtererne, in Cromar, to Ego Ferguson.[5] To the date of this charter there is no precise clue; but as both it and the one above quoted were granted at Kildrummy, they were probably executed before 1361, when that fortress fell into the hands of the Crown.[6]

It is interesting to note that among those who, along with Sir John le Grant, witnessed the two charters cited, there appears another northern knight, who, like Sir John, held lands in the earldom of Moray, and also, like him, was attached to the service of the Earl of Mar. This is proved by the very frequent occurrence of his name as witness to charters of the Earl of Mar, along with others who were local vassals of that nobleman.[7] This knight was Sir Laurence Gelybrand; and a farther interest attaches to him, as he then possessed certain lands which afterwards descended to the family of Grant.

[1] Exchequer Rolls, vol. ii. p. 50.

[2] Fordun, edit. 1872, vol. i. p. 378.

[3] Antiquities of Aberdeen and Banff, vol. iv. p. 158.

[4] Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis, vol. i. p. xxx.

[5] Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. i. p. 37.

[6] Fordun a Goodall, vol. ii. p. 365; Scalacronica, p. 202.

[7] Antiquities of Aberdeen and Banff, *passim* in Charters by Earl of Mar.

Sir Laurence Gelybrand died before 1367, as on 18th January in that year King David Second granted to Duncan Fraser and his wife Christian the lands, *inter alia*, of Brounmoldy, Mulben, and Ordichoys [Ordiquish], in the earldom of Moray, resigned in their favour by Christian's mother, Margaret Gelybrand, wife of the deceased Sir Laurence Gelybrand.[1] The lands of Brounmoldy (called also Burnemukty or Birmukty, now Barmuckity), were in 1434 inherited by Duncan le Grant from his mother, Matilda of Glencarnie;[2] and in 1493, John Grant, the grandson of Duncan, is said to be heritably possessed of Mulben, Ordiquish, and other lands in that neighbourhood which had belonged to the Glencarnie family, and which were conjoined with the lands of Freuchie, and erected into one barony, called the Barony of Freuchie.[3]

The history of these lands, as illustrated by documents in the Grant charter-chest, is interesting. Margaret Gelybrand resigned them, with others, in favour of her daughter Christian, and Duncan Fraser, the husband of Christian. How Margaret Gelybrand acquired right to the lands does not directly appear, but Christian Fraser, who is referred to as her daughter, is named in an earlier document as an heir of entail of the lands of Glencarnie. Gilbert of Glencarnie resigned his lands into the hands of King David the Second, and received a charter, dated 18th January 1362, of the lands of the barony of Glencarnie, with a destination to himself and the heirs-male of his body; whom failing, to Duncan Fraser and Christian his spouse, sister of Gilbert of Glencarnie, the longer liver of them two, and the heirs-male of their bodies; whom failing, to the heirs-of-line of Gilbert.[4]

On the evidence of this charter and the one quoted above, Margaret Gelybrand seems to have been the mother of Gilbert of Glencarnie, and must therefore have been the widow of a Lord of Glencarnie when she married Sir Laurence Gelybrand. The lands of Mulben and others were therefore probably her dower from the family of Glencarnie, her right to which she had resigned in favour of her daughter, who was already an heir of entail.

[1] Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. i. p. 58.
[2] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 18.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 41.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 12; Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. i. p. 24.

The inference that Margaret Gelybrand was the widow of a Lord of Glencarnie, and mother of the Gilbert above referred to, is strengthened by proof that Sir Laurence Gelybrand had improperly intromitted with the Glencarnie lands. A year or so before his death he had, in assertion no doubt of a claim through his wife, usurped a right over the marriage of Gilbert of Glencarnie, who apparently was a minor. In the exercise of this assumed right, Sir Laurence sold the value of it to Duncan of Athole. Robert, the son of Duncan, early in the year 1366, taking advantage of this transaction, and finding probably that his claim was disputed, made a raid upon and ravaged the lands of Glencarnie. Information of these violent proceedings was at once carried to the king, who issued letters of inhibition against the marauder, commanding him to cease from disturbing the lands in question; with a proviso that if he had any claim because of the marriage, either against Gilbert of Glencarnie or Sir Laurence Gelybrand, he should bring it before the king and his council for decision, "for," the letters add, "we specially reserve this cause for our own hearing." The letters of inhibition are dated at Elgin, the 20th of April [1367].[1]

It is not clear to what family Duncan Fraser, the husband of Christian of Glencarnie, belonged. In "The Frasers of Philorth" he is identified with Duncan Fraser of Tulifour, mentioned in 1414 as the father of Alexander Fraser who received a grant of land from his cousin, John Fraser dominus de Ardendracht.[2] In that work reference is made to the charter granted in 1367 on the resignation of Margaret Gelybrand, and it is said that Duncan Fraser, dominus of Tulifour, was the grantee. He is not so designed in the charter, nor yet in the entail of Glencarnie in 1362; and the fact that some, if not the whole, of the Morayshire lands granted to him in 1367, reverted to the family of Glencarnie, to which his wife belonged, suggests the inference that Duncan Fraser and his wife Christian had no issue, or, at least, no male issue.

As already stated, in 1361 the Earl of Mar's castle of Kildrummy fell into the hands of the Crown, the Earl having incurred the royal displeasure. In consequence of this the Earl of Mar left Scotland for a time, and Sir John

[1] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 13. [2] "The Frasers of Philorth," by Lord Saltoun, vol. ii. p. 133.

le Grant also seems to have gone to England, for the next reference to him on record is a safe-conduct from King Edward the Third, dated at Westminster, 5th December 1363. From this document may be inferred a connection of Sir John le Grant with the Gordons of Berwickshire and Strathbogie. In the writ King Edward declares that he has taken into his protection John le Grant of Scotland, knight, and his men and tenants of the town of Easter Gordon within "les Merskes" [the Merse] in Scotland. They are permitted to come within the king's "lordship in Scotland" and kingdom of England, with their goods and provisions, to abide and traffic with the same, and thence to return with their goods and chattels.[1]

Three days afterwards [8th December] there was granted a separate safe-conduct to Sir John le Grant and his wife Elizabeth, with ten persons, horsemen and footmen. The terms of the passport are not narrated in full, but it seems to have been a permit to enter England.[2]

There is no evidence to show in what way Sir John Grant came to possess these lands of Easter Gordon in Berwickshire, so far from Moray, in which he held an important office. In 1342 Patrick of Dunbar, Earl of March, confirmed to the monks of Melrose various portions of territory of which he was superior. Among those was a grant made by Adam of Gordon in his land of Easter Gordon, with pasturage there.[3] Adam of Gordon had from King Robert Bruce a charter of the lands of Strathbogie,[4] which were confirmed to his grandson, John of Gordon, by King David the Second, on 20th March 1358.[5] As Strathbogie lay contiguous to Strathspey and the territories of the Grants, Sir John le Grant may have been on such friendly terms with the new Lords of Strathbogie as to receive lands from them, which he probably held in liferent, as there is no evidence that they descended to his son.

In October 1366, Sir John le Grant received a safe-conduct to pass, with six horsemen, into England, and, if he so desired, to go beyond sea, the passport to last for one year. In May 1368, he was again in the train of the Earl of Mar, who, on the 23d of that month, was at Cavers, and

[1] Rotuli Scotiæ, vol. i. p. 877.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] Liber de Melros, vol. ii. pp. 395, 396.
[4] Robertson's Index, p. 2.
[5] Original Charter quoted in Douglas' Peerage, vol. i. p. 642.

affixed his seal to a charter by Thomas Baliol, resigning certain lands of the barony of Cavers to William, Earl of Douglas, which deed was executed in presence of Sir John le Grant, and others, chiefly vassals of the Douglases.[1]

This is the last appearance on record of Sir John le Grant. In King Robert the Second's charter of 10th December 1371, already referred to, John le Grant is mentioned as deceased, and his son Thomas receives his office of castellan of Darnaway. Sir John le Grant probably died between May 1368 and January 1369, when the lands of Dovely and the office of castellan were bestowed on Richard Comyn.

Of Sir John le Grant's son Thomas little is known, unless he be identical with the Thomas le Grant who, with other burgesses of Inverness, witnessed several charters there between 1361 and 1363. The first is a charter by Edua, one of the heiresses of Old Castle, near Inverness, granting two acres of land for the use of the altar of the holy cross in the parish church of Inverness, of date 4th March 1361. On 14th September 1362, Sir Robert de Chisholm granted to the same altar six acres of land near Inverness, and on 4th February 1363, Nicholas of Forays (Forres) sold one acre, also for the use of the altar in question.[2] The witnesses to these charters are nearly the same in each case,—John Scot, Thomas le Grant, Welland de Chisholm, John de Coule, and others, described as burgesses of Inverness.

A Thomas le Grant also, between the years 1361 and 1369, renders to Exchequer various accounts connected with the burghs of Inverness and Elgin. Thus, on 11th August 1362, the account of Thomas Byset, Thomas le Grant, and another, "custumars" of Inverness and Elgin, is rendered at Perth.[3] On 10th March 1367 and 17th January 1369, he and John Scot, as custumars of Inverness, render their accounts at Perth,[4] Thomas le Grant also acting on behalf of the bailies of Inverness, on 12th January 1367, and 18th January 1369.[5]

The last date corresponds in modern computation to January 1370. The royal charter to Thomas le Grant, appointing him castellan of Darn-

[1] Liber de Melros, vol. ii. pp. 435, 436.

[2] Charters quoted in "Invernessiana," pp. 58, 62, 64.

[3] Exchequer Rolls, vol. ii. p. 97.

[4] *Ibid.* pp. 269, 320.

[5] *Ibid.* pp. 278, 328, 338.

away, is dated 10th November 1371. The names of the custumars of Inverness rendering accounts to Exchequer in 1370-1 are not given, but the custumars for the year from February 1371-2 to February 1372-3 are Alexander Williamson and Thomas Byset for Inverness and Elgin.[1] Alexander Williamson and Alexander Bell act as custumars for Inverness down to 1379,[2] and no farther mention is made in the Exchequer Rolls of Thomas le Grant after January 1370. It is not improbable, therefore, that the custumar of Inverness between January 1370 and November 1371 became castellan of Darnaway, and ceased to act in the former capacity.

The probability that such was the case is strengthened not only by the coincidence of names and dates, but also by the fact formerly referred to, that in a preceding generation, and during the captivity of John Randolph, Earl of Moray, in England, Maurice Grant had already, in 1337, intromitted with the revenues of the regality. A few years previous he acted for the Provosts of the burgh of Inverness, and in 1340, or between 1334 and that date, he was Sheriff of the county.[3] It may be remembered also that William Pylche, the husband of Elizabeth le Grant, daughter of Patrick le Grant of Stratherrick, was a burgess of Inverness. He was knighted about 1370. One of his ancestors, Alexander Pylche, is described both as a burgess of Inverness and as Sheriff of the county.[4] These facts, with others which might be adduced, show that at that period many who possessed land in the burgh of Inverness and had burgess rights there, were also county magnates or closely related to such, and give good ground for the presumption that Thomas le Grant of Inverness and the castellan of Darnaway was the same person.

[1] Exchequer Rolls, vol. ii. p. 380.
[2] *Ibid.* pp. 408-615.
[3] Exchequer Rolls, vol. i. pp. 310, 417, 440, 465.
[4] "Invernessiana," pp. 46, 47.

IV.—ROBERT GRANT, the Ambassador.

1380–1394.

Hitherto in dealing with the memoirs of the earlier members of the family of Grant, their own muniments and the public records of the time have afforded more or less evidence for linking the various generations together. But at this point there is an utter dearth of authentic proof, an equal lack of evidence prevailing both as to the ancestry and as to the descendants of Robert Grant. Yet his name has been inserted in former pedigrees of the Grant family, showing that tradition at least claimed him as a cadet of the house, and the position commonly assigned to him is that of a son of Sir John Grant. As stated in the previous memoir, Sir John Grant had a son Thomas, who in 1371 received from King Robert the Second a charter of the lands of Dovely and the custody of the king's castle of Darnaway, which had been in his father's hands, and for a time in possession of Richard Comyn.[1] Robert Grant may have been a younger brother of this Thomas Grant.

But, whatever his parentage, Robert Grant took an active part in public affairs, and became prominent in the service of his country. He is first mentioned in record as the recipient of a safe-conduct from King Edward the Third of England, dated 11th February 1380, giving him permission to come into and pass through England, with one companion and an attendant.[2] Robert Grant himself is designed simply as an "armiger" or esquire, and does not appear ever to have been knighted. The word "armiger," however, not only identifies this Robert Grant as the same who was afterwards an Ambassador to France, but also distinguishes him from another Robert Grant, who, about the same date, received a safe-conduct permitting him, as a merchant, to trade in England.

At this period, though there was no open war between Scotland and

[1] Registrum Moraviense, p. 473; Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. i. p. 60.
[2] Rotuli Scotiæ, vol. ii. p. 20.

England, but, on the contrary, a truce between the two countries, which each had bound itself to respect, there existed on the Borders a constant succession of petty hostilities, which for many years harassed both nations. "These hostilities are to be regarded," writes a recent historian, "as the outbreakings of the spirit of national rivalry engendered by a long war, and the effects of that love of chivalrous adventure which was then at its height in Europe."[1] This remark is just, and the following incident is corroborative of the passion for chivalry here referred to. A special letter, issued by the English king and Council on 18th October 1380, directs John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, called also, in right of his wife, King of Castile and Leon, the English King's Lieutenant on the Marches, to fix a day for a chivalric contest, to be engaged in at Liliot or Liliattecross, a favourite meeting-place on the Borders. As Robert Grant was one of the heroes in the proposed duel, the document narrating the preliminaries is here given in a translation :—

"The King to all and singular, Dukes, Earls, Wardens of the Marches of our kingdom of England adjoining the Marches of Scotland, constables, castellans, etc., greeting: Know ye that forasmuch as a certain duel is to be waged and begun at Liliattecrosse on Monday, the morrow after St. Martin's day next to come, between our beloved Thomas de l' Strother, Englishman, and Robert Grant, a Scot, and that as our beloved and faithful cousin Henry of Percy, Earl of Northumberland, has testified by his letters in our Chancellary, the said parties are bound and obliged by great sums of money to procure each for the other letters of safe-conduct, namely, the said Thomas to procure our letters of safe-conduct for his adversary, and the said Robert to obtain for his opponent, from Robert our cousin of Scotland, letters of safe-conduct for coming, day and place foresaid, there abiding and thence returning; we for the above cause have taken Robert [Grant] himself, and any other Scots of whatever rank they may be, armed or unarmed, coming to the day and place foresaid for the above purpose, there abiding and thence returning to their own country, under our special protection and defence, and into our safe and sure conduct: And therefore we command you that upon the same Robert [Grant] or other Scots coming, etc., their persons or goods, ye neither inflict nor, so far as in you lies, permit others to inflict injury, hurt, damage, violence, or grievance; and if any forfeit or injury be done to them, or any of them, ye shall without delay cause it to be amended to them and duly reformed. . . . To endure from a day to be fixed and assigned thereupon on our part by our dearest uncle John King of Castile and Leon, Duke of Lancaster, to the sun rising on the morrow of the day of the duel."[2]

The Manuscript History of the Grants relates that Robert Grant

[1] Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 336.

[2] Rotuli Scotiæ, vol. ii. p. 29.

"fought and vanquished an English champion of undaunted courage and great strength of body, in the beginning of the reign of King Robert II.," and so far the family tradition in this instance is borne out by the document quoted, but as to the sequel of the duel there is no information. In the following February, however, there is a protection extended by the English King to "Robert le Graunt of Scotland," permitting him to pass into England to speak and treat with the King's treasurer, Robert of Hales, prior in England of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, regarding certain affairs of the Hospital, and, though there is no distinct evidence to connect the subject of this memoir with the Robert le Grant named in the protection, it is probable they were the same. This prior soon afterwards fell a victim to the rage of the populace, and their hatred against the Duke of Lancaster, to whose party he was attached.[1]

There is no record of Robert Grant's history between the years 1380 and 1385, but in the latter year he is named among the Scottish nobles and knights who received shares of the 40,000 francs of gold brought from France by John de Vienne, Admiral of France, to be paid to the King of Scotland and his barons.[2] It has been asserted that the proportion in which the French money was distributed amongst the Scottish nobles gives a pretty correct idea of the comparative consequence and power of the various members of the Scottish aristocracy.[3] If this be accepted as true, and the fact be considered that the money was shared among very few, only twenty-two Scots barons in all, and those chiefly of the highest rank, receiving any portion of the French gold, then the sum of 40 francs d'or, the share which fell to Robert Grant, though apparently small, will be enhanced in value. The Earl of Carrick received 5500 francs, the Earl of Fife and Menteith 3000, the Earl of Douglas 7500, the Earl of March 4000, Archibald Douglas, Lord of Galloway 5500, James of Lindsay 2000, and other barons various sums. The negotiators of the treaty on the Scotch side, Sir Thomas Erskine, Sir William Lindsay, and Sir William Cunninghame, received 500 francs each, and the Chancellor of Scotland received 600. The Earl of Moray, who received 1000 francs, and Robert

[1] On 14th June 1381. Walsingham, p. 263. [2] Fœdera, vol. vii. pp. 484, 485.
[3] Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 348.

Grant, were the only barons from the north who shared in the distribution; and the fact that the latter, who is described only as "escuier" or esquire, received the sum of 40 francs, implies either that he was a person of consideration, or that his talents had brought him into favourable notice.

The latter is the more probable supposition, and is further warranted by the fact that he was sent to France in 1389 as one of the Scots ambassadors to renew the ancient alliance of Scotland with France. This is shown by an entry in the Exchequer Rolls rendered on 14th February 1389 [1390], to the effect that Robert Grant was paid £6, 13s. 4d. as his extra expenses in his passage to France on the king's affairs.[1] His companions on this embassy were John [Peebles], Bishop of Dunkeld, Chancellor of Scotland, and John Ramorgny. As the result of their efforts, on the 18th June 1389, a truce was concluded between England, France, and their allies, to last until 16th August 1392,[2] which truce was afterwards ratified by the oaths of the English and Scottish sovereigns.[3]

In the years between 1389 and 1391, the relations between Scotland and France were drawn closer by frequent embassies from the former country, who also extended their missions to the Roman Court.[4] In 1391 Robert Grant accompanied the Bishop of St. Andrews (Walter Trail) on a special mission to the French Court, and for their expenses was paid the large sum of £468, 10s. 4d.[5] Wyntoun says that Bishop Trail was "a twelf moneth" in France,[6] and it is probable, from the amount of their expenses, that Robert Grant was with him during the same time. The dignity of their mission is shown by the fact that they were attended by a herald, and the importance of the result is shown in the solemn treaty signed by the French king, Charles the Sixth, on 30th March 1391, in presence of Mr. Duncan Petit, Archdeacon of Glasgow, and Robert Grant.[7] Wyntoun states that this treaty was under consideration at Amiens, where, he says, "a gret counsale haldyn wes of Frankis, Scottis, and Inglis men," and as the historian also implies that Bishop Trail was of their number, Robert Grant may have been with him there, and may have

[1] Exchequer Rolls, vol. iii. p. 701.
[2] Fœdera, vol. vii. p. 622.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 630.
[4] Exchequer Rolls, vol. iii. pp. 238, 290.
[5] Exchequer Rolls, vol. iii. pp. 248, 275.
[6] Wyntoun's Cronykil, B. ix. C. 13.
[7] Original Treaty in Register House, Edinburgh. Printed in Exchequer Rolls, vol. iii. pp. xcvii, *et seq.*

heard the sharp reply made to a boasting Englishman, by the Duke of Orleans, in defence of Scotland and its people.[1]

The treaty referred to, at the signing of which Archdeacon Petit and Robert Grant were present, was a highly important document, and, as they are described as "Maistre Donquen Petit et Robert Grant, escuier, embassateurs et messages" of the King of Scots, it is probable that their exertions, added to the friendly feeling towards the Scots already existing in France, greatly aided the happy conclusion of the league. It is true that no new clauses were added to the treaty concluded in 1371, between King Charles the Fifth of France and King Robert the Second of Scotland, but that treaty was embodied in and solemnly ratified in all points by the new agreement. The provisions of the league thus renewed probably conduced to the prolongation of the truce with England, which lasted till 1399, though the pacific characters of the monarchs of Scotland and England may also have contributed to the same result.

Robert Grant was not left unrewarded for his public services. In 1391 he received as a fee the sum of £20.[2] The Depute-Chamberlain of Scotland, in his account for the year 1392, credits himself with a payment made to Robert Grant, who was to receive £20 sterling annually for the time of his life, from the great customs of the burgh of Edinburgh, for his service done and to be done to the king, in France or elsewhere, which sum was duly paid. The same sum was paid during the year 1394 by way of pension,[3] after which Robert le Grant drops out of the ken of history, and no further information can be obtained regarding him.

[1] Wyntoun's Cronykil, B. ix. C. 13. [2] Exchequer Rolls, vol. iii. p. 275. [3] *Ibid.* pp. 312, 344.

V.—MATILDA of Glencarnie

AND

JOHN GRANT ROY, her reputed husband.

c. 1410–*c.* 1434.

The preceding memoirs labour throughout under the disadvantage of a dearth of materials on the early history of the family, but at this period the family muniments become sufficiently abundant to afford evidence regarding each of the Chiefs of Grant. In addition, however, to these contemporary historical documents there exist local traditions and legendary tales, which, to find place in an authentic chronicle must be sifted with careful scrutiny, and adopted or discarded, according as they stand the test of strict investigation.

It is at this period that the alliance of the Grants with the powerful family of Comyn, connecting together the two houses and putting an end to a long feud between them, is said to have taken place. The heiress of the Comyns is stated to have been the mother of Sir Duncan Grant, first of Freuchie, the subject of the next memoir. It is true that different dates have been assigned to this marriage, which, according to tradition, secured to the Grants their possessions in Strathspey. One account of the family states that Matilda or Bigla Comyn married John le Grant, who fought at Dunbar in 1296, and that with her he acquired the lands and baronies of Glencarnie, etc. It is usual to assert that these were the first possessions of the Grants in Strathspey. But it has been shown that though John le Grant was indeed the first of his name who obtained lands in Strathspey, these lands were not Glencarnie, but Inverallan. Neither did he acquire them from the Comyns by a romantic marriage with the heiress of that family, but from the Augustines, the old Lords of Inverallan, by the more prosaic method of purchase.

According to another account, the alliance in question was effected, "without consent of friends," between Patrick Grant and the daughter of the Lord of Glencarnie.[1] The same account further states that Patrick by his wife had only one daughter, Marjory, "whom he left heretrix of his fortune," and that she formed a clandestine union with an Andrew Stewart, Sheriff of Bute, who, on their marriage being openly acknowledged, changed his name to Grant. Their son, it is alleged, was also called Patrick. The traditional story of Andrew Stewart of Bute may have arisen from the desire of the family historian to exalt his chief to an alliance with royal blood. But the story of Patrick and his heiress Marjory is evidently an erroneous version of the history of Patrick Grant, Lord of Stratherrick, narrated in a previous memoir, whose male line failed, and he was represented by a granddaughter and heiress.

Another version of the alliance with the heiress of Glencarnie is given by Lachlan Shaw, who says that Patrick Grant, Lord of Stratherrick, negotiated a marriage for his son John with "Matilda, the heiress of Gilbert Cumming of Glenchernick," and that John Grant and Matilda had a son, Duncan, afterwards Sir Duncan Grant.[2] Although nearer the truth, the author of this statement entirely misdates the period at which Patrick Grant, the Lord of Stratherrick, lived, and he is also mistaken in regard to his succession.

There are other variations of the story of this alleged intermarriage between the Grants and the Comyns, but the above will suffice to show the inconsistencies of local tradition, and to illustrate the statement as to the obscurity added to the Grant history by such legends. Passing from these to the testimony of authentic records, there is proof indeed of an alliance between the Grants and a descendant of the ancient family of Glencarnie, but divested of the many romantic accessories assigned by tradition. In the muniments of the Grant family, the first mention of Matilda of Glencarnie, the reputed heiress, is found in a precept from the Chancery of King James the First, bearing date 31st January 1434. This document narrates that the deceased Matilda of Glencarnie, mother of Duncan le Grant, died last vested as of fee in the fifth part of the barony

[1] Mr. Chapman's Account of the Grants, print of 1876, p. 16.

[2] Shaw's Moray, p. 26.

of Rothes Wiseman, and Burnmukty [Barmuckity], the two Fochabers, a half of Surestown [Sheriffston], and an annualrent of two marks from the town of Thornhill, all in the sheriffdom of Elgin. In these lands and others the precept directs the Sheriff of Elgin to infeft Duncan le Grant as nearest and lawful heir of Matilda his mother.[1]

On 3d March 1469 another precept was issued by King James the Third, directing the Sheriffs of Inverness to infeft in the lands of Cunygais (Congash) Sir Duncan le Grant, knight, who had been duly retoured nearest and lawful heir to Gilbert of Glencarnie his grandfather. The retour itself, which is dated 7th February 1469, states that Gilbert of Glencarnie, grandfather of Sir Duncan Grant, had died about thirty years before, that is, about 1438.[2]

These documents furnish authentic proof that Matilda of Glencarnie was the mother of Sir Duncan Grant, and that her father was Gilbert of Glencarnie, who during his life may have divested himself of certain lands in favour of his daughter, unless she inherited the lands of Rothes and others through her mother. It is clear in any case that these lands were held by Matilda of Glencarnie in her own right, and were directly inherited by her son. Further, if, as stated in the retour of 1434, Matilda's son Duncan was at that date of "lawful age," this would fix the date of her marriage and probable independent possession of the lands as early as 1413, if not earlier. In passing it may be noted that Matilda of Glencarnie deceased at least four years before her father, Gilbert of Glencarnie,—a fact which corrects the statement that "after her father's death, about the year 1434, Bigla (of Glencarnie) married Sir John Grant."[3] This statement, however, it is right to add, is given as merely traditional, and not as authoritative, by the learned and accurate writer of the article in which it is quoted.

It will be observed that in the documents above referred to, Sir Duncan Grant's mother and grandfather are designed simply Matilda of Glencarnie and Gilbert of Glencarnie. There is no mention of them as

[1] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 18.
[2] *Ibid.* pp. 28, 29.
[3] Vacation Notes in Cromar and Strathspey, by Arthur Mitchell, M.D., V.P.S.A. Scot. Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, vol. x. p. 675.

Comyns, and the statement that they were so is purely traditional and legendary. The compiler of the Statistical Account of the parish of Duthil in the year 1838, states that the "ancient name of the parish was *Gleann a cheathernich,* the Heroes' Glen." He also says, "Tradition ascribes the possession not only of this parish, but of almost all the lands adjoining the Spey between Inverlochy and Fochabers, to the Cummings, whose principal residence was in this parish."[1] And again he adds, "Be this as it may, it is evident they were in possession of the greater part of the said district many years before 1280, as appears by a charter granted in that year by Gilbert, the third Lord of that name, or as he is called in the charter, tertius Dominus de Glencherny, knight," etc. This charter has been already referred to in the Introduction, but the writer of the account in question adduces it as a proof that the Comyns were in possession of Glencarnie at that date.

Tradition, indeed, assigns to the Comyns the possession of large portions of the province of Moray, though probably with doubtful truth. The fact that the Comyns, who were of Norman descent, and held large tracts of land in Badenoch, Lochaber, and Buchan, as well as in the south of Scotland, ruled over their vassals, especially those of Celtic race, with a high hand, seems to have impressed their name so thoroughly on the legendary history of Moray, that tradition ascribes to them many actions the real actors in which have altogether been forgotten, or connects their names with places or events, the true stories of which are now untraceable.

Of this tendency in the local traditions to connect half-forgotten events with the well-known name of Comyn, the following instances may be given:—Lachlan Shaw says that, according to "unvaried tradition," Shaw of Rothiemurchus was leader of the Clan Chattan in the memorable fight on the North Inch of Perth in 1396, and "that the Shaws possessed Rothiemurchus long before that time."[2] In proof of this latter statement, he adduces the fact that "about the year 1350, Cummine of Strathdallas having a lease of these lands (Rothiemurchus), and unwilling to yield to the Shaws, it came to be decided by the sword, and James Shaw, chief of the clan, was killed in the conflict," etc. To the "unvaried

[1] Statistical Account of Scotland, 1845, vol. xiii.

[2] Shaw's Moray, p. 66.

tradition" of Shaw as to the occupancy of Rothiemurchus, a recent writer opposes another tradition, that the leader of the Clan Chattan, in 1396, was a kinsman of the chief of Mackintosh, named Shaw "Mor," and that he received for his services a grant of Rothiemurchus, being the *first* Shaw who possessed these lands, which had belonged to the Mackintoshes.[1] This writer further indicates his belief that the "unvaried tradition" as to a James Shaw, "said to have been killed in a conflict with the Comyns about the year 1350, no doubt really refers to James, son of Shaw Mor, who was killed at Harlaw,"[2] which battle took place in 1411, upwards of sixty years later, betwixt Donald, Lord of the Isles, and Alexander Stewart, Earl of Mar.

In a note in Lachlan Shaw's History of Moray it is stated, in reference to the conflict of 1396, that it was fought "betwixt the Clan Chattan and the Cummings (particularly that branch of them which was called the Clankay)," and it is asserted that "twenty-nine of the Cumings were killed on the spot."[3] Here the name of the Cummings is substituted for that of the Camerons, believed, on good grounds, to have been the opponents of Clan Chattan, and well known as a powerful clan long at feud with the latter. It does not appear that the Cummings ever were a clan or sept.

A third instance which may be cited is the so-called "Bigla's key stone," referred to in the Introduction to this work, which is alleged to be the stone under which Bigla or Matilda Comyn hid the keys of her castle while she was in church. It is also termed "Bigla's stone of the hole," as it has a round perforation in the centre. The writer who describes it speaks of it in such a way as implies a Scandinavian origin, and he concludes that "only by accident does it now get the name of Bigla's key stone."[4]

So is it with regard to the alleged possession of Glencarnie by the Comyns, and the various traditions of the feuds between them and the Grants. These legends may have arisen from the memory of real events, occurring while the Grants were not yet powerful, and their territories were liable to constant invasion by neighbouring septs, the names of which are now

[1] The Mackintoshes and Clan Chattan, by A. M. Shaw, p. 111.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 26.

[3] History of Moray, p. 122, note.

[4] Vacation Notes, by Arthur Mitchell, M.D., V.P.S.A., Edinburgh.

untraceable, or they may be vague traditions of incidents in the early history of Moray.

It can, however, be proved that the Comyns had no possessions at all in Glencarnie until a date nearly contemporaneous with Sir Duncan Grant, and it is doubtful if they ever had actual property of the lands. To show this, it is only necessary to refer to the history of the barony of Glencarnie, as given in the Introduction to this work. From the sketch there given it will be seen that the Lords of Glencarnie were descended from a branch of the ancient Celtic Earls of Strathern, and adopted the territorial name of their lands as their own surname. Tradition, therefore, in assigning the Comyns as the ancestors of Matilda of Glencarnie and her son, Sir Duncan Grant, is not only erroneous as to fact, but has overlooked the true and much more splendid pedigree of Sir Duncan, who, by his mother, inherited the blood of Malise, Earl of Strathern, the proud noble who claimed the foremost place in the battle of the Standard on 22d August 1138. By this alliance of the family of Grant with Matilda of Glencarnie, the present Chief of the Grants is lineally descended from the great race of Strathern, whose origin is lost in the mists of antiquity, but which is known as one of the noblest in Scotland in the earliest historic times.

In 1408, seventeen years after the last Lord of Glencarnie sold his estate to Thomas of Dunbar, Earl of Moray, the son of the latter, Thomas, third Earl, made an agreement with Alexander Cumyn, in which Glencarnie is referred to. This agreement was a contract of marriage, in which the Earl obliges himself to "giff his gude will to the mariage of his sister Euffame, and xx markis worth of land within his landis of Glencharny" to Alexander Cumyn, who, on the other hand, promises "to be lele man and trew" to the Earl for life, after the expiry of the term of his service to Alexander Stewart, Earl of Mar. It was further agreed that while the Lord of the Isles had a lease of Glencarnie from the Earl of Moray, the latter should provide Alexander Cumyn in twenty merks of land within the sheriffdom of Elgin.[1] There is reason to believe that the lands of Glencarnie never came into the possession of Alexander Cumyn, but that

[1] Shaw's History of Moray, Appendix, p. 475.

OLD GUN AT CASTLE GRANT.

he received the warrandice lands, which are said to have been Logie, Sluie, and other lands in the sheriffdom of Elgin, afterwards held by the family of Cumming of Altyre from the Earls of Moray.[1] This slender connection is all that the Comyns can be proved to have had with Glencarnie, and it is of comparatively recent date.

On the other hand, the transactions affecting that territory, as related in the Introduction, bear out the statements of tradition that the Lords of Glencarnie had declined in power about the time that Matilda of Glencarnie married the father of Sir Duncan Grant. The romantic legends which have been connected with this lady's name, usually assert that she was a great heiress,—heiress to the name of Comyn and the rich estate of Glencarnie or Duthil. This has been shown to be a mistake, and Matilda's father, though still bearing the name of Glencarnie, had no possession of his family inheritance, and apparently was little more than a tacksman of the lands he latterly held.[2] The stories of the rich and powerful Gibbon Mor Cumin refusing his daughter to the young Laird of Grant, the consequent private marriage, and all the feuds and calamities which ensued, must therefore be treated as doubtful, and, so far as they are at variance with ascertained facts, deemed the light play of an exuberant imagination substituting its own fancies for the realities of history.

While, however, there is no doubt as to the pedigree of Matilda of Glencarnie, the mother of Sir Duncan Grant, there is little evidence as to who was her husband. Lachlan Shaw states that he was Sir John Grant, Sheriff-principal of Inverness. The proof adduced is, that "among the arms at Castle Grant there is a musquet with this inscription on the barrel, 'Dominus Johannes Grant, miles, vicecomes de Inverness, anno 1434,' accompanied by the three antique crowns of the family arms."[3]

[1] Shaw's History of Moray, Appendix, p. 475, note.

[2] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 15.

[3] History of Moray, p. 26. This musket is still preserved at Castle Grant. Mr. Shaw's quotation is not complete, the full inscription, which is engraved on a silver plate inlaid in the barrel near the stock, being, "Dominvs Johannes Grant, miles, Vicecomes de Innernes, me fecit in Germania, anno 1434." On another silver plate on the barrel are engraved the Grant arms, three antique crowns. Above the crowns are the initials S. I. G. (for Sir John Grant), and over them the words "of Frevchy, K." (for knight). The musket is five feet four inches in length, the stock fluted and inlaid with silver figures emblematical of hunting and fishing. The lock is a flint one of antique form. The barrel is also inlaid with other silver plates, bearing various devices, as a thistle, a rose, and figures of birds, and is finished with an ornamental muzzle. The whole workmanship of the musket is very fine.

The only evidence of a trustworthy nature for the name of the husband of Matilda is to be found in a MS. family history of the Mackintoshes, called the Kinrara MS., preserved by the Laird of Mackintosh. The MS. is thus described by a recent writer, who lays considerable weight upon the accuracy of its statements, and has used it largely in a work devoted to the history of the Mackintoshes. He states that the "MS. History of the Mackintoshes, by Lachlan Mackintosh of Kinrara, . . . was written in Latin about the year 1670, and was partly founded on three earlier MSS., the matter of which it embodied. These were, 1st, a history of the family from the Earl of Fife to Duncan, eleventh chief, who died in 1496, written by Ferquhard, twelfth chief, during his imprisonment at Dunbar for sixteen years before 1513; 2d, a similar history by Andrew MacPhail, parson of Croy, from the Earl of Fife to William, fifteenth chief, murdered in 1550; and 3d, a history by George Munro of Davochgartie, of Ferquhard, twelfth chief, and his three successors."[1] In the notice of Malcolm, the tenth chief of Mackintosh, who is said to have died in 1457, the writer records that he had five daughters, and that of these, "Muriel married John Mor Grant of Freuchie; Mora married Hucheon Rose of Kilravock; Janet married Patrick Mac Ian Roy, brother of Sir Duncan Grant," etc.,[2] thus implying that a John Roy Grant was the father both of Sir Duncan and Patrick.

Apart from tradition, this is all the testimony for the statement that John Grant Roy was the husband of Matilda of Glencarnie, and the father of Sir Duncan Grant. But if the information thus afforded be taken from the earliest MS., written before 1513, it may almost be considered contemporary history. There is a local tradition that John Grant Roy, soon after his marriage, and therefore while comparatively young, was slain in a tribal quarrel or raid with the Comyns and Macleans. If he was thus cut off in early life, it affords an explanation why he is not named in the muniments of his own family, or as taking part in any public transaction with neighbouring lairds. The precept of sasine of 1434, in favour of Duncan le Grant as heir of his mother Matilda, shows that her husband must have had, in right of his wife, a

[1] The Mackintoshes and Clan Chattan, by A. M. Shaw, p. 26, note, and p. 163. [2] *Ibid.* p. 153.

fair amount of property to administer, and it is to be presumed that by virtue of this property he would have taken some part, more or less prominent, amongst his fellows, unless prevented by some special fact, of which the tradition of his slaughter supplies a probable explanation.

No record exists to prove the date of John Grant Roy's death. Matilda of Glencarnie died before 31st January 1434, leaving by her husband one son, Duncan Grant, afterwards Sir Duncan Grant of Freuchie, the subject of the next memoir. How long before that date her death occurred has not been ascertained. The retour of her son as heir to her does not state that the lands were in the hands of the king for any lengthened period of time.

The testimony of the "Kinrara Manuscript" regarding the parentage of "Patrick M'Ian Roy" is interesting in view of the fact that in 1473 Marjory Lude, a widow, styling herself "Lady of half the barony of Freuchie," alienated her lands of Auchnarrows, Downan, Port, and Dalfour to her "carnal son," Patrick Grant.[1] This Patrick was surnamed Reoch or Roy, and died before 2d December 1508, without male issue, as his heir in 1565 is stated to be a grandson, Nicolas Cumming.[2]

[1] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 30.

[2] Gift of Non-entries and Charter at Castle Grant.

VI.—SIR DUNCAN GRANT, Knight, first called of Freuchie. MURIEL MACKINTOSH (of Mackintosh), his wife.

1434–1485.

In the previous memoir the authoritative evidence which, apart from tradition, can be adduced as to the alliance of the family of Grant with the ancient possessors of Glencarnie, was fully stated, while the subject was divested of much that is purely legendary. There was also indicated the probable correctness of that tradition which assigns John Grant Roy as father to Sir Duncan Grant of Freuchie. Upon the history of this Grant knight no uncertainty rests, and from this point of the pedigree down to the present day all is clear, each link in the long chain of ancestors being attested by authentic evidence.

As already shown, Duncan Grant was in 1434 retoured heir to his mother, Matilda of Glencarnie, in the lands possessed by that lady which were situated in the neighbourhood of Rothes and Elgin. The date of this retour fixes the date of his birth in or before the year 1413. As "Duncan the Graunt" he witnesses a contract between Robert, Lord of Keith, and Sir Alexander Seton, Lord of Gordon, in which the latter renounces to the former various lands in Fifeshire, which contract is dated at Cluny on 1st August 1442, and confirmed at Stirling 30th October 1444.[1] Nothing further is known of Duncan Grant's history at this period. This may be because for some time after the death of King James the First, in 1437, and as the result of his determined policy of suppression, the Highlands were more tranquil than usual, notwithstanding the violent proceedings against the Clan Cameron by the Earl of Ross, who, about 1438, was Justiciar of Scotland north of the Forth.[2] It is not improbable that then, as later, the Grants took the side of the

[1] Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. ii. No. 278. This document has been repeatedly quoted as a proof that Duncan le Grant was designed "dominus de eodem et de Freuchie, in a charter under the Great Seal in 1442," but his designation is simply that given in the text.

[2] The Familie of Innes, p. 73.

Government, and so secured the safety of their possessions, or added to their number. There is some evidence to this effect in the case of Duncan le Grant.

The Earl of Ross, in 1445, joined with the Earl of Douglas and the "Tiger" Earl of Crawford in a league against the king. The death of the Earl of Ross in 1449 frustrated his treasonable designs, but his son broke out into rebellion, probably at the instigation of Douglas. The commotions in Scotland thus begun, ended in the assassination, by King James the Second, of the seventh Earl of Douglas, while he was the guest of the king in Stirling Castle, and the open rebellion of his relations, which was temporarily settled by a bond granted in 1452 to King James the Second, by the eighth Earl of Douglas and his brothers, Archibald, Earl of Moray, and Hugh, Earl of Ormond, upon which their estates, which had been forfeited, were restored. During this turmoil, which by the forfeiture of the Earl of Moray had come near to his own doors, Duncan le Grant seems to have remained quietly within his own bounds, if he did not contrive to enlarge their borders. On 31st August 1453, he received a precept addressed to him as "Duncan le Graunte of Fruychy," in which Archibald, Earl of Moray and Master of Douglas, directed him to infeft John le Hay of Mayne in a half of the town (ville) of Inverariane or Inverallan, a half of the town of Glenbeg, and a half of the town of Dreggie, in the earldom of Moray.[1]

These lands, though formerly the property of the Grants, had passed for a time altogether out of their hands, and came again into their possession only by purchase, in the year 1587, after a series of disputes, the history of which has already been given in the Introduction while treating of Inverallan. The chief point of interest in the document of 1453 lies in the fact that in it Duncan Grant is for the first time designed of Freuchie. Among the lands inherited by him in 1434 from his mother, Matilda of Glencarnie, there is no mention of Freuchie. The lands in question were a fifth part of Rothes Wiseman, the two Fochabers, and other lands which lie further down the Spey.[2]

There is no information as to how Freuchie came into the possession of Duncan Grant. It may have been acquired by purchase, though no

[1] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 22.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 18.

evidence remains of the fact, or he may have originally obtained the lands in lease from the Crown. The latter conjecture is not unwarranted, as there is proof that, perhaps at this time, and certainly a few years later, he held in lease other crown lands which his family did not acquire as property until after his death. In 1473 a portion of Freuchie belonged to Marjory Lude, who designs herself "Lady of half the barony of Freuchie,"[1] but with regard to her relationship to Duncan Grant, or the nature of her tenure, there is absolutely no information. It may therefore have been only the half of the barony of Freuchie which Duncan Grant held; but, at any rate, it was between 1434 and 1453 that he first received the designation of "Freuchie," which gave title to his descendants for many generations afterwards.

In 1457, William, Thane of Cawdor, and Thomas of Carmichael, a Canon of Moray, as Chamberlains north of the Spey, rendered to Exchequer their account of intromissions with the Crown rents for the previous year. The accounters were allowed reimbursement of certain sums stated in their account, but not realised by them, among others "the rents (firmis) of the lands of Ballyndalach, which are one davoch, and are situated in Strathown, and belong to the property of Moray, which (lands) Duncan Grant holds, he being hindered in the enjoyment of the same by Sir Walter Stewart."[2] This was the reason why the rents, amounting for the half-yearly term to £3, 6s. 8d. Scots, were left unpaid. Sir Walter Stewart of Strathown or Strathavon was a son or descendant of Sir Andrew Stewart of Sandhalch, a natural son of the "Wolf of Badenoch," and seems to have inherited the annexation policy of his ancestors. The principal castle of the lordship of Strathavon was Drummin, a stronghold which, at a later period, the Laird of Freuchie held for the Crown.[3]

Between 1457 and 1464 Duncan Grant received the rank of knighthood. This appears from a retour dated 25th February 1464 [1465], in which, as Duncan Grant, knight, he is declared to be heir of his grandfather, Gilbert of Glencarnie, in the lands of Cunygais or Congash. No sasine was given upon this retour, because no answer had been given to the inquiry from what date and for what time the lands had been in the hands

[1] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 30. [2] The Thanes of Cawdor, p. 31. [3] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 127.

of the Crown.[1] A second inquest was therefore made on 7th February 1468 [1469], when it was found that Gilbert of Glencarnie, Sir Duncan Grant's grandfather, had died about thirty years before; and in the precept of sasine which followed upon the retour, the Sheriffs of Inverness were directed to take security for £60 of rents due to the Crown, which had remained unpaid for that period, the rental of the lands being 40s. annually.[2]

This authoritative statement that Gilbert of Glencarnie died about thirty years before 1468, or in 1438, proves the inaccuracy of the traditional assertion that Gilbert of Glencarnie, or Gibbon Mor, as he is called, was alive in 1464, and in that year "ceded his lordship of Glenchernich, not to his son-in-law, Sir John Grant, but to his grandson, Sir Duncan Grant of Fruchy."[3] It has already been shown that Gilbert of Glencarnie had exchanged his property in that lordship, that the lands inherited by Sir Duncan Grant from his mother were hers in her own right, and now it is proved that Gilbert of Glencarnie was dead thirty years before his alleged cession to his grandson.

There is, however, some probability that Sir Duncan Grant really had a modified possession of Glencarnie about this time, though not from the source assigned by tradition. There is evidence that he held it in 1478, at least twenty years before his family received a charter of the lands from the Crown. It is stated on the authority of the Exchequer Rolls, that in 1478 the lands of Glencarnie, which were then in the king's hands, were set in lease by the Crown to Duncan Grant, knight.[4] But though in that year Sir Duncan Grant first became a tacksman of the Crown in these lands, he may have previously rented them from the Earl of Moray, and thus afforded some basis for the tradition that he was earlier in possession of Glencarnie.

In 1473 a royal messenger was sent north with letters to "Schire Duncan the Grant in Murray."[5] There is no clue to the subject of the royal epistle, but it may have had reference to the general council of the Estates of Parliament, which was called to deliberate on the proceedings

[1] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 26. [2] *Ibid.* pp. 28, 29. [3] Statistical Account of Scotland, vol. xiii. Elginshire, p. 129. [4] Shaw's Moray, p. 475, note. [5] Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, vol. i. p. 46.

of Patrick Graham, who claimed the archbishopric of St. Andrews, the result of which was Graham's suspension from office.

In 1495 Sir Duncan Grant, with consent of John Grant, his son and apparent heir, executed a charter of his fifth part of the half land of Surastoun (Sheriffston), in the shire of Elgin, in favour of James Douglas of Pittendreich, for his lifetime. A recent writer claims for the family of Douglas of Pittendreich that they settled in the north while Brice Douglas was Bishop of Moray, from 1203 to 1222.[1] The same writer gives in full the earliest charter from the Crown to James Douglas of Pittendreich of part of the lands of Duffus, dated at Edinburgh 14th August 1472. James Douglas of Pittendreich is also said to have possessed part of Sheriffmill, near Elgin, and "an extensive property in the parish of St. Andrews," part of which he held of Sir Duncan Grant, as appears from the document above referred to. It may be noted that in the next century Margaret Douglas, the heiress of Pittendreich, by her marriage with Sir George Douglas brother of the sixth Earl of Angus, became the ancestress of the later Earls of Angus, the Duke of Douglas, and the Earl of Home, the present possessor of the estates of Douglas.

The charter of Sheriffston to James Douglas is not in the Grant charter-chest, but the original precept for his infeftment is preserved there. It was signed at Elgin, whither apparently Sir Duncan Grant had gone. A sentence in the document implies that he had neglected to take his seal of arms with him. He desires his bailies, in token of the delivery of sasine, to append their seals to the precept, after the seal of John Falconer of Murrestoun, "procured by me with due urgency, in default of my own seal [sigilli proprii] not had."

In 1479, Sir Duncan Grant, no doubt on account of his connection with the family of Mackintosh, figures in an important transaction in which the chiefs of that clan took part. The subject is interesting, not only as affecting lands which at a later period came into possession of the Grants, but also as illustrating an occurrence not very common among Highland chiefs of that period,—a settlement of their difference by arbitration, instead of by litigation or the sword.

[1] The Parish of Spynie, by Robert Young, 1871, p. 298.

The subject for arbitration arose out of a dispute between the Chief of Mackintosh and Hugh Rose of Kilravock in regard to the *duchus* of Urquhart and Glenmoriston, on the northern shore of Loch Ness. The transaction and its sequel are narrated in a notary's instrument, drawn up in presence of George, second Earl of Huntly, whose family had lately become Lords of Badenoch, in which territory the lands in dispute were accounted to lie. The Earl held his court within the walls of the Castle of Inverness, and there heard the decreet-arbitral pronounced by Alexander Gordon of Megmar, Sir Duncan Grant of Freuchie, Sir James Ogilvie of Deskford, knights, John Grant, son and heir-apparent of Sir Duncan Grant, Alexander Mackintosh of Rothiemurchus, and David Ogilvie of Thomade, judges-arbiters, chosen by Duncan Mackintosh, captain of the Clan Chattan, Allan and Lachlan, his brothers-german, and Hugh Rose of Kilravock, upon many and divers quarrels, debates, and controversies betwixt the parties. Of this decree, one article was that Hugh Rose of Kilravock should not intromit with the setting or letting of the lands of Urquhart and Glenmoriston, because of certain unkindnesses done by him to Duncan Mackintosh, without the consent and goodwill of Duncan and his brothers, regard being had to former agreements betwixt them. This article being read and discussed and understood by the Earl, the arbiters and the parties, Duncan Mackintosh and his brothers submitted themselves to the will of the Earl in regard to the subject of the article, for letting the lands in dispute to Hugh Rose, and for appointing at his pleasure that the deliverance of the arbiters should not prejudice the said Hugh in the lease of the lands. Whereupon the Earl of Huntly, by the advice of the arbiters, and with consent of Duncan Mackintosh and his two brothers, let the lands of Urquhart and Glenmoriston to Hugh Rose of Kilravock, and desired he would intromit with them as formerly.[1] The date of this transaction was 26th March 1479.

Some breach of the above compact seems to have taken place two years later, as on 25th July 1481, at Perth, Duncan Mackintosh bound himself to underlie the judgment of his superior, the Earl of Huntly, if any breach of contract had been made, and to amend the same if such were proved.

[1] Rose of Kilravock, p. 139.

To that end he appointed Sir Alexander Dunbar on his behalf in the room of Sir Duncan Grant, who was not present on this occasion.

Sir Duncan Grant died in the year 1485. One account of the family of Grant implies that Sir Duncan was with a body of his clan, on their march to join King James the Third during the conflict between the king and his son, the prince, in 1488. This statement, however, is erroneous as regards Sir Duncan Grant, for a nearly contemporary chronicle records that he lived three years after his eldest son, John Grant, who died in 1482.[1] The grandson of Sir Duncan, John Grant, who succeeded to him in Freuchie, three years before the battle of Sauchieburn, may have been the laird who marched to meet King James the Third.

Sir Duncan Grant is said to have married Muriel Mackintosh, daughter of Malcolm, tenth chief of the Mackintoshes; but as she is also said to have married John Mor Grant of Freuchie, whose existence cannot be traced, no definite statement can be made on this point. That a daughter of Malcolm or "Gyllichallum" Mackintosh did marry a Laird of Grant, is asserted by a document, dated 20th February 1568, and signed by Lachlan, the then chief of the Mackintoshes; but no name is given either to the Laird or the lady. The same document, however, corroborates the evidence of other authorities as to the marriage of Sir Duncan Grant's daughter, Catherine.[2] Sir Duncan Grant had one son—

John Grant, younger of Freuchie, who predeceased him.

Sir Duncan had also two daughters—

1. Catherine, who became the third wife of Lachlan Mackintosh, called "Badenoch," and was the ancestress of the chiefs of Mackintosh. She is also said to have married Alexander Baillie of Dunain and Sheuglie.[3]
2. Muriel, who married Patrick Leslie of Balquhain,[4] and had issue.

[1] Short Latin Chronicle relating to the Highlands, by James M'Gregor, Dean of Lismore, who died in 1542.

[2] Original Paper at Castle Grant.

[3] Invernessiana, p. 128.

[4] Antiquities of Aberdeenshire, vol. i. p. 530.

VII.—JOHN GRANT, Younger of Freuchie.

1475–1482.

John Grant was the son and apparent heir of Sir Duncan Grant, first of Freuchie. But owing to his having predeceased his father without inheriting the family estates, his name does not frequently occur in the family muniments. Of his own personal history little is known beyond the fact that in published pedigrees of the family he is stated to have been a man of distinguished honour and integrity.

The name of this young Laird of Freuchie first appears as a consenting party to the precept issued by Sir Duncan Grant for infefting James Douglas of Pittendreich in the lands of Sheriffston.[1] Three years later, John Grant, as son and heir of Sir Duncan Grant, received from George, second Earl of Huntly, a charter of the lands of Fermestoun, in the sheriffdom of Aberdeen, with Kinrara, Gergask, and others in the shire of Inverness, in liferent for manrent service to the Earl.[2] In the year 1479 John Grant acted with his father and others as an arbiter in the dispute between the Mackintoshes and Hugh Rose of Kilravock, which was finally decided by the Earl of Huntly at Inverness, as narrated in the previous memoir.

John Grant, younger of Freuchie, is traditionally said to have headed the Clan Grant in their march southward to the assistance of King James the Third in 1488, but he is proved to have died before that year.[3] In a Chronicle of the Highlands compiled previous to the year 1542, he is said to have died at Kindrochat, in Mar, on 30th August 1482, and according to the same authority he was buried in the Cathedral Church of Moray.[4]

The tradition, however, though at fault as to dates, may be true as to the fact of the march southward, which would account for John Grant's

[1] Dated 25th September 1475. Vol. iii. of this work, p. 32.

[2] Original Sasine, dated 8th September 1478, at Castle Grant.

[3] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 34.

[4] Short Latin Chronicle relating to the Highlands, by James M'Gregor, Dean of Lismore.

death so far from home as Kindrochat, in Mar. In consequence of the declaration of war between Scotland and England in 1481, special messengers were authorised by Parliament in March 1481-2 to proceed to the furthest parts of the kingdom to summon the lieges from a distance before those nearer at hand were called.[1] The result of these measures was the assembling on the Boroughmuir of Edinburgh of one of the largest armies ever raised in Scotland, at the head of which King James the Third placed himself, and a march was begun towards the Border. But the progress of the army was arrested at Lauder, where Robert Cochrane, the architect, and other royal favourites, were hanged by the Scottish nobles, and the king himself carried a virtual captive to Edinburgh. This took place some time during the month of July 1482.[2] The nobles then disbanded the army, the separate portions of which, especially those who lived in the remoter districts, would at once make their way homewards. The men of Freuchie also, who, under their young chief, had answered the call of their sovereign, would again seek their native Morayshire, and the tradition in question, combined with the historical events of the time, gives much probability to the supposition that as they marched northward their leader sickened, and as they neared Kindrochat he sank and died. The fact, otherwise somewhat remarkable, that this young Laird did die there, so far away from his own Grant country, may thus be explained.

The name of the wife of John Grant, younger of Freuchie, has not been ascertained; but he left two sons—

1. John, who succeeded his grandfather as Laird of Freuchie.
2. William, who is named in a Royal remission, dated 13th February 1527, and is said to be the ancestor of the Grants of Blairfindy.

A third son, Patrick, is also assigned to John Grant, younger of Freuchie. He is stated to have been a twin brother of John Grant, second of Freuchie, and is claimed as the ancestor of the older family of the Grants of Ballindalloch, whose pedigree is given in this work.

[1] Acts of Parliament, vol. ii. p. 139.

[2] Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. iii. p. 390, note.

VIII.—JOHN GRANT, Second of Freuchie. MARGARET OGILVIE (of Deskford), his wife.

1485–1528.

This second Laird of Freuchie held his inherited estates for the long period of forty-three years. As during that time he acquired the lands of Tullochgorm, Mulben, Urquhart, Glencarnie, Ballindalloch, and others, and also took an active part in public affairs, many notices of him are found in documents both of a public and private nature. These illustrate both the personal history of this Laird and the history of the time in which he lived.

Sir Duncan Grant, the first of Freuchie, died, as has been shown, in 1485, and was succeeded by his grandson, the subject of the present memoir. This Laird of Freuchie was on intimate terms with George, second Earl of Huntly, as his father had also been, and received from him, on 16th September 1483, the lands or davochs of Kinrara, Rait, and others in the lordship of Badenoch, to be held for manrent service during his life, as his father had held them.[1]

A year later the Laird was at the "Bog of Geith," the then recently erected residence of the Earl of Huntly, and now known as Gordon Castle. While there, the Laird entered into a matrimonial contract, which bears date 15th September 1484, with Sir James Ogilvie of Deskford. The contract provided that John Grant should marry Margaret Ogilvie, daughter of Sir James, and should be ready to complete the marriage, whenever required to do so, on eight days' warning. The lady's dower was fixed at 300 merks Scots, payable by instalments of £40 at the next term of Whitsunday, and £20 at each half-yearly term thereafter, till the whole sum was discharged. John Grant was to infeft his wife in 20 merks worth of land, with provision for the children of the marriage, while he and his father-in-law bound themselves to each other to "stand anefald, leyl, and kind" in all matters,

[1] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 35.

and to "manteine, keip, and diffend ilkain uthiris rowmis, takis, and bailzeoriis fra sorning, thigging, oppressione, and stouth, truly at thair gudly powaris, and speciale sal rewell thair kine, freindis, and servandis fra all sic injuris." To this agreement, which was executed in duplicate, Sir James Ogilvie affixed his seal, while John Grant procured the seal of "his singular lord," George, Earl of Huntly, to be affixed on his behalf, and thus completed the first of the alliances between the Chiefs of Grant and the Ogilvies—alliances which were renewed by more than one generation, and ultimately led to the inheritance by the Laird of Grant of the Ogilvie titles and estates.

Although this Laird succeeded to his grandfather, Sir Duncan, in 1485, his feudal title to Freuchie was not completed till 1489. This delay probably arose out of the troubled state of the kingdom immediately following the death of King James the Third. But on 31st March 1489 a precept was issued for infefting John Grant as heir to his grandfather in the half of Freuchie, the two Culfoichs, the two Congashes, and Glenlochy, all in the shire of Inverness.[1] The infeftment in favour of the Laird was expede on 17th June 1489, at the foresaid lands of Freuchie and Congashes, which are on opposite sides of the Spey, upon the soil and messuages of the same. Messuages imply that there were mansions or principal residences on these lands, although no mention has been found of a castle of Freuchie until some years later.

Following out the friendship between the Earl of Huntly and the Laird of Freuchie, the Earl in 1491 exchanged with him the lands of Corroo (Curr), Tullochgorm,[2] and Clurie,[3] for the lands of Fodderletter, Innerloquhies, and the two Innerrowries in Strathavon. The lands given by the Earl formed parts of the ancient lordship of Badenoch, and lay to the south of Freuchie, between that barony and the lordship of Glencarnie. These acquisitions tended to consolidate the Laird of Freuchie's lands in these districts, while the lands in Strathavon formed a convenient adjunct to the estates of Huntly.

But even before he made this consolidation of his estates, John

[1] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 37. [2] *Ibid.* p. 39.
[3] Original Charter, dated 4th February 1491, at Castle Grant.

Grant of Freuchie is found taking a prominent part in public affairs with his neighbours, and in the civil history of his district. The state of the Highlands was at all times a matter of anxiety to the Government of that period, and more especially under the circumstances of the change of government caused by the death of King James the Third. The north of Scotland was therefore a favourite resort for refugees from the south, or others who had been in arms against the Prince of Scotland, now King James the Fourth. One of these refugees seems to have fallen into the hands of John Grant of Freuchie, and by him been delivered up, as, in the accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland, there is an entry in the year 1488, "Item, The xx^{ti} day of Nouember, till ane man to pas to the Lard of Frauche for a traytoure he tuke, x s." [1]

Other matters of the same kind, but nearer home, also engaged the Laird's attention. Mackintosh and Rose of Kilravock had entered, as narrated in a previous memoir, into a friendly agreement in the year 1479. This contract bound the chiefs of the Clan Chattan not to molest the Baron of Kilravock in his possessions, but their friendly feeling was not shared by others of the Clan. On 15th May 1482, a contract was concluded at Inverness between Lachlan Mackintosh of Gellovie, and Donald, Angus M'Yntossich sone, which need not be rehearsed here, but in terms of which Donald Angusson attacked and despoiled the Castle of Kilravock.[2] A royal summons was obtained by Rose of Kilravock against Donald Angusson and his accomplices in 1498, but before that date a new alliance was made with the chief of the Clan Chattan, who, however, may not have been a consenting party to the raid on the castle.

The old mode of healing family feuds by matrimony was resorted to. Duncan Mackintosh, captain of the Clan Chattan, and Ferquhard, his son and apparent heir, entered into a bond of mutual alliance and defence with Hugh Rose, Baron of Kilravock, and Hugh Rose, his son and apparent heir, in which, *inter alia*, it was agreed that Hugh Rose the younger should espouse a daughter of Ferquhard Mackintosh. The marriage was to be made and arranged by the advice of certain friends, of whom John Grant of Freuchie was one, the others being Sir James Ogilvie of Desk-

[1] Treasurer's Accounts, vol. i. p. 98.

[2] Rose of Kilravock, pp. 52, 146.

ford, Walter Ogilvie of Achlevyn, his brother-german, Lachlan Mackintosh of Gellovie, Alexander Mackintosh of Rothiemurchus, and Alexander Rose, brother to the Baron of Kilravock.[1]

The Laird of Freuchie, owing, it may be, to his kinship with the Mackintoshes, but perhaps also from his recognised prudence and force of character, is again found acting as an arbiter in another important contract in which the chiefs of Clan Chattan were interested. This was a contract of friendship drawn up at Darnaway, 18th September 1492, betwixt Alexander Dunbar of Westfield, knight, with James Dunbar of Cumnock, knight, on one side, and Ferquhard Mackintosh, son and apparent heir of Duncan Mackintosh, captain of the Clan Chattan, having authority from his father, who promises to affix his seal to the bond, on the other part. This agreement is evidently one of those by which it was sought to secure the friendship of the Clan Chattan, and thus save the property of landowners in the lowlands of Moray. It was agreed that Sir Alexander Dunbar and Duncan Mackintosh "sall obserf and keip kyndness and brethirheid to utheris as carnale brethire suld do, for all the dayis of thair lyffis." Ferquhard Mackintosh is to become "son and man" to Sir Alexander Dunbar for his lifetime, and "bruther" to Sir James, with other conditions, matrimonial and other.[2] To adjust the questions regarding the proposed union between a son of Sir James Dunbar and a daughter of Ferquhard Mackintosh, four arbiters were appointed—Mr. Gavin Dunbar, Dean of Moray, and Mr. Alexander Sutherland, vicar of Inverness, on behalf of Sir James Dunbar; and Alexander Isles of Lochalsh, and John Grant of Freuchie, on behalf of Ferquhard Mackintosh. These four persons were to sit at Forres, within a year from the date, to deliberate and give their opinion in the matter, the Bishop of Moray to act as oversman in case of a difference of opinion.

From a clause in this contract it would appear that both parties were bound by a separate agreement to live peaceably with John Grant of Freuchie himself, while Sir James Dunbar and Alexander Innes of that Ilk were also sworn to each other, the whole thus forming a confederation for mutual defence and assistance. Further, the Laird of Freuchie was

[1] Rose of Kilravock, pp. 151-153. Contract dated 17th September 1490.

[2] Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis, Iona Club, 1847, pp. 83-86.

conjoined with Alexander of Lochalsh, Sir James Ogilvie of Deskford, and others, including William, Lord Crichton, as a judge in any controversy or breach of obligation by any of the above contracting parties, which shows very conclusively the esteem in which this Laird was held.[1] The contract was renewed between Sir James Dunbar and Ferquhard Mackintosh on 20th June 1499, and John Grant of Freuchie was again named among the arbiters;[2] but it does not appear that its conditions were ever implemented.

Farther transactions between the Huntly family and the Laird of Freuchie about landed estates led to a misunderstanding as to their mutual rights. In the end of 1492 the Laird of Freuchie and Alexander, Lord Gordon, eldest son of the Earl of Huntly, disputed about the rents of Urquhart and Glenmoriston, which were four years in arrear. These lands, as narrated in the memoir of Sir Duncan Grant, were, in 1481, the subject of a compromise between the Mackintoshes and the Baron of Kilravock. A year later, on 24th June 1482, the Earl of Huntly appointed Hugh Rose of Kilravock governor of the Redcastle, and also discharged him of all rents of the lands of Urquhart and Glenmoriston, together with the lease of the same lands.[3] Whether Hugh Rose, in 1482, yielded up all possession of these lands does not appear. But as early as 1488, the Laird of Freuchie appears to have acquired right to Urquhart and Glenmoriston, apparently under a lease by the Earl of Huntly, the dispute with whose son almost assumed the proportions of litigation. On 28th January 1492-3, in presence of the Lords of Council, Alexander, Lord Gordon, and John Grant of Freuchie, through Alexander Farquharson, chaplain, his procurator, bound themselves to submit to the deliverance and ordinance of George, Earl of Huntly, and his Council, in regard to the sum of 270 merks, being four years' rental of the lands of Urquhart and Glenmoriston.[4] No record remains of the sequel of this matter, nor of what compromise was made. The incident, however, furnishes proof that the Laird of Freuchie was beginning to hold his own even with his powerful neighbour, the Earl of Huntly, and, also, that he was gradually

[1] Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis, Iona Club, p. 85.
[2] Invernessiana, by Mr. Fraser Mackintosh, p. 179.
[3] Rose of Kilravock, p. 150.
[4] Acta Dominorum Concilii, p. 267.

but surely extending his influence, and acquiring those lands which, if then only temporarily held, were at a later period firmly secured to his family.

Another dispute between the Laird of Freuchie and Alexander, Lord Gordon, had reference to the lands of Inverury and Inverlochy, within the sheriffdom of Banff, and the lands of Fodderletter, within the sheriffdom of Inverness, which had been ceded to Huntly by the Laird in 1491, in return for Tullochgorm and other lands. The nature and origin of the difference does not appear, but these lands were the subject of a decree of the Lords of Council on 22d October 1495. The Laird of Freuchie, it would appear, had become bound to infeft Lord Gordon in these lands before Martinmas 1494, and had not only failed to do so, but had refused to pay the 600 merks of penalty attached to non-performance. Lord Gordon therefore brought an action to recover this sum, because the defender had failed to infeft him in the lands, to hold them as freely as John the Narne had held them. The Laird of Freuchie failed to appear, and the Lords of Council decerned that, within forty days after being charged to do so, he should infeft the pursuer, as desired, in the lands in question, and in default of obedience, that his goods should be distrained for the 600 merks.[1]

In the end of the year 1493 John Grant was in Edinburgh, apparently in attendance at Court. Ever since his accession King James the Fourth had made the condition of the Highlands a matter of attention. His principal policy, besides overawing the chiefs in the Highlands and Islands who affected independence, and striving to introduce a regular and rapid, if severe, administration of justice, was to attach to his interest the chiefs of clans and prominent men in the Highlands. This was done by keeping up constant communication with them,[2] bestowing grants of land and securing their services against those of their fellows who were rebellious, as in a commission which will be afterwards noted, where Mackintosh and Grant were conjoined against the Mackenzies.

John Grant of Freuchie was doubtless not unwilling to press any claims he might have upon the government for loyalty in that or similar matters, and he took advantage of his attendance in Edinburgh to consoli-

[1] Acta Dominorum Concilii, p. 398.

[2] See Treasurer's Accounts, vol. i. pp. 120, 121, 128, 176, for correspondence with the Earl of Huntly, Mackintosh, and other northern chiefs.

date his scattered property by a Royal charter erecting all his lands into one barony. Accordingly, on the 4th of January 1493-4, in the royal chamber at the monastery of Holyrood, he formally resigned all his possessions into the king's hands, who regranted them to him and his heirs, uniting them all into one barony, to be called the BARONY OF FREUCHIE.[1] The lands thus resigned, which are also enumerated in the Royal charter, were the lands of Freuchie and the mill of the same, the two Culfoichs, Dalfour, Auchnagall, the two Congashes, the mill of the same, and Glenlochy, with the pertinents, lying within the sheriffdom of Inverness; also a fifth part of the lands of Lincauwode (Linkwood), and a fifth part of the mill of the same, a fifth part of the lands of Birmukty (Barmuckity), a fifth part of the lands of Garboty; a half of the lands of Inchebary, a half of the lands of Ordyquish, a half of the lands of Mulben, and 6s. 8d. worth of the lands of Suraston (Sheriffston), with pertinents, lying in the sheriffdom of Elgin. The lands thus erected into the new and enlarged barony of Freuchie, were to be held by the ancient feudal forms of ward and relief. The barony of Freuchie, which was thus erected in 1493, continued till the year 1694, when with other baronies it was absorbed into the regality of Grant. No records of the court of the barony of Freuchie are known to exist; but the records of the courts of the barony and regality of Grant are preserved in five volumes, embracing the period from 1690 to 1729.

Towards the end of the fifteenth century certain freebooters infested Braemar. In 1498 John Grant of Freuchie rendered signal service to the Crown by seizing and bringing to justice Alan Mor M'Kewin, with his accomplices, and Finlay Gibbonson. For this service Freuchie received a remission of the sums of money in which he had been fined for non-appearance at the justiciary courts held at Inverness, Elgin, and Forres.[2] From memoranda on the back of the charge to the Sheriffs to desist from levying the fines, it would appear that pledges to the amount of £333, 6s. 8d. Scots had been given on behalf of John Grant to the Sheriff of Inverness, and £300 to the Sheriff of Banff, Walter Ogilvie and Alexander, Lord Gordon, being cautioners in the latter case. From the burden of these

[1] Original Instrument of Resignation at Castle Grant.

[2] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 43.

sums, and from all distraint of his goods, the Laird of Freuchie was to be freed by a present payment of £400; but more substantial rewards were also made to Freuchie for his important services to King James the Fourth.

Reference has already been made to the legends connecting the Grants with Glencarnie through the supposed heiress of the Comyns. It has been shown that the Comyns had no connection with the territory of Glencarnie, that the heiress who took her name from that district was not a Comyn, nor did she bring her ancestral inheritance into the family of Grant. On the other hand, it was stated in the memoir of Sir Duncan Grant that there was evidence of an earlier holding of Glencarnie by the Grants than was instructed by the charters. That holding, whatever form it took, as a Crown lease or otherwise, was now converted into a heritable right by a charter from King James the Fourth. On 4th February 1498, by which time the Earl of Huntly had been made High Chancellor of Scotland, the king, for the good and faithful service done by John Grant of Freuchie, bestowed upon him the lands of Glencarnie and Ballindalloch, with the mills of the same, within the shire of Elgin and Forres. The lands were to be held of the king in fee and heritage for an annual payment of £71 Scots, with a proviso that if one term's rent was unpaid ere the expiry of a second term or half-year, the infeftment should be null and void.

It is to be noted that no special boundaries are assigned to the lands, as if these were well known both to John Grant of Freuchie and the officers of the Crown. The latter had collected the rents of the earldom of Moray after it was forfeited in the person of Archibald Douglas, Earl of Moray, in 1455. John Grant of Freuchie was infeft in Glencarnie on 8th April 1499, in terms of a precept of the same date as the charter, which assigned Mullochard as the principal messuage of the lands of Glencarnie.[1]

In the charter the lands of Ballindalloch were conjoined with those of Glencarnie, and, like the latter, only at this time became the property of the Grants. Sasine of the lands was given at the place of Ballindalloch as the principal messuage.[2] A story is related in the old MS. History of

[1] Original Instrument of Sasine at Castle Grant.

[2] Original Instrument of Sasine, dated 4th April 1499, *ibid.*

the Grants how John Grant of Ballachastell, when a minor, and fatherless, was under the tutory of his uncle, Patrick Grant of Ballindalloch, and educated by his grandfather, the Laird of Mackintosh. Ballindalloch being factor, and "having his encouragers," went and resided in Ballachastell, and was unwilling to be disturbed. But after the young Laird had reached his majority, he and his grandfather were, on a hunting day, invited by the factor to Ballachastell, and when there, was hailed as the righteous heir. The factor was thereupon first civilly desired to remove, but objecting, was removed by force and discharged from ever after entering therein.

An embellished version of the story is told by a recent writer, apparently on the authority of a MS. History of the Mackintoshes, but the statement may be merely traditional. This latest version is that William, then tutor, afterwards thirteenth Laird of Mackintosh, who "seems to have been a special foe to oppression and injustice," employed his authority on two occasions to secure the estates of neighbouring chiefs from the intromission of traitors. The first occasion was to send two hundred men to the aid of "the young Grant, his foster son, and grandson of Duncan Grant of Freuchie and Muriel, daughter of Malcolm Beg Mackintosh. Grant's uncle of Ballindalloch, having possession of his estate, asserted a right to it and his intention of retaining it." But by the vigorous interposition of the tutor of Mackintosh he was forced to give up his claims.[1]

Whatever foundation there may be for this story, it will be seen that it cannot refer to the period to which it is assigned. The use of the word Ballachastell, as applied to Castle Grant, suggests a comparatively modern date for the authorship of the tradition; but the facts narrated in this memoir, which show that John Grant, the second of Freuchie, grandson of Sir Duncan Grant, was in peaceable possession of Freuchie many years before he acquired Ballindalloch, throw discredit on the whole story.

Shortly after his acquisition of Glencarnie and Ballindalloch, John Grant of Freuchie was appointed one of the king's Sheriffs, specially deputed to see that the king's writ ran against certain refractory Highland subjects. The royal letters are dated at Inverness, 26th October

[1] The Mackintoshes and Clan Chattan, by A. M. Shaw, p. 177.

1499,[1] but the events alluded to occurred some years before, and the whole proceedings give a vivid picture of the state of the Highlands at that period. The king's writ is directed against William Forbes of Strathglass, Welland Chisholm of Comar, and a number of others with Celtic names, for having taken certain goods from Hugh Rose of Kilravock out of the lands of Ardmanoch and the Redcastle while he was captain thereof. A document preserved in the Kilravock charter-chest shows that Hugh Rose was relieved from his office of captain of Redcastle by Alexander, Lord Gordon, in the year 1492,[2] and the spoliation in question must therefore have occurred before that date.

A full investigation of the events in order of date, compared with original documents, proves that the royal letters now issued in 1499, refer back to a period so early as 1491, when the Islesmen made a great raid across the north of Scotland in a vain attempt to recover for their chief the ancient earldom of Ross. What part, if any, the Laird of Freuchie played at that time cannot clearly be ascertained, but as certain kinsmen and allies of his were deeply concerned, and as he himself was one of those commissioned at a later date to punish offenders, a detailed narrative in order of dates may here be given.

It has already been stated that the Laird of Freuchie, on 17th September 1490, was chosen one of the advisers in a contract betwixt his own kinsmen, the chiefs of Clan Chattan and the Baron of Kilravock and his son, Hugh Rose, the latter of whom at that date held Redcastle and Ardmanoch for the Earl of Huntly. Ferquhard Mackintosh, the younger Laird of Mackintosh, and Hugh Rose the younger, seem to have been kindred spirits, and of a stirring temperament, which only lacked opportunity to be troublesome to their neighbours.

That opportunity came in the year following this contract. In 1476, John, the last Earl of Ross, the friend and adherent of the rebellious Douglases, after being pardoned and restored to his forfeited estates, made a formal resignation of the earldom of Ross, his lands and castles. Upon this the earldom of Ross was annexed to the Crown, and the Earl was created a Peer of Parliament, with the title of Lord of the Isles. This

[1] Rose of Kilravock, pp. 168-170. [2] *Ibid.* p. 158.

resignation was very unpopular, and led in many ways, specially through the turbulent character of the late Earl's sons, to much disturbance and bloodshed. Some time before 1490, the now aged Lord of the Isles had resumed possession of his estates, from which he had been excluded by the violence of his eldest son Angus, now deceased. His nearest heir in the lordship of the Isles was Alexander of Lochalsh, his nephew, a son of his brother Celestine of the Isles. Alexander of Lochalsh inherited from his father the districts of Lochalsh, Lochcarron, and Loch-broom, all lying in the earldom of Ross, and as his influence there was considerable, he resolved to recover, if possible, the ancient earldom. In 1491 he placed himself at the head of his uncle's vassals, and with a large following advanced from Lochaber into Badenoch.[1]

In the latter district the invader was joined by a portion of the Clan Mackintosh, under Ferquhard Mackintosh, much against the will of his father, Duncan Mackintosh, who was a prudent chief. The confederates then marched to Inverness, where Ferquhard Mackintosh stormed the castle, by the aid, it is said, of an "engine called a sow." The young baron of Kilravock also joined the insurgents, probably while they were at Inverness, and was the only Crown vassal in the earldom of Ross who took part with them. From Inverness Alexander of Lochalsh and his followers passed to the Black Isle of Ross, where they ravaged and carried off much booty from that fertile territory, for which at a later date the Baron of Kilravock had to refund heavily. The invaders then proceeded towards Strathconan with the purpose of ravaging the lands of the Mackenzies, between whom and the Macdonalds of the Isles there had been a feud. It has been suggested that ere reaching Strathconan, Lochalsh divided his force into two parts, sending one portion home with the booty, while he advanced with the other against the Mackenzies. Whether this were so or not, the latter clan, under their chief Kenneth, met the confederate forces at a place called Park, near the river Conan, and gained a complete victory.[2]

According to a MS. History of the Mackenzies, Alexander of Lochalsh himself was taken prisoner, but was liberated at the end of six months. He

[1] Gregory's Highlands and Isles of Scotland, pp. 50-56.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 56, 57.

certainly was a party to the agreement between the Dunbars and Mackintoshes on 18th September 1492, already narrated in this memoir. The Mackenzies, however, were not satisfied with having quelled the rebellion, but proceeded to measures of retaliation. They ravaged the lands of Ardmanoch, and those of William Munro of Foulis, the former especially, because the young Baron of Kilravock, who held the Redcastle with the lands of Ardmanoch, had joined the invading party. In consequence of this and other excesses, the Earl of Huntly, as lieutenant of the north, was compelled to issue a commission against the Mackenzies, to punish their "herships, slaughters, and spulzies."

In this commission the Laird of Freuchie was specially named, though there is some doubt as to the exact date at which it was issued. A recent writer places the date of the battle between the Mackenzies and the Islesmen before the year 1488,[1] but this seems inconsistent with other facts. The statement is founded on the history of the first Earl of Cromartie, who was an accurate writer on the events of his own time, but may possibly be mistaken as to a few years when relating affairs which happened two centuries before his day. Another recent writer on the history of the Mackintoshes fixes the date of the commission against the Mackenzies in 1492.[2] Of this precise date there is no clear evidence, as the document which supplies the chief information is only dated in 1499, but the commission was probably issued at an early date after the spoliation of Ardmanoch. The Earl of Huntly, who granted the commission, wrote a "testemonyal" on the subject, which is worth quoting, though, unhappily, he gives no precise clue to the date of issue. He writes, "Sene it is meide and meritabill to beir leill and suthfast witnessing in the things that ar trew, that may kep innysentis fra skath, I, George Erll off Huntly, luftanand tyll our souerane lord the kyng, quhome God assowlle, and sherra of Endernes for the tyme, schargit and gerit pas be the commande of our souerane lordis lettres, Duncan Makynthois, captane of the Clynyatane, Jhone the Grant of Fruchy, Huchowne the Ros of Kylrawok, Alexander Crome of Inyerethnac, Alexander Keir of Ratamorkos, Lachlan Makintows of Galawe, with thair complisis, men, and freindis, to the

[1] History of the Clan Mackenzie, 1879, p. 74. [2] The Mackintoshes and Clan Chattan, p. 160.

nowmer of thre thosand apone Canoth Makcanche and his kyne and freindis duelland in Ros, for thai war the kingis rabellis at his horne in that tyme, and put to his horne be Sir Alexander Dunbar, our sherra deput for the tyme of Endernes, for the sclachter of Harrald of Schescheme, duelland in Straglas, and for diuerse otheris hershippis, sclacteris, and spowlleis maide be the forsaid Kanoth Makkanchy and his kyne and complissis of the Clankanye, apone the kyngis pur legis and tenandis in the lordschip of the Ardmanoch; for the quhilkis we causit thir forsaid personis tyll birne, harry, and sla, for thair demerittis; declarand quhat skat that was done at that tyme to the saidis Clyn-Kane and thair complissis was be the kyngis commande, and ouris as luftanande, and eftir the forme off oure souerane lordis lettres derikit tyll ws and our deputis proportis at mair lyntht," etc.[1]

This document is dated at Newark-on-Spey, 15th December 1499, and seems to have been intended as an exoneration for those who executed the Sheriff's letters against the Clan Mackenzie, who, especially the Mackintoshes and the Baron of Kilravock, are said to have exceeded their commission, and ravaged the lands of Urquhart, Sheriff of Cromartie, which had already been harried by the Macdonalds.[2] For this offence decree was given by the Lords of Council on 5th February 1492-3;[3] but as the spoliation is said to have been committed by Hugh Rose the younger, it is probable that this first decree really refers to the ravages committed by the Islesmen, and that the whole burden of restitution fell upon the Roses, simply because they were more easily reached by the King's writ than their Highland neighbours. In 1497 it would appear that a fine of 800 merks was exacted from the Baron of Kilravock, at the instance of the Sheriff of Cromartie, which may have arisen from the excess of zeal above referred to. In passing, however, it may be noted that the debt was finally arranged, and a matrimonial alliance concluded between the Urquharts and the Roses, to which, in 1510, John Grant of Freuchie was made a party as arbiter.[4]

It is not clearly known what was the real result of the commission

[1] Rose of Kilravock, p. 170.
[2] The Mackintoshes and Clan Chattan, p. 160.
[3] Acta Dominorum Concilii, p. 273.
[4] Rose of Kilravock, p. 163.

against the Clan Mackenzie. John Grant and his comrades would no doubt do their best to "birne, harry, and sla," as they were empowered to do, but with what success does not appear. The chief of the Mackenzies who defeated the Islesmen at Park was named Kenneth, and he died and was buried in Beauly Priory in February 1491-2.[1] As the Earl of Huntly's commission mentions this chief by name, the writ may have been issued before his death. He left a son, also named Kenneth, but he was a minor, and his uncle, known as Hector Roy Mackenzie, was appointed his tutor, and led the clan. It has been said that Hector Roy and his followers met the three thousand thus sent against them, and "gave a good account of them, and soon defeated and dispersed them."[2] This statement, however, which is otherwise unsupported by evidence, is made on the ground that the commission was issued so late as 1499, whereas the probability is that it was dated much earlier, as the document of 1499 is retrospective.

Some explanation of the lack of evidence on the subject is found in the king's writ of 26th October 1499, already referred to. The writ is addressed to Alexander, Lord Gordon, Thomas Fraser, Master of Lovat, and John the Grant of Freuchie, with a number of others, as sheriffs in that part. It would appear that the king's letters had been twice directed to David Ross of Balnagown, as Sheriff of Ross. On the first occasion he was charged to distrain Donald Corbett, Hugh Munro, and others, "to the avale of certane ky, oxin, hors, schepe, gayt, and vtheris gudis," named in a decree of the Lords of Council, at the instance of certain parties for whom Hugh Rose of Kilravock was procurator. This apparently refers to some private foray, but the second occasion is more important. The Sheriff was charged to distrain William Forbes in Strathglass, Welland Chisholm of Comar, and others, "to the avale of certane oxin, ky, hors, schepe, gait, caponis, hennis, geis, vittale, swine, sovmez of money, and vtheris gudis takin be thaim fra [Hucheon Rose] out of the landis of Ardmanach and the Redecastell, the tyme that he wes capitane therof." These royal letters were, however, utterly disregarded by the Sheriff, and notwithstanding other letters directed by the Council "in the first, secund, and thrid

[1] History of Beauly Priory, p. 105.

[2] History of the Clan Mackenzie, 1879, p. 90.

formez," remained wholly unexecuted by him. For due execution therefore the king's writ was issued to John Grant of Freuchie and others, as narrated. It is not improbable, judging from the fate of the former letters, that no great results followed from the later commission.

For some years after this the Laird of Freuchie seems to have remained quietly at home, engaged in gradually adding to his estate, and disposing of his children in marriage. He purchased the lands of Nether Auchroisk in 1505 from John Nairn, the Baron of Cromdale,[1] and by his infeftment therein[2] obtained a footing in the barony of Cromdale, which at a later period became entirely the property of the family. He was employed also in 1507 by George, Earl of Rothes, as his assignee and agent, to pay to Alexander Gordon of Brekowcht, at the "chymmyce" or manor-house of Muldares, or failing that, at the parish church of Rothes, on any Sunday or "othir solempnyt day," in time of high mass, the sum of £106, 13s. 4d. Scots, for redemption of the lands of Muldares, which had been under mortgage.[3]

On 10th May 1508 the Laird of Freuchie entered into a contract with John Cumming of Ernside, providing for the marriage of Thomas Cumming, his son and heir-apparent, or failing him, his brother Alexander, to Margaret Grant, the Laird's daughter, or failing her, the elder of his other daughters.[4] Another contract was entered into six months later, on 8th November 1508, at Altyre, in which the final arrangements were made as to payment of certain sums of money and settlement of lands.[5] Some delay, however, seems to have taken place in implementing the contract, as on 8th May 1509 John Grant, within the Cathedral Church of Moray, made a protest against John Cumming of Ernside, requiring the latter to fulfil his engagements.[6] Shortly after this date, on 29th June 1509, the half lands of Mulben and others in the sheriffdom of Elgin were conveyed by John Cumming, in terms of the contract, to John Grant, who was duly infeft, and his title completed by a confirmation from the Crown, dated 31st July 1509.[7]

[1] Original Charter at Castle Grant.
[2] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 44.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 46.
[4] Original Instrument at Castle Grant.
[5] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 47.
[6] Original Instrument at Castle Grant.
[7] Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 49-51.

While the Laird of Freuchie was thus peacefully engaged, the Highlands were in a greatly disturbed condition. The relations between King James the Fourth and his subjects of the Isles had ended in 1499 in an open rupture. The lands belonging to the Lords of the Isles were distributed between the powerful families of Argyll and Huntly, with acknowledgments to others of services done to the king. The rebellion which these and other measures caused was sternly suppressed, though not until, in 1503, the district of Badenoch had been wasted with fire and sword by the Islesmen. Two years were required to put down this insurrection, and to establish more thoroughly the new arrangements for jurisdiction in the Highlands and Isles. In all the measures used to that end the Earl of Huntly was one of the most active of the Royal agents.[1] John Grant of Freuchie and the Mackintoshes were bound to him in manrent service. That the latter clan aided the Earl in carrying out the king's plans may be understood from the fact that the first fierce assault of the Islesmen was directed against them and their country of Badenoch; but what part the Laird of Freuchie took, or whether he was actively engaged at all, does not appear.

It may be, however, that the steadiness with which the Laird devoted himself to his own affairs commended him to King James the Fourth as a law-abiding subject, and one to whom a position of influence could be safely intrusted. It was the king's policy to place those well affected to good government in posts where their influence could best co-operate with his own efforts to secure peace in the disturbed districts. This, indeed, is the reason assigned by the king himself for granting at this time the barony of Urquhart in favour of the Laird of Freuchie.

It has already been noticed that the lands of Urquhart and Glenmoriston were in the hands of John Grant so early as 1488. At that time he held them in lease from the Earl of Huntly, to whom he paid a yearly rent for the possession, although the Earl himself had only a temporary right to the lands, as Lieutenant of the Crown in the North, the barony of Urquhart being one of those inalienably annexed to the royal patrimony by Act of Parliament on 4th August 1455.[2] It has been asserted that the Grant family prior to 1509 obtained possession of

[1] Gregory's Highlands and Isles, pp. 94-104.

[2] Acts of Parliament, vol. ii. p. 42.

most of the lands round Urquhart, constituting the domains of the castle, as the king's chamberlains.[1] There is no clear proof that the Grants acted as chamberlains, but it may have been so, and it may also have been the good influence they exercised in that capacity which induced the king in 1509 to grant the lands of Urquhart, Corriemony, and Glenmoriston to John Grant of Freuchie, his second son John, and his natural son John, called More.[2]

In the charter of the barony of Urquhart given to the Laird of Freuchie on 8th December 1509, King James the Fourth declares the purpose of the grant to be, *inter alia*, to secure government and stability (policia et edificatione) and good rule, in the lands granted, among the inhabitants of the same, and for making those obedient to the laws who in times past had been refractory and disobedient. The same reasons and conditions accompanied the grant of the lands of Corriemony, which were bestowed upon John Grant's second lawful son, John, and the lands of Glenmoriston, which were assigned to John More Grant, a natural son of the Laird. The provisions of these feu-charters, which have been already noticed in the Introduction to this work, are very minute and remarkable, as showing the king's anxious desire for the welfare of his Highland subjects, which he trusted to his vassals to carry out.

The last provision in the charters of Urquhart and Corriemony is to the effect that if the vassals or their heirs-male be convicted of treason, murder, or common theft, they shall in that case lose the feu-farm of the lands, a clause, however, providing that they might compound for their lives. And thereafter, it is added, their heirs-male shall not enter to the lands without the consent and goodwill of the king or his successors. But this provision does not seem to have acted as a special deterrent, for in July 1510, John Grant of Freuchie, John Grant More, his natural son, and a number of indwellers in Urquhart, Moray, Knockando, Inverlochy, and others, made a composition with the Government for the crime of intercommuning with, and giving supply and assistance to rebels.[3]

[1] Statistical Account of Inverness, p. 45.
[2] Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 51-54; Registrum Magni Sigilli, vol. ii. Nos. 3390-2.
[3] Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 56, 57.

From the time of John Grant's formal infeftment in the barony of Urquhart, which took place within the castle or fortalice there, on 24th January 1510,[1] to the date of the battle of Flodden, the state of the Highlands was comparatively peaceful. Indeed, so impressed were the chiefs of the Highlands and Isles by the firm rule of King James the Fourth, that when he mustered his army before Flodden, they gathered to his standard in great force.[2] But the king's death and the loss of so many Scottish nobles, who might have held the northern chiefs in check, threw the whole of Scotland, but especially the Highlands, into confusion and anarchy.

This was soon visible, and John Grant of Freuchie was one of the earliest sufferers. There is no evidence to show whether he or his son James, who had now come to man's estate, were present with the king at Flodden. But whether they were so or not, the tide of rebellion which broke out in the Highlands soon reached them in their own neighbourhood. Immediately after the return of the northern chiefs from the south, a new insurrection was raised for proclaiming a Lord of the Isles, in the person of Sir Donald Macdonald of Lochalsh,[3] the eldest son of Sir Alexander Macdonald of Lochalsh, who had formerly claimed that title. Sir Donald himself, with a large force of Highlanders, among whom were William Chisholm of Comer, Alexander Macranald or "Alexander John M^{c}Alister-sone" in Glengarry, and others, invaded the territory of Urquhart. There they seized the castle, expelled the garrison, and plundered the neighbourhood, carrying off a somewhat miscellaneous booty, as described in the decree of the Lords of Council obtained at the instance of the aggrieved Laird of Freuchie in 1518.[4] The raid itself took place on All Saints' Day in the year 1513. Pots, pans, kettles, "nops" (napery ?), beds, sheets, blankets, coverings, pillows, fish, flesh, bread, ale, cheese, butter, and other household stuff valued at upwards of £100, were among the spoil. Large quantities of grain also were carried off, the proportions of which attest the values of the lands ravaged. From the town and grange of Kil St. Ninian were taken 300 bolls of bear, 200 bolls of oats;

[1] Original Instrument of Sasine at Castle Grant.
[2] Gregory's Highlands and Isles, p. 113.
[3] Gregory's Highlands and Isles, p. 114.
[4] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 62.

from Corriemony, 100 bolls of bear, 200 of oats; from Achmony, 60 bolls of bear, 120 bolls of oats; from Petcarilmore and Delshangie, 100 bolls of bear, 200 of oats; from Mekely, 120 bolls of oats, and 60 bolls of bear; from Carrogar, 120 bolls of oats, 60 of bear; from Tulaichla, 120 bolls of oats and 60 bolls of bear, the boll of oats being valued at 4s. and the boll of bear at 8s. Scots. Three hundred cows, valued at 26s. 8d. each, 1000 sheep, ewes, and wedders, valued on an average at 4s. each, fell a prey to the invaders. Moreover, the latter were not content with the one foray, but seized upon and occupied the lands, to the injury of the proprietor, for nearly three years. The profits, after deducting working expenses, were estimated at 300 bolls of bear and 200 bolls of oats yearly, valued at the above price per boll. To this was added the grass and pasture of 600 cows and oxen, 1000 sheep and goats, 200 horses and mares, 200 swine, each "soum" of grass being valued at 18d. The "maillis, cariage seruice, proffettis, and dewiteis" of the remainder of the lands and lordship of Urquhard, yearly, were estimated for the three years, at 120 merks of money, with "14 score bollis victuale, beir, and meill; price of the boll, viij s̃."

The extent and value of the damage done was referred to the oath of the Laird of Freuchie, who appeared personally before the Lords of Council, and he estimated the amount at £2000 of Scots money, which sum was accordingly decerned for against the defenders. It may well be doubted if it was ever paid, as at the date of the decree, 26th February 1517-18, Donald of the Isles was an outlaw, and though the Earls of Huntly and Argyll were directed to proceed against him as a rebel, little was done, and his death in the end of the year 1519 brought the rebellion of which he had been the head to a sudden close.[1]

While the Islesmen thus held rude possession of the Laird of

[1] Acts of the Lords of Council, quoted in Gregory's Highlands and Isles, pp. 125, 126. The sum decerned for was certainly still due on 6th May 1549, as at that date letters were issued under the signet of Queen Mary, at the instance of James Grant of Freuchie, son, heir, and executor of the deceased John Grant, for distraining the goods of "Margaret Ilis, ane of the tua sisteris and airis of the said vmquhill Donald Ilis [of Lochalsh], Thomas Dinwell of Kildune, sone and air of vmquhill Jonet Ilis, the vther sister, and airis of the said vmquhill Donald, and successure to him," and of others named, in payment of the sum of £2000, for which decree was given in 1517. [Letters at Castle Grant.]

Freuchie's lately acquired territory, from 1513 to 1516, he himself steadily turned his attention to matters of more peaceful interest. During the early half of 1514, James the Grant, son and apparent heir to John the Grant of Freuchie, entered into a bond of manrent service to his uncle, Alexander Ogilvie of Deskford;[1] and later in the same year his father entered into a contract with the Earl of Huntly. The latter agreement referred to the non-entries of the lands of "Auchynnisse," in the sheriffdom of Banff, which Alexander, Earl of Huntly, made over to the Laird of Freuchie in liquidation of a loan of 200 merks, and it was stipulated that if the latter desired to have these non-entries he was to pay an additional sum of 100 merks. On the 16th October following, the transaction was completed by the Laird's acceptance and payment of the 100 merks, on which the non-entries in question were made over to him.[2]

In the year 1512, Anne Grant, second daughter of John Grant of Freuchie, married Hugh Fraser, Master of Lovat, son of Thomas, Lord Fraser of Lovat,[3] and in 1520, the Laird entered into a contract for the marriage of Agnes Grant, his third daughter, to the young chief of the Clan Cameron. The contract, which was made at Urquhart, bore special reference to the possibility of future irruptions into that territory and the territory of Lochaber possessed by the Camerons, which was also exposed to the attacks of the Islesmen. The Laird of Freuchie, James Grant, his son and apparent heir, on one side, and Ewen Allanson, captain of Clan Cameron, with Donald, his son and apparent heir, on the other side, bound themselves and their heirs "to stand til vder in leil, trew, anefald kyndes, manteinans and defendoris of vderis for all the dais of thair lieffis, . . . and in speciall to defend vderis lik Johne the Grant in Vrquhart and Glenmorestone, and his ayris, and John the Grant to defend the said Ewin Allanson and his ayris in Lochabbir, agane all thame at levis or dee ma," etc. A former bond betwixt Lachlan Mackintosh of Mackintosh and Ewin Allanson, who were brothers-in-law, was to remain unbroken without prejudice to the present agreement. To cement their goodwill and mutual alliance,

[1] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 59.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 59, 60.

[3] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 58. The name of this daughter is not discoverable from the Grant Muniments, but it is said to have been Anne.

Donald Cameron was to marry, "in faice of haly kyrk," Agnes Grant, daughter to the Laird of Freuchie, and that as soon as possible after the procuring of a papal dispensation between the date of the contract and fifteen days after Martinmas next. But should the dispensation not come within the time specified, "the said Johne the Grant is bundin and oblist to caus thame be handfast and put togiddir, his said dochtir Agnes and the said Donald, for mariage to be completit in the defalt of the dispensacion."[1] Thomas, Lord Fraser of the Lovat, Alexander Cumming, son and apparent heir to Alexander Cumming of Altyre, and Patrick Grant in Ballindalloch, were sureties that the marriage should be duly completed on the arrival of the dispensation, under the penalty of 1000 merks.

Another curious contract of this date is preserved in the Grant charter-chest, and may be noted here, although the Laird of Freuchie was not a party to it. It is an agreement betwixt Donald Ewin Allansone, or Cameron of Lochiel, on one side, and Alexander John Alexanderson, or Macranald of Glengarry, on the other. They bind themselves to each other in mutual friendship, and to an amicable arrangement as to the fourteen merk lands of Invergarry, should either of them acquire these lands. If Donald Cameron was the first to obtain possession, he agreed to lease to Macranald so much, namely, the Lagane, a quarter land extending yearly to three merks of penny mail, Maldelle, one merk land, Dellecharne and Badintawag, one merk land. On the other hand, should Macranald become the first possessor, he agreed to lease to Cameron, Invergarry, a three merk land, and Killeane, extending to five merks yearly.[2]

The Laird of Freuchie and his clan appear to have been summoned to muster under the Duke of Albany, as regent, on 20th October 1523, to march against England. But owing, no doubt, to advanced age, and probably also to the example of the Earl of Huntly, neither the Laird of Freuchie, nor any of his name, responded to the summons, as appears from a remission under the Great Seal, dated 13th February 1527-8.[3]

The Laird of Freuchie's last public act, as ascertained from the family muniments, was to take part in a curious tribal agreement, denominated a "Letter of Slains," in which the Clan Grant and the inhabitants of

[1] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 64. [2] *Ibid.* p. 66. [3] *Ibid.* p. 72.

Strathdee, or the Farquharsons, bewailed their mutual raids on each other's property, and resolved henceforth to live and die in concord. This contract is drawn up in solemn form by a notary, and is so remarkable as to be worthy of translation in full, omitting the formal portions.

On the 8th of October 1527, in presence of the subscribing notary and other witnesses, appeared the honourable and worthy men and good women, John Grant of Freuchie, James Grant, his son and apparent heir, Robert Grant, John Grant More, and Patrick Grant in Ballindalloch, in their own name, and that of the whole community, and "lye Clan de Grantis," their kinsmen, friends, and adherents, on one part, and Finlay Farquharson and others,[1] tenants of the lands of our sovereign lord the king, of Strathdee, within the diocese of Aberdeen, for themselves, their children, orphans, kinsmen, friends, adherents, and others whom it concerns or may concern in future, on the other part; wholly deploring and taking ill the cutting off (truncacionem) and plundering of the men of Strathdee, and the carrying off of their cattle, grain, and other goods by the said Grants, their kinsmen, friends, and adherents; and on the other hand the cutting off and plundering of the men of Strathspey and Strathdon, their cattle, grain, and goods by Finlay Farquharson, his confederates and accomplices, their kinsmen, friends, and adherents; and desiring, so far as human weakness can, to redeem, satisfy, and amend these most disgraceful crimes towards God in the highest, the Three and One, our sovereign lord the king, and the injured party, and for the rest to live and end their days in concord and friendship, quietly and peacefully among themselves; for these reasons the said parties for themselves, and in name as above, induced neither by force nor fear, uncompelled and unconstrained, but of their own mere and free wills, having regard to their utility and quiet, and after much long and matured consideration, have asserted, by their great oath separately sworn before me, the notary-public underwritten, the holy gospels of God being touched, and have affirmed that they have mutually laid aside towards each other all rancour and displeasure of mind for the said men killed, slain, maimed, and mutilated, and with the most impartial and cordial minds, proclaim and

[1] Then follows a long array of names, male and female more or less Celtic, for which reference may be made to the document itself, vol. iii. of this work, p. 68.

acquit them quiet and peaceable in judgment and without, for all time to come, and that for themselves and any others whomsoever in their name, a fit satisfaction being first considered, and on each side actually completed: Also they have to each other mutually made real, actual, and full contentment, recompence, and compensation of animals, grain, and whatever other things, losses, expenses, and injuries and interest taken away on either side, carried off and destroyed, a diligent inquiry being first made as to the number and value of the same; concerning which matters in all and sundry they have in more ample form exonerated and acquitted themselves for ever, promising that no further agreement shall be sought by them or others in their name. The parties are also willing that the premises in all their clauses be extended in more ample form, and that this present instrument, in absence of their seals, shall be accepted in lieu of a final exoneration and remission, or letters "lye slaynys," of wives, children, kinsmen, and adherents slain, according to the custom of the country, as if it were confirmed by the seals of parties or by any other security: And the said parties have on both sides bound and obliged themselves to me, the notary-public underwritten, in the stead and name of all and sundry whom it now concerns, has concerned, or may in any way concern in future, to observe the premises unbroken, their great oath intervening, and under pain of perjury, inability, and infamy. Upon which things the parties required instruments, etc.[1]

This instrument was drawn up at "Dilmorar, within the parish of Straithawin," and was succeeded a few months later by one of precisely similar tenor between the Grants and the tenants of the Earl of Huntly and others in Strathdee. It is not clear whether John Grant of Freuchie took part in the latter agreement: probably not, as it was made on 4th January 1527-8, while he died in the following May, and he is not mentioned in the notary's instrument of a year later.[2]

The agreements just narrated do not seem to have been immediately acted upon. The first one, that of October 1527, apparently followed on a raid by the Farquharsons, which affected the king's property as well as that of the Grants. The latter invoked the aid of the law in the affair, and in 1532, four years after John Grant's decease, a summons was issued

[1] Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 68, 69.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 70.

against the Farquharsons by King James the Fifth. This document, which is unhappily somewhat mutilated, narrates that in the year 1527,[1] the Farquharsons took from the lands of the Brae of Mar eighty-six cows, valued at 50s. each, sent by the deceased John Grant "with his servandis to have bene broucht to ws (the king) for payment of oure malis and dewiteis of oure landis of Urquhard and Glenfarmych (Glencarnie) liand within our sheriffdomes of Inuernes and Elgin, in the yeir of God j^{m}v^{c}xxvij zeris." It will thus be seen that the Farquharsons were impartial in exacting toll from his Majesty as well as from his subjects. This incident also shows that the Laird of Freuchie paid at least part of his Crown rents or feu-farm duties in kind.

In somewhat amusing contrast to the levy upon the king's rental, the summons refers to another foray of the Farquharsons, this time against a son of the church, one of their own name, who appears in various Grant documents as a notary attendant on the Laird. In December 1527, just two months *after* the first agreement narrated above, the Farquharsons seized from the lands of "Vry, beside Cowe in Mvrenes," in the sheriffdom of Kincardine, goods belonging to Sir Alexander Farquharson, chaplain, servant to the deceased Laird, the inventory of which is curious as affording a glimpse of certain clerical properties. The spoil consisted of one black and one brown horse, valued at about £10 each; a doublet of double worset, price 48s.; three "sarkis," price 6s. each; "tua suerdis," price 58s. each; "tua paris of hois of blak and quhit claitht," at 14s. the pair; one pound of pepper, value 10s.; four ounces of "cannell" [cinnamon], valued at 16s.; half a pound of ginger, price 4s.; two ounces of saffron, valued at 12s.[2] For the cows and the spices, of which they had thus taken forcible possession, the Farquharsons were, in the justice ayre of Aberdeen, adjudged to pay value, which, although the Earl of Huntly and James Crichton of Frendraught were cautioners, they delayed to do, and therefore the summons was raised by John Grant's executor.

Although the second Laird of Freuchie got his lands erected into a barony, there is no evidence, until a later period, of the existence of a castle

[1] The precise date cannot be ascertained, owing to the injured condition of the original paper.
[2] Original Summons at Castle Grant.

of Freuchie. In the High Treasurer's acknowledgment of the Laird's composition in 1510 for intercommuning with rebels, he is described as dwelling within the sheriffdom of Elgin. Freuchie was situated in the shire of Inverness.

After a long and laborious life, spent in the service of three sovereigns, in the preservation of tranquillity in the Highlands, acquiring new estates and consolidating them with the old, John Grant, second Laird of Freuchie, quietly departed this life in May 1528.

As already shown, he married, in 1484, Margaret Ogilvie, daughter of Sir James Ogilvie of Deskford. He is also said to have married Elizabeth Forbes, daughter of John, Lord Forbes, but this is evidently a mistake, as she was the wife of his son James. John Grant of Freuchie had two sons :—

1. James, who succeeded him; and
2. John, who received, on 8th December 1509, a charter from King James the Fourth of the lands and barony of Corriemony. In that charter he is designed younger son of John Grant of Freuchie. From him the Grants of Sheuglie are descended, of which family Charles Grant, Lord Glenelg, was a cadet.

He had also, so far as can be ascertained, five daughters :—

1. Margaret, who married, about 1508, Thomas Cumming, son and apparent heir of John Cumming of Ernside.
2. Anne, who married, about 1512, Hugh Fraser, Master of Lovat, and was the mother of Hugh, Master of Lovat, killed with his father, in a fight with the Clan Ranald, in 1544.
3. Agnes, married, in 1520, Donald Cameron, the younger chief of Clan Cameron.
4. Elizabeth, said to have married John Mackenzie of Kintail. They had a charter from the Crown in 1543.[1]
5. Christina, mentioned as a creditor of her brother James in the testament of the latter, dated 1st June 1553.

John Grant, second of Freuchie, had also a natural son, John Grant, surnamed More, who was the ancestor of the Grants of Glenmoriston, of whom a pedigree is given in this work.

[1] History of the Mackenzies, p. 116.

IX.—JAMES GRANT, Third of Freuchie.
ELIZABETH FORBES, his first wife.
CHRISTINA BARCLAY, his second wife.

1528–1553.

On the death of John Grant, second of Freuchie, in 1528, the baronies of Freuchie, Urquhart, and the other now widely-spread territories of his family, were inherited by his son and heir, James Grant, who became the third Laird of Freuchie. Like his father, this Laird added to the family estates, although some of his new acquisitions could not be maintained. Indeed, he had difficulty in retaining peaceful possession of the barony of Urquhart, as will be seen in the course of his memoir. He was also closely associated with the Earl of Huntly in reference to his rule in the northern counties, and they had many transactions about the exchange of estates and the pacification of the Highlands.

During the lifetime of his father, James Grant does not appear to have come very prominently forward. His first transaction, as gathered from the muniments, was a bond of manrent, already casually referred to, given by him to his uncle, Alexander Ogilvie of Deskford, on 19th April 1514.[1] The general terms of this bond were those common to bonds of that character, but contained a special clause of some interest. James Grant bound himself "specialie aganis the Clanquhattane gif thai invayd or puttis at his (Ogilvie's) landis, hous of Dawe (Daviot), himself or ony of his seruandis," to resist and defend the lands and others with his full power. This obligation may have been dictated by the ties of near kinship to Ogilvie, but the more immediate cause of such a special bond was no doubt the raid made by the Mackintoshes upon the Ogilvies, known as "the second hership of Petty." This raid was headed by Dougal Mackintosh, called Dougal Mor, and his son, and was made to regain for

[1] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 59.

their clan their original possession of Petty, which, since the annexation of the earldom of Moray to the Crown, in 1455, had been held from 1495 by the Gordons, and afterwards by Sir William Ogilvie of Banff.[1] In the royal letters of summons, issued in 1516, against the Mackintoshes, he is called Sir William Ogilvie of Stratherne [Strathnairn]. He had only held Petty for about two years, when his place of Halhill or Petty was attacked, and a large booty carried off.

Between 1514 and 1527 nothing can be learned regarding James Grant, but in the latter year, as the future chief of the Grants, he was a party to the agreement of 8th October 1527 with the Farquharsons and Crown tenants of Strathdee, narrated at length in the memoir of his father. During the same year, James Grant, younger of Freuchie, is named in another agreement of the same nature made with the tenants in Strathdee of the king, the Earl of Huntly, and of James Gordon of Abergeldie.[2] At a later date, on 19th January 1538, another agreement was made, by which James Grant of Freuchie and others made payment to the Farquharsons of a sum of 800 merks as compensation for spoliations.[3]

In these tribal agreements the names of the tenants of Strathdee, and those who may be presumed to be the Clan Farquharson, are given at some length, but only the Laird of Freuchie and three or four other Grants are named as representing "lye Clan de Grauntis," as it is called. As this is the first occurrence in the Grant muniments of the word "Clan" as applied to the Grant family, it is a matter of interest to know how it was composed.

As the territories of Stratherrick and Inverallan, the tenants of which might have come in Highland fashion to be accounted a clan, passed into the hands of female heirs, and were lost to the name of Grant, there was no opportunity for the formation of a patriarchal or clannish relation between the Grants and their followers until the time of Sir Duncan Grant of Freuchie. Under him the Grants first acquired lands which remained permanently in their possession. But as the family territory increased, and was consolidated into various baronies in the hands of John Grant the second of Freuchie, his grandson and successor, it was

[1] The Mackintoshes and Clan Chattan, by A. M. Shaw, p. 182.

[2] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 70.

[3] Original Instrument at Castle Grant.

more probably during the long life of this laird that the "clan" properly so called became fully formed. Surrounded, as was Sir Duncan Grant, and still more his grandson, with his larger possessions, by Highland clans or septs, each member of which was ready to follow the chief of his name, and avenge his quarrels with any neighbouring proprietor by harrying cattle and corn, it was natural that though not themselves of Celtic descent, the Grants should yet be gradually induced to adopt the Celtic customs, and encourage their tenants and vassals to look up to them as chieftains. To this the tenants and vassals, being in many cases Celts, would readily conform, and thus would arise the Clan Grant, which, from the extent of the family territory, soon grew powerful enough to cope with the older Highland clans in its neighbourhood.

In support of this theory, it may be shown that the minor members of the clan were at first not Grants, but natives bearing names of Celtic origin. That this was so in Urquhart is proved by a letter of composition issued by the High Treasurer of Scotland, dated 10th July 1510, shortly after the Laird of Freuchie received these lands in feu from the Crown, in which a number of the tenants in the lands of Urquhart are specially mentioned by name, and their patronymics are wholly Celtic.[1] Further, on 13th February 1527, letters under the Great Seal were issued by King James the Fifth, remitting to John Grant of Freuchie and others their offence in not mustering with the Scots army which marched in 1523 against England, under the command of John, Duke of Albany. These letters are of a date contemporary with the tribal agreements in which the Clan Grant is named for the first time. The persons named in the letters are John Grant of Freuchie, James Grant, his son and apparent heir, William Grant, brother of John of Freuchie, John Grant, natural son of the Laird of Freuchie, Malcolm Grant, Patrick Grant in Ballindalloch, and John Grant, the younger son of the Laird. These are all the Grants properly so called, but besides these are a number of names more or less Celtic in form, one or two of which suggest that the name of Grant was being used as a patronymic.[2] This fact is noteworthy when these letters are compared with another document dated ten years

[1] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 57.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 72.

later, an instrument narrating the induction of a minister to the parish of Duthil or Glencarnie in 1537, in which the parishioners are named to the number of fifty-nine, all of whom have Celtic names.[1] Thirty years later, on 9th July 1569, a Remission by King James the Sixth to the Clan Grant enumerates forty-seven names of persons, all named Grant, and all, with three exceptions, residing in Duthil, or near Freuchie, on the north bank of the Spey.[2] This seems to prove either that the Grants, properly so called, had multiplied greatly between 1527 and 1569, or else that the Celtic tenants had, in some cases, adopted the name of their chief. This last statement is so far warranted by the terms of a document, dated 19th July 1537, in which the granter is designed "John M'Conquhy, in Garthrynbeg," his seal also bearing the legend, "S. Joannis Makconoch . . ."; and in 1581, in a writ indorsed on the same document, his son describes himself as "Duncane Grant in Gartinbeg, sone and air to vmquhill John Makconachie Grant in Gartinbeg."[3] Here the name of Grant seems to have been adopted as a surname in addition to the patronymic of M'Conquhy previously used, and no doubt there were other cases of the same kind. There is in the muniments of the family no mention of a Clan Grant prior to the documents of 1527 and 1528 above referred to.

James Grant of Freuchie received from King James the Fifth, on 24th December 1529, a gift of the non-entry duties payable from the Crown lands of Glencarnie, Ballindalloch, and Urquhart.[4] Confirmations of the feu-charters of these lands were also given in due form, but a question arose betwixt the Crown and the feuar as to payment of the feu-duties of Glencarnie and Ballindalloch. As already related in the Introduction, for sixteen years previous to 1529, or from the death of King James the Fourth, the Crown rents of these lands had been paid not to the Crown, to whom they were due, but to James Stewart, a natural brother of King James the Fifth, who, in 1501, was created Earl of Moray. After the king's death at Flodden, when the kingdom fell into confusion, the Crown lands came into the hands of those nobles who had charge of the young king. They used the Crown patrimony to support their own party, and

[1] Original Instrument at Castle Grant.
[2] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 137.
[3] Original Document at Castle Grant.
[4] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 73.

in such wise, no doubt, the Earl of Moray claimed and received payment of feus from lands nominally within his earldom, which ought to have been paid into the Royal Treasury.

When King James the Fifth assumed the reins of government in 1528, he took measures to repair the dilapidations of the Crown patrimony, and to recover the non-entries, feu-duties, and other casualties due to the Crown. Among these were the feu-duties of Glencarnie and Ballindalloch, in regard to which the king brought an action before the Lords of Council for the recovery of arrears, and for declaring the lands forfeited. Decree was given on 30th March 1530, when James Grant of Freuchie was decerned to pay £71 of yearly rent for each of the sixteen years preceding the year 1529, and £71 for the rent of the year 1529. In consideration, however, of a writ under the Privy Seal, providing that the Laird of Freuchie should suffer no prejudice in regard to payment of arrears, but that he should pay a composition,[1] the defender in the action was assoilzied from the petition of the summons as to forfeiture, and action was reserved to him against the Earl of Moray. This decree was confirmed by the king on 2d April 1532.[2]

The Laird of Freuchie went to Edinburgh to plead his cause in person, a fact to which no doubt the royal permission refers, in which liberty was given to him, in 1530, to go to any part of the realm on his lawful business.[3] He paid the sum in which he had been found liable, in the August following the decreet, and received a discharge from the High Treasurer for 1700 merks, in full of the amount at his debit in "the chekker rollis."[4]

The accounting with the Earl of Moray had next to be arranged. On 28th March 1530, in reference to the king's claim and the proceedings following thereon, the Laird of Freuchie had made a solemn protest against the Earl of Moray, demanding redress and relief for the arrears of feu-duty improperly paid to the Earl, in response to which the latter, on 21st June 1530, entered into a bond with the Laird of Freuchie. From this document it appears that the Laird had bound himself to be "man and servand" to the Earl for life, in return for which the Earl obliged himself, with all

[1] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 74. [2] *Ibid.* p. 75. [3] Registrum Secreti Sigilli, vol. viii. fol. 149. [4] Original Instrument at Castle Grant, dated 23d August 1530.

" possibill power and diligens," to aid the Laird in enjoying the lands of Glencarnie. The Earl agreed to solicit the king to give to James Grant all right or title he might have to the lands of Glencarnie, owing to non-payment of the feu-duties, and to renounce all right the Crown might have to the lands over and above the annual feu. The Earl of Moray also renounced all claim he himself might have to the lands in question, excepting to the annual feu-duty, and further obliged himself to procure from the Crown a discharge of the arrears of rent "intromettit be ws sen the feld of Flovden." This bond is signed at Elgin.[1]

In the end of the year 1528, the Clan Chattan, then under the leadership of Hector Mackintosh, had become so troublesome to their neighbours in the lowlands of Moray, that a royal mandate was issued for their extermination. It was directed to the Earls of Sutherland and Caithness, Lords Forbes and Fraser of Lovat, the captain of the Clan Cameron, and others, who were commanded to pass "all at anys . . . upon the said Clanquhattane, and invaid thame to thair vter destructioun, be slauchtir, byrning, drowning and vther wayis; and leif na creatur levand of that clann except preistis, wemen and barnis." The women and children were to be shipped to Norway.[2] John Grant of Freuchie is named as one of the executors of this sanguinary commission, but as he had died before it was granted, the office fell to his son. Had the commission been acted upon to the letter, the Clan Chattan would have been exterminated, but the chiefs and barons, to whom it was intrusted, were slow to execute it. Notwithstanding that this commission was still hanging *in terrorem* over their heads, the Mackintoshes had, in 1531, a second time attacked and despoiled the tower of Halhill, in Petty, belonging to Ogilvie of Strathnairn, and three years later, in 1534, the same clan destroyed the castle and place of Daviot, also belonging to the Ogilvies. The Laird of Freuchie, during his father's lifetime, had, as already stated, given a bond of manrent to assist in defending Daviot against the Clan Chattan, but it would seem that he had not only failed to do this, but had aided and abetted the aggressors. For this crime he, with John Grant of Ballindalloch and John Grant of Culcabock, found surety for the sum of 1000 merks to underlie the law at Inverness. This

[1] Original Bond at Castle Grant. [2] Spalding Club Miscellany, vol. ii. pp. 83, 84.

surety was granted at Inverness, on 11th May 1536, and the crime charged was that they were art and part in the assistance given to Hector Mackintosh and others at the besieging of the house of Daviot; the treasonable burning of the buildings; the slaughter of twenty persons, men, women, and children; the "hership" of the grain, cattle, etc., to the value of £12,000 Scots; and the resetting and assisting Hector and his accomplices after they were denounced rebels.[1]

It does not, however, follow, nor is there much evidence to show, that the Laird of Freuchie himself had any active share in this raid; but no doubt some of his tenants or others, for whom as chief he was responsible, were guilty, and he was thus made their surety in the eye of the law. Another explanation is that he had failed in his duty as laid down in a warrant, signed by King James the Fifth on 13th May 1534. The king charges the Laird of Freuchie to aid the Earl of Huntly, Lieutenant-General, against Hector Mackintosh and his accomplices, and to invade them "be slauchtir, heirschip and fyir," taking their goods as a reward.[2] Hector Mackintosh is said to have married a daughter of James Grant.[3] No evidence has been found as to this; but as there was an old kinship with the Mackintoshes, the Laird of Freuchie was probably not very active in carrying out the royal warrant. That his tenants abetted the marauders may, however, readily be surmised, and in this case some Urquhart men seem to have been among the defaulters, as on 26th November 1534 a composition was granted to certain parties residing there, for the old offence of absence from the host at Solway (in 1523), and for other crimes, supply and assistance given to Hector Mackintosh being excepted from the remission.[4] The offence of remaining absent from the army, which, under the Duke of Albany, besieged for a short time the Castle of Wark, seems to have been more than once used as a plea for exacting fines. The army was mustered in October 1523, and was only a few weeks in the field, yet in 1527 a remission was issued to the Laird of Freuchie and others; and again, on 22d July 1535,[5] the Laird had remitted

[1] Invernessiana, by Mr. Fraser-Mackintosh, p. 206.

[2] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 1.

[3] The Mackintoshes and Clan Chattan, by A. M. Shaw, p. 197.

[4] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 77.

[5] *Ibid.*

to him the same, as well as later offences. This later document, however, was more ample, in that it not only pardoned the Laird's own misdeeds, but inhibited others from annoying him. Yet the royal pardon was not granted without a clause hinting at sufficient satisfaction, which was duly made in the substantial form of £1000 Scots, for which the king granted a discharge on 3d January 1535-6.[1] Betweenthe date of the ample remission referred to and that of the payment of the money, the Laird of Freuchie received a letter under the king's Privy Seal, granting to the Laird for his lifetime, and to his "kynnismen, freyndis, houshald men, tenentis, seruandis and inhabitantis of his landis of Strathspey, Strathovne, Mulben, Urquhard, and all vtheris his landis," the privilege of exemption from appearing in any court, except the Court of Session in civil actions, and the Lords of Justiciary in criminal causes, and discharging the judges and officers of all inferior courts from summoning the Laird or his kinsmen for any reason whatever.[2]

Probably owing to the question as to payment of the feu of Glencarnie, James Grant was not formally infeft as heir of his father in any of his lands for nearly five years after his father's death in 1528. The lands of Tullochgorm, Curr, Clurie, Tulloch, and a half of Dalfour, in the lordship of Badenoch and shire of Inverness, were held of the Earl of Huntly. Margaret Lady Gordon became the superior of these lands for her jointure or terce. As Lady of Gordon and Badenoch she granted a precept of *clare constat* for infefting James Grant as heir to his father, which bears date at Bog o' Gight, 20th March 1532.[3] Infeftment in other lands was even longer postponed. On 1st August 1535, by an agreement between him and John Grant in Ballindalloch, the Laird of Freuchie became bound to make up his title to the lands of Glencarnie and Ballindalloch before the following Easter, and thereafter to infeft John Grant and his heirs in Ballindalloch in the usual form.[4] This contract was eventually fulfilled, though not within the period named. James Grant was retoured as heir to his father in the lands of Glencarnie and Ballindalloch. The retour is not preserved, but the king's precept of sasine following upon it is dated 27th February 1537, and

[1] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 80.
[2] Vol. ii. of this work, pp. 1, 2.
[3] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 76.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 78.

infeftment was given at both places—at Ballindalloch on 24th, and at the principal messuage of Glencarnie on 26th April the same year.[1] On 3d October 1536, by an Inquest held at Inverness, the Laird of Freuchie was duly retoured heir to his father in the lands of Freuchie, with the castle and fortalice of the same, and other lands of the barony of Freuchie; also in the castle and lands of the lordship of Urquhart, both Urquhart and Freuchie lying in the sheriffdom of Inverness.[2] Some delay, however, took place in completing the title, as infeftment was given so late as 1538, at the castle and fortalice of Urquhart on 4th June, and at the castle and fortalice of Freuchie on 7th June in that year.[3] The lands of Freuchie were held by the old tenure of ward and relief, and the lordship of Urquhart by paying a yearly feu-farm of £46, 6s. 8d. Scots. On 7th July 1537, the Laird of Freuchie was infeft in Nether Auchroisk in Cromdale, on a precept of *clare constat* from Thomas Nairn, baron of Cromdale; and on 28th July 1539, at Elgin, the Laird was retoured heir to his father in the half-town and lands of Mulben and others, lying in the sheriffdom of Elgin.

No reference to a castle or fortalice at Freuchie is found in the muniments of the family prior to the retour of 1536. When John Grant, the second of Freuchie, was infeft as heir to his grandfather, Sir Duncan Grant, in 1489, the sasine was given upon the soil of the lands.[4] In the Crown charter erecting Freuchie into a barony, no allusion is made to a castle, of which, had such existed, special mention would have been made.[5] Further, Freuchie lay in Inverness-shire, while in 1510 the then Laird of Freuchie is described as residing in Elginshire.[6] This may mean that he resided on some part of Glencarnie, which was in the shire of Elgin, but of this no evidence exists; and it is also worthy of note that no document extant, executed by the Lairds of Freuchie as principals prior to 1536, or indeed for some time after that date, is dated at Freuchie, or anywhere in Glencarnie.

The precept by Sir Duncan Grant of Freuchie for infefting Douglas of Pittendreich in the lands of Sheriffston, is dated on 25th September 1475,

[1] Original Instruments of Sasine at Castle Grant.
[2] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 80.
[3] Original Instruments of Sasine at Castle Grant.
[4] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 38.
[5] *Ibid.* p. 41.
[6] *Ibid.* p. 57.

at Elgin.[1] The contract of marriage in 1484 between John Grant, second of Freuchie, and Sir James Ogilvie, was made at Huntly's residence of Bog o' Gight.[2] The contract for the marriage of the Laird of Freuchie's daughter with Thomas Cumming, younger of Ernside, in 1508, is dated at Altyre.[3] The contract between Alexander, Earl of Huntly, and the Laird of Freuchie in 1514 as to the lands of Auchinniss is dated at Huntly.[4] The indenture between the Laird of Freuchie and the chief of Clan Cameron in 1520 is dated at Urquhart,[5] then in the hands of the former, and this is the first document executed by any Laird of Freuchie at any residence which is known to be his own. It is probable, therefore, that the castle of Freuchie was only being built, and not quite finished in 1536, as, although sasine was given at it in 1538, there is no evidence of residence until 1551, all documents signed by the Lairds of Freuchie in the interval being dated at Elgin, Kinloss, Inverness, or Conwent (Convinth). This Laird of Freuchie was the first who resided in the castle. He dates a bond of maintenance to John Grant of Ballindalloch from Freuchie on 1st May 1551;[6] he made his will there at "his castle of Freuchie," also called "his place of Ballacastell," on 1st June 1553,[7] and he died there on 26th August the same year.[8]

In the retour of 1536 the valued rental of the lands round Freuchie, that is, Freuchie, the two Culfoichs, Auchnagall, Dalfour, the two Congashes, Glenlochy, etc., is first stated. It was estimated at the time of the retour as £48 yearly, and in time of peace at £24 yearly of Scots money. Considering the proportionate value of money in those days as compared with the present, and that Urquhart was in 1517 valued by its proprietor at a free rental yearly of about £160 of victual alone;[9] estimating further the value of Glencarnie and Ballindalloch in proportion to the feu paid to the Crown, as about £200 Scots yearly, and adding the valued rental of

[1] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 32. [2] *Ibid.* p. 35.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 47. [4] *Ibid.* p. 59. [5] *Ibid.* p. 64.
[6] *Ibid.* p. 103. [7] *Ibid.* pp. 108, 110.

[8] As a specimen of Mr. Chapman's compilation on the history of the Grants, his account of Ballachastell and Freuchie may be noted. He states that the barony was acquired by Aud Law or Allan Grant, representative of Henning Grant's family, as a "tochar" on his marriage with Mora Macgregor, daughter of Neil Macgregor, who was lineally descended from Gregorius Magnus, King of Scotland. It is added that Patrick Grant of Freuchie and Ballachastell was the representative of that marriage, that he was born about the year 1020, and that his eldest daughter Wishella married Duncan II., 88th King of Scotland, in the eleventh century.—[Print of 1876, pp. 10, 11.]

[9] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 63.

Freuchie and Mulben as above, it will be seen that the Laird of Freuchie must have been one of the wealthiest proprietors of his time, and able to wield no inconsiderable influence.

Questions between churchmen and their vassals were of frequent occurrence in the time of this Laird. Although it will be presently shown that he was in favour with churchmen, he had a dispute in the year 1539 with his neighbours the Black Friars, Dominicans or Preaching Friars, of Elgin, but what the precise point was cannot now be ascertained. To enforce the matter the friars had obtained letters from the Crown, and on 5th December 1539 the Laird of Freuchie went to Elgin, and formally requested from John Forsyth, the king's macer, a copy of the royal letters, that "he might be able duly to obey the said letters in all points." He further declared his readiness, as "an obedient son and servant" of the king, to obey the force and effect of the letters to the utmost. He utterly denied that he had any personal interest with the dwellers and tenants labouring and occupying the kirk lands belonging to the friars; and with regard to anything the friars might justly and duly require of him, he was prepared to obey and submit to the letters, according to their tenor, to the utmost of his capacity, and to be charged with the execution of the affair at any time. The Laird of Freuchie further asserted, that for this very end he had come to Elgin after the publication of the king's letters, and with no other business in view, and he solemnly made protest that the publication of the king's mandate should be no prejudice to him in the future, because he had not been able to have a copy of the letters themselves.[1]

The Laird of Freuchie's growing influence cannot be better estimated than by observing his relation to the clergy on other occasions than the one now noticed. He was about this period appointed by Robert Reid, afterwards Bishop of Orkney, bailie of the abbey of Kinloss, an office usually conferred on men who could defend the church and protect its revenues. For a similar reason the Bishop of Moray entered into a contract with the Laird of Freuchie as to the church lands of Strathspey. As the terms of this agreement have been fully detailed in the Introduction in con-

[1] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 82.

nection with the lands to which it relates, they need not be referred to here, unless where bearing on the personal relations of the Laird of Freuchie to the church.

At this period the clergy in general throughout the country were beginning to intrust their lands to such lay barons as were able in return not only to protect the lands of the church, but to pay a high feu-duty for the lands. The practice became more common at a later date, when the clergy found their power over the vassals of the church lands declining. But even so early as 1512, while the power of ecclesiasticism was still strong, the privileges of the clergy were invaded by powerful and turbulent lay barons, who made application to Rome and elsewhere for grants of abbacies, etc., for their own creatures or kinsmen, that they might have a control over the administration of ecclesiastical revenues. This was specially the case during the minority of King James the Fifth, and while Henry the Eighth of England and Cardinal Wolsey interfered in Scottish affairs. In self-defence, therefore, and for the security of the church lands, the clergy resorted to the expedient of appointing some powerful baron as bailie of their territory, with special privileges ; and by feu-farming to him a large portion of the kirk lands, at a high rental, a steady income from the lands was secured. Thus the Laird of Freuchie was made, as stated, bailie of Kinloss, Ogilvie of Dunlugas was bailie of the territory of Cupar Priory, Scott of Buccleuch was bailie of the lands of the Abbey of Melrose, and the third Earl of Eglinton was made justiciar and chamberlain of the Abbey of Kilwinning.[1]

There is indeed no special indication in the contract now under review of a disturbed condition of the church lands in Strathspey, but it would appear that these lands had already been let on a terminable lease to the Laird of Freuchie, and the pecuniary result had been so satisfactory that the Bishop resolved to give the new tenant a more stable interest in the lands. The advantageous result to be gained by the church is frankly stated in fixing the rental to be paid, which was the sum of £93, 10s. yearly according to the old rental, and £31, 3s. 4d. " to be pait yeirlie in agmentatioun of the said reverend fadir rentale, extending to the thrid penny mair

[1] Registrum Magni Sigilli, Lib. xxxi. No. 77.

thane the said reverende fader rentale beris or euir gaif to the said reverende fadir predecessouris of befoir." In consideration of this large accession of income the Bishop of Moray agreed to infeft the Laird of Freuchie, his heirs, and seven of his surname, in the lands, fishings, etc., of the barony of Strathspey, as detailed in the contract and enumerated in the Introduction to this work, to hold the lands in feu-farm heritably. The rental was to be as above, with the addition of so much to be paid yearly, in kind, for the mill of Dalvey. The Laird of Freuchie was also to pay to the bishop a sum of ready money, amounting to 4000 merks, by instalments as stipulated, and to give the usual vassal's service in the Bishop's courts.[1]

A certain amount of opposition seems to have been made to this contract, and that from a somewhat unexpected quarter. The Bishop, it is true, entered into the contract at first without the formal consent of the Dean and Chapter of Moray, but it was not from them that opposition arose, nor was it from other prelates as representing the church. The opposition came from John Grant of Ballindalloch and his brother-german, Patrick Grant of Dalvey, who insisted that they should have charters to themselves of certain lands named in the Bishop's agreement. It had been arranged between the Bishop and the Laird that the latter should choose the seven of his friends who were to share the barony of Strathspey among them. Whether Ballindalloch and Dalvey thought they were likely to be excluded does not appear, but they seem to have gained the ear of King James the Fifth, and a few days after the signing of the contract, a curious occurrence took place, in which the Bishop figured somewhat awkwardly. It is graphically described by the notary who was present, to whom the Bishop made his protest.

The agreement had been signed on 24th February 1539. On the last day of that month, within the house of the famous Cardinal Beaton, situated in the Cowgate of Edinburgh, the bishop professed his readiness to resile from the contract, if the Laird of Freuchie would consent, and would also withdraw. No definite reason is given for this change of purpose; but on the 5th of March following, while the Bishop of Moray was in the lodging (hospicium) of one Robert Leslie in Edinburgh, about

[1] Original Contract, dated 24th February 1539, at Castle Grant.

three o'clock in the afternoon, there entered James Learmonth of Dairsie, the master of the king's household, and David Wood of Craig, the king's comptroller, with a message in the name of His Majesty. They told the reverend father that the king required and commanded him, notwithstanding the contract with the Laird of Freuchie, to feu to John Grant of Ballindalloch the lands of Advie and others, and to Patrick Grant of Dalvey the lands of that name and others in Strathspey. The Bishop "ansuerit and prayit thame to schaw the kingis grace that he wes contrackit, oblist, and moneist" to feu the whole barony of Strathspey to James Grant, and he exhibited the contract signed and sealed, with the admonition of the official of Lothian. To this the messengers replied, that "it was the kingis grace mynde" that the lands in question should be let to John and Patrick Grant, "for sic causis as tha wald nocht schaw at that tyme," and that they would do diligence to cause the Laird of Freuchie renounce the contract, and would keep the bishop scatheless. The bishop then said he would sign the charter at the king's command, but under protest, that he would not renounce the contract except with the Laird's consent, and not otherwise, "becaus he wald nocht put his conscience and faith in na mannis credyte." Still the good bishop felt himself coerced by the civil power, which in his particular case was stronger than the ecclesiastical; for immediately after the exit of the royal messengers, the perplexed prelate relieved his feelings to the notary and witnesses, by solemnly protesting that though he was to sign charters to John and Patrick Grant, he made faith he did so "be compulsion and dredour, quhilk may fall on ane constant man be the seuerite of the kingis grace," and for no other reason, being already pledged to the Laird of Freuchie "under panis of cursing."[1]

Ballindalloch and Dalvey thus carried their point, the Laird of Freuchie probably thinking it vain to contest the matter, though no formal evidence exists that he renounced the contract. The latter was in the end fulfilled in the greater part of its conditions, and the barony of Strathspey was apportioned among the Grants, as narrated in the Introduction, and a large accession of territory thus secured to the family. The completion of the various feu-charters, and sealing of them, seems to have been carried out

[1] Original Instrument of Protest at Castle Grant.

with special care, as among the papers at Castle Grant is a formal discharge by the collector of the Cathedral Church of Moray, for no less a sum than £10 Scots, for the sealing of the charters of the Laird of Freuchie and his friends, with the common seal of the chapter.[1] This document is dated 3d January 1541; and about two years later, on 7th May 1544, the Bishop of Moray acknowledges receipt of 260 merks, the last instalment of 2800 merks, agreed to be paid on behalf of the Laird of Freuchie and his friends.[2] As the articles of agreement are said to be dated at Elgin on 8th May 1541, and as the original contract of 1539 bound the Laird to pay 4000 merks, it would appear that though the proceedings of Ballindalloch and Dalvey did not lead to a breach of the original agreement, yet the terms of it were so far modified.

After the death of King James the Fifth at Falkland, on 14th December 1542, and during the earlier years of the minority of his daughter, Queen Mary, the Highlands, which had been quiet for a time, were again thrown into anarchy and confusion. Among the chiefs most prominent in causing disturbance were Ewin Allanson of Lochiel, the veteran leader of the Clan Cameron, and the heads of the Clan Ranald, Moidart and Glengarry. In 1544 the Earl of Huntly, as Lieutenant of the North, ordered a force to proceed against and punish the Clan Ranald of Moidart, and the Mackenzies of Kintail, who were also refractory. The Earl's army, however, composed as it was of Grants, Rosses, Mackintoshes, and Chisholms, clans all more or less allied to the delinquents, was slow to move.[3] The Frasers were more active, being related to Ranald, the young chief of Moidart, who had been expelled by his clan; and their chief, Lord Lovat, with his brother-in-law, the Laird of Freuchie, joined the Earl of Huntly in marching against the insurgents, with the special intention of reinstating young Ranald. It is said that the insurgent Highlanders retreated before Huntly's army, which marched as far as Inverlochy, and without opposition achieved the object of the expedition. Huntly and his forces then returned homewards, and on arriving at Glen Spean a separation took place, the Earl himself, the Laird of Freuchie, and others proceeding towards Strathspey by the

[1] Original Discharge at Castle Grant. [2] *Ibid.*
[3] History of the Mackenzies, p. 111.

Braes of Lochaber and Badenoch, while Lovat, in spite of remonstrances, detached his party to march to his own country by the shore of Loch Lochy.[1] One account states that the Lairds of Freuchie and Mackintosh accompanied him with their followers as far as the water of Gloy,[2] and there parted from him. In any case the result was the same. Lovat's party was intercepted at the head of Loch Lochy by the Clan Ranald, who had followed in the rear of the royal forces, and after a sanguinary conflict, Lord Lovat, his son the Master, and the greater number of their followers were slain. This contest received the name of "Blair-nan-leine," or "The field of shirts," as the day, in the month of July 1544, being very hot, the combatants stripped to their shirts during the battle.[3]

The Laird of Freuchie, no doubt, on account of the part he acted in marching with the Earl of Huntly, suffered considerably from the retaliations of the Clan Ranald and the other insurgent chiefs. His lands of Urquhart, and those of the Laird of Glenmoriston, were overrun by Macranald of Glengarry and by Cameron of Lochiel, and a large booty carried off. It is usually stated that Huntly's expedition was to crush the insurrection and to drive the marauders from these lands, and from those of Abertarff and Stratherrick, which they had also overrun.[4] But a comparison of dates and documents shows that this view is slightly erroneous. Whatever was the real object of Huntly's march, there is evidence from various sources that it took place between May and July 1544, the battle of "Blair-nan-leine" being fought about the middle of July. On the other hand, the inroads on Glenmoriston and Urquhart are said to have taken place in October 1544 and April 1545 respectively, and if this be so, were, as suggested, made in revenge for the part taken by the Laird of Freuchie in reinstating the young chief of Moidart. The latter was killed at Blair-nan-leine, and though accounts on the subject are somewhat conflicting, it is not clear that immediate measures were taken to enforce further the royal authority, of which fact the insurgent clans seem to have taken advantage. The original summonses, under the royal signet, against the spoilers of

[1] Gregory's Highlands and Islands, pp. 159, 160. As will be noted later on, it is doubtful if the Laird of Freuchie himself accompanied this expedition, but his son may have led the Clan Grant.

[2] The Mackintoshes and Clan Chattan, p. 203.

[3] Gregory's Highlands and Islands, p. 161.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 159.

Urquhart are dated on 3d August 1546, and are still preserved at Castle Grant. As stated there, the first raid on Glenmoriston took place in October 1544; the second attack on it, and the harrying of Urquhart, in the following April. The raiders in both cases were led by Alaster M'Cane M'Allaster of Glengarry, chief of a branch of the Clan Ranald, Angus, his son and apparent heir, Ewin Allanson of Lochiel, and his grandson and heir, Ewin Donaldson, as he was called, also a nephew of the Laird of Freuchie. The summons against these chiefs, so far as Urquhart was concerned, was raised at the instance of the Laird of Freuchie for himself, and as assignee for the numerous tenants on the estate, all of whom, with the goods despoiled from them, are separately detailed in the royal letters.

The goods and gear taken from the Laird's immediate property may be enumerated shortly as follows:—From the Brodland of Urquhart, apparently in the Laird's own occupation, 200 bolls of oats, with the fodder, price of each boll with the fodder, 14s.; 100 bolls bear, at 20s. the boll; 100 "grite ky," each valued at 53s. 4d.; 100 calves, each 6s. 8d.; 40 young cows, at 26s. 8d. each; 10 one-year-old stirks, at 16s. each; 8 horses, each 4 merks; 4 mares at 4 merks; 4 young horses at 40s.; 140 ewes, each 10s.; 60 "gymmer and dunmont" at 6s. 8d.; 100 lambs, each 2s. From the place and castle of Urquhart were taken "tuelf feddir beddis, with the bowstairs, blancattis and schetis, price xl$^{li.}$; five pottis, price of thame ten merkis; sax pannys, price ten merkis; ane bascyn, price xiiij s.; ane kyst, and within the samin thre hundreitht pundis of money; twa brew calderovnis, price fivetene pundis; sax speittis, price thre pundis; barrellis, standis of attis, pewder weschell, and vther insycht, to the valour of fourty pundis; twenty pece of artailzery, and ten stand of harnes, price of thame ane hundreitht merkis; lokkis, durris, zettis, stancheovnis, bandis, burdis, beddis, chearis, formes, and vther insycht, extending to the valour of twa hundreitht merkis; thre grite boittis, price fourty merkis."[1] The reference to the large sum of money left in the "kyst" seems to point to the suddenness of the raid, though the mention of the artillery leads to the question why the castle was not more stoutly defended. The goods taken from each tenant correspond in kind to those taken

[1] Original Letters of Summons at Castle Grant.

from the Laird, save as regards cattle; many tenants added goats or "kyddis" to the list, the former being valued at 3s. or 3s. 4d. each, and the latter at 2s. each; "weddaris," where noted, are valued at 8s., "swyne" at 4s., and geese at 12d. each. The "insycht" goods libelled as belonging to the tenants are valued at various sums, from 20s. as the lowest, to £10 as the highest estimate. In two cases, over and above the household goods, the invaders made prize of cloth, at one place 60 ells of linen cloth and 60 ells of woollen, the average price being 20 merks; at another place, the woollen and linen cloth taken was valued at £4. The total number of cattle and sheep, and the quantity of corn and other goods carried off, amount to a large sum, but as a general total is not given, it cannot be clearly estimated.

Such was the raid of Urquhart, which, it is said, gave to this Laird of Freuchie the appellation of "Sheumas nan creach," or, "James of the foray."[1] Although the amount of gear carried off was very great, the Laird was, for a time at least, amply indemnified. The Earl of Huntly in 1546, it is said, by the aid of Mackintosh, succeeded in apprehending two leaders of the insurrection of 1544, one of them being Ranald MacDonald Glas of Keppoch, and the other the veteran Ewen Allanson of Lochiel, who was concerned in the raid of Urquhart. These chiefs were tried for high treason, condemned and beheaded.[2] Two years afterwards, in 1548, Queen Mary conferred upon the Laird of Freuchie nine merk lands in Lochalsh, which belonged to Ewen Donaldson, grandson and heir of Ewen Allanson of Lochiel; also thirteen merk lands of old extent in Lochcarron, with the

[1] Another account is given by Mr. Chapman of the origin of the appellation, "James na Creach," namely, that it came from his own successful plunderings. He resented the murder of his brother-in-law, Gordon of Brachally, on Deeside, by the country people there, and prompted the Earl of Huntly, as the Gordon chief, to join him in slaying all the men in the country in retaliation and revenge. Many orphans were made by the slaughter of their parents. Huntly took the most lively of the orphans, between three and four scores, to his castle of Strathbogie. He made a long wood trough for feeding them, on both sides of which the orphans sat in rows and ate the provisions. James na Creach, being on a visit to Huntly, was invited by the Earl to see the orphans feeding, and "lobbing at their troch." The Laird of Grant was so affected at the scene, that he said to Huntly that as he had assisted at the destruction of the parents, it was reasonable that he should share with him in the preservation of their children. He swept away the sitters on one side of the trough, and ordered them to be carried to Strathspey and maintained there. These were called Grants, and those on the other side who remained on Huntly's lands were called Gordons.—[Print of 1876, p. 31.]

[2] Gregory's Highlands and Islands, p. 179.

castle of Strome, and the office of constable of the same, which also had belonged to Ewen Donaldson.[1] By the same charter were granted lands in the same neighbourhood, belonging to Allaster M'Kane M'Allaster and Angus, his son, who were also concerned in the raid on Urquhart. These were the liferent right belonging to Allaster of Glengarry, of twelve merk lands of old extent of Lochalsh, with the fee of the same, belonging heritably to his son Angus; also lands in Lochcarron belonging to them, amounting to four merks and 20d. of old extent. To these were added various lands in Lochbroom, of the old extent of seventeen merks 20d., belonging to the same persons; also other lands, including Glengarry, Dryanach, Sleismenach, and the fishings of the same; also twelve merk lands of Morar, belonging to Allaster of Glengarry. These, and other lands named, lying in Ross and Inverness-shire, and belonging to Allaster M'Cane M'Allaster of Glengarry, Angus, his son, Ewen Allanson of Lochiel, and his grandson, Ewen Donaldson, all held of the Crown for ward and relief, and were all apprised to the Laird of Freuchie as assignee for his tenants in satisfaction of the "spulzie" of Urquhart, and were sold to him for the then large sum of £10,770, 13s. 4d. Scots.[2] Thus, in return for the raid on his estates, the Laird of Freuchie obtained possession of territory extending from Loch Ness to the western coast of Ross-shire, and gained a large indemnity, not, however, by the rough-and-ready method of his neighbours, but by the slower, and in the end more effective, means of a process at law.

But transferences of Highland properties from the old owners on account of raids committed by them seldom proved peaceful possessions to the new holders. The Laird of Freuchie, as may be supposed, did not enter on this large accession of territory without opposition, which continued more or less during his occupancy. On 27th November 1549, letters under the signet of Queen Mary were issued charging the royal officers to assist James Grant of Freuchie in dealing with refractory tenants and occupiers of his lands of Morane (Morar), Sles, Glengarry, the half of Lochbroom, the half lands of Lochcarron, the half lands of Lochalsh, with the lands of Kessoryne of Strome, and the woods and fishings of these lands.

[1] Registrum Magni Sigilli, Lib. xxx. No. 314. [2] *Ibid.*

It appears from these letters that the Laird of Freuchie complained that the tenants would pay him no rent, and moreover, without his permission, and without any right, "daylie fischis in his watteris and fischingis therof . . . and distroyis his growand treis of his woddis . . . sua that the samyn woddis ar alluterlie failzeit," etc.[1] Four years later, on 24th June 1553, similar letters were issued, commanding the keepers of the castle of Strome to deliver up the castle to the Laird of Freuchie upon six days' warning. The reason assigned for this charge was that while the Laird of Freuchie had those lands apprised to him from Ewen Cameron and Allester M'Eyn V^c^Allester of Glengarry for their raid on Urquhart and Glenmoriston, and had been formally infeft, he now learned that Makconill, with his accomplices, Islesmen, with the assistance of the Clan Cameron, Clan Ranald, and others, purposed to come to the castle of Strome to cast it down and destroy it, and so to withhold the lands from the Laird. Hence the charge to the keepers of the castle, who were also directed to appear before the Lords of Council, while the captains or chief of the clans were to be charged by proclamation at the market cross of Inverness to desist from taking part in the intended attack.[2]

While the Laird of Freuchie had thus in some respects considerable annoyance from his Highland neighbours, yet the closing years of his life from 1544 to August 1553 were on the whole comparatively peaceful. The chief events of these years as indicated by the Grant muniments were a series of friendly contracts and bonds of maintenance between the Laird and neighbouring barons. Though the issue of former similar alliances had not in all cases been happy, yet from this date onwards it will be found that the Lairds of Freuchie were for the most part left in peaceful possession of their large estates.

Reference has already been made to the fact that the Bishop of

[1] Original Letters at Castle Grant.

[2] Original Letters at Castle Grant. Citation by proclamation at the market cross of the nearest royal burgh was preferred, no doubt for good reasons, as a mode of summoning Highland chiefs, to the usual form of personal apprehension. In the summonses directed against Ewen Allanson and his accomplices for the raid on Urquhart, etc., provision is made that they be cited by open proclamation at the cross of Inverness, which is to be held as effectual as if they were summoned personally, or at their dwelling places, it being naively added, "Becaus it is understand to the Lordis of our Counsale that thair is na sure passage to the dwelling places nor personall presens of the saidis personis."

Orkney had appointed James Grant of Freuchie to be bailie of his abbacy of Kinloss, and in that capacity the latter granted letters appointing Alexander Cumming of Altyre his bailie-depute of Kinloss, with full powers.[1] These letters were signed at Kinloss on 20th June 1544, a date and place which render it doubtful if the Laird of Freuchie himself accompanied the Earl of Huntly on his expedition against the Clan Ranald, as is usually said to be the case, but the absence of precise dates for the expedition leaves the matter uncertain. At any rate, on 30th October 1544, he joined with the Earls of Sutherland and Athole, Alexander Lord Lovat, Mackintosh of Dunachton, Mackenzie of Kintail, and other northern barons, in subscribing a bond to the Earl of Huntly, in which they engaged to assist and uphold his authority as Lieutenant of the North in suppressing disorders.[2] A few months after this, on 25th March 1545, the Laird joined Huntly in another bond of a somewhat different nature. The chief provision in it is curious, though it was never carried out, and if tradition speaks truly, at least one of the parties must have signed the agreement with a reservation.

The parties to the bond were George, Earl of Huntly, James Grant of Freuchie, William Mackintosh of Dunachton, John Mackenzie of Kintail, Alexander Ross of Balnagown, and Robert Monro of Foulis. The three last named bound themselves to assist the Earl in every way "in recouering and getting of the takis and erledoume of Ros at the Quenis gouernouris, Cuntas of Murray's, hands," or any others having right. And if the Earl did "nocht haistelie" get just right thereto, then all the parties bound themselves to obey no other person in the enjoyment of the tacks and earldom, but to hinder all such persons in every way. They were also to defend the Earl in his enjoyment of the earldom, and obliged themselves to hold tacks of the lands of Ross from no one save the Earl of Huntly. On the other hand, the Earl promised to give no one any interest in the tacks of Ross except with advice of the other parties. He promised to secure to John Mackenzie of Kintail such rights of bailiary as had been agreed upon, provided that he and his son Kenneth would give bonds of manrent to the Earl. Alexander Ross and Robert Monro were also

[1] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 90.

[2] Spalding Club Miscellany, vol. iv. p. 213.

to be secured in such lands as were promised. Mackenzie, Ross, and Monro were to act together, and all the parties were to aid each other; but no coalition was to be made with Clan Cameron, Clan Ranald, or the Islesmen. This contract was signed and sealed by all the parties at Inverness.[1]

This document indicates that the Earl of Huntly was endeavouring to turn to his own advantage the disturbed state of Scotland and the pre-occupation of the government, which at this period was wholly engaged in opposing the intrigues of England, and thus secure to himself a large share of the earldom of Ross, then annexed to the Crown. But whatever were his intentions, they were frustrated by a ludicrous circumstance, the chief agent in which was John Mackenzie of Kintail, who, though he signed the agreement, appears not to have been very desirous of seeing it carried out.

A recent writer relates this circumstance as given by tradition, and as he assigns no date, it probably occurred after the contract was entered into. After mentioning the Earl of Huntly's intention to feu a part of the earldom of Ross from the Crown, and to live in the district for some period of the year, the writer states, "Mackenzie, although friendly disposed towards the Earl, had no desire to have him residing in his immediate neighbourhood, and he arranged a plan which had the effect of deciding Huntly to give up any idea of remaining or feuing any lands in Ross." The Earl had come to the castle of Dingwall to hold courts, and invited the chiefs to meet him. Mackenzie was the first who arrived, "and he was very kindly received by Huntly. Mackenzie in return made a pretence of heartily welcoming and congratulating his Lordship on his coming to Ross, and trusted that he would be the means of protecting himself and his friends from the violence of his son Kenneth, who, taking advantage of his frailty and advanced years, was behaving most unjustly to him. He indeed expressed a hope that the Earl would punish Kenneth for his illegal and unnatural rebellion against his father. While they were thus speaking a message came in that a large number of armed men, three or four hundred strong, with banners flying and pipes playing, were just in sight on the hill above Dingwall. The Earl became alarmed, not knowing whom they might be, or what their object was, when Mackenzie informed him

[1] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 93.

that it could be no other than his son Kenneth and his rebellious followers, coming to punish him for paying his Lordship this visit without his son's consent; and he advised the Earl to leave at once, as he was not strong enough to resist the enemy, and to take him (the old chief) along with him, to protect him from Kenneth's violence, which would now, in consequence of this visit, be directed against him more than ever. The Earl and his retinue at once made off to Easter Ross, when Kenneth ordered his men to pursue them. He overtook them as they were crossing the bridge of Dingwall, and killed several of them; but having attained his object of frightening Huntly out of Ross, he ordered his men to desist. This skirmish is known as the 'affair of Dingwall bridge.'"[1]

After this in point of time came the raid of Urquhart, which, as already stated, seems to have been unexpected; for during the very month in which it took place, in April 1545, the Laird of Freuchie was at Elgin making an arrangement about certain lands he wished to exchange. These were the lands of Easter Urquhart or Urquhill, Cantraydoun, and Dalgrambich, within the barony of Clavalg or Clava, in the sheriffdom of Nairn, which the Laird had acquired by purchase from John Grant of Ballindalloch, and which he now bound himself to convey to Alexander Dolas of Cantray. Until Dolas was duly infeft the Laird of Freuchie promised to pay to him twenty merks yearly from the lands of Clurie and Curr, and also to give in ready money the sum of 600 merks. On the other hand, Alexander Dolas obliged himself, on being infeft in the lands named, to convey to the Laird of Freuchie the lands and barony of Rothiemurchus, in the sheriffdom of Inverness and regality of Spynie. A penalty of 1200 merks was attached to the nonfulfilment of this contract; 400 merks to be paid to the Crown, a similar sum to the Cathedral Church of Moray, and the remaining third to the party desirous of fulfilling the agreement.[2] Apparently Rothiemurchus was wholly or partly in the hands of Dolas, as a creditor of Allan Keir Mackintosh of Rothiemurchus, his maternal uncle, who was in pecuniary difficulties, and whose estate was heavily mortgaged.[3]

[1] Ardintoul MS., quoted in History of the Mackenzies, pp. 112, 113.
[2] Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 94, 95. [3] Original Assignation at Castle Grant.

In the end of 1545, the Laird of Freuchie and his clan, though not mentioned by name, were doubtless included in a remission issued in the name of Queen Mary to the inhabitants of the sheriffdoms of Inverness, Nairn, and Cromarty, for absence from the siege of St. Andrews. The reason of remission is that they were in the royal service under the Earl of Huntly in Lochaber. If this service has reference to the expedition of 1544, there had been a siege, or a purpose of siege, of St. Andrews earlier than the one known to historians, which began in July 1546. The document, preserved in the Grant charter-chest, is dated on 18th December, in the fourth year of the queen's reign,[1] which, according to a strict computation, would be 1545; but it is probable, as it is issued from St. Andrews, that 1546 is the year really meant, and that the expedition to Lochaber was that in which Huntly succeeded in apprehending Ewen Cameron of Lochiel, and the other ringleader of the insurrection in the north, as already related.

About the same period, or at least shortly before the assassination of Cardinal Beaton, on 28th May 1546, and the subsequent promotion of the Earl of Huntly to the office of Chancellor, the Laird of Freuchie and his son, John Grant the younger, had renewed to the Earl their engagements of service. They did this as holders in liferent of certain of the Earl's lands in Strathavon, and as his bailies and keepers of the then strong castle of Drummin. In return the Earl, according to the fashion of the day, bound himself to defend, assist, and uphold the Laird and his son in every way in all their lawful affairs.[2] This bond is dated at Elgin, on the 8th of May 1546.

The Great Seal of Scotland was delivered to the Earl of Huntly on 10th June 1546,[3] and it may have been his influence, added to the Laird of Freuchie's own representations, which procured to the latter a relief from the rents of three half-years due from Urquhart. He complained that he had obtained no profit from that territory since it was burned by the Clan Cameron and their accomplices in the year 1545, and he received a discharge accordingly of the sum due by him to the Crown.[4]

It has already been stated in narrating the sequel to the "spulzie"

[1] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 96.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 97.
[3] Crawfurd's Officers of State, p. 84.
[4] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 98.

of Urquhart, that the Laird of Freuchie received large indemnification from the estates of the chief of Clan Cameron and Allaster M'Cane M'Allaster of Glengarry. No sooner had he obtained the charter in his favour, than he made terms with the defendants. Ewen Cameron, now of Lochiel, called also Ewen Donaldson, was the grandson and heir of Ewen of Lochiel, the ringleader in the raid, and had himself taken an active part in all the raids of his clan. But he was also a nephew, a sister's son, of the Laird of Freuchie, and this fact may have inclined the Laird to favour him. It is possible also that the Laird felt that his newly acquired territory might be too troublesome a possession for one of his advanced age, as the tenants were not unlikely to oppose his authority, and did oppose it, as formerly stated. Whatever the real reason, the Laird of Freuchie did, on 10th October 1548, enter into a formal contract with Ewen Cameron, now of Lochiel, in regard to the lands apprised from the latter. It was agreed by the Laird that Lochiel should have the rents and profits of the lands apprised during his good behaviour and service in time to come, and he further promised never to alienate the lands away from Lochiel save by special advice. On the other hand, Ewen Cameron bound himself to keep his fidelity to the Laird, especially as regarded the lands of Urquhart and Glenmoriston, while they mutually bound themselves to assist each other. This agreement was made at Convinth, in Inverness-shire, in presence of John M'Kenzie of Kintail, Kenneth Mackenzie, and others.[1]

Another bond of maintenance was signed by the Laird at Freuchie on 1st May 1551, in favour of his "cusing and kynnisman," John Grant of Ballindalloch. This document contains no stipulation in any way differing from the usual form of these bonds, and it is only specially worthy of notice from the fact that it is the first evidence of any residence at Freuchie. No earlier document is known to exist which bears to be executed at the spot from which the Lairds of Freuchie took their title. But this subject has already been referred to at length.

In the following month the Laird was at Inverness, where he entered into an agreement with certain parties as to the lands of Dalgrambich. His last transaction, as ascertained from the family muniments, was to sign

[1] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 102.

the marriage-contract of his daughter Janet with Alexander Sutherland of Duffus. The marriage ceremony was to take place as speedily as possible, and Sutherland was to secure to his spouse two hundred merks yearly in conjunct fee from his barony of Duffus or elsewhere, as convenient. If, however, his mother died before his wife, then the latter was to receive the lands of Ludgett and Quarrelwood, held by the former. Among other special stipulations the Laird of Freuchie bound himself to free his intended son-in-law from the amount of the avail of his marriage, which had been assigned to Elizabeth Campbell, daughter of the deceased Sir John Campbell of Cawdor, and in addition to pay 300 merks to redeem so much of the lands of Duffus as would secure to Janet Grant her conjunct fee. This agreement was made at Strathisla, where the Laird doubtless was acting as bailie of the abbacy of Kinloss, to which the Grange of Strathisla belonged. The Abbot of Kinloss, then Robert Reid, Bishop of Orkney, with Alexander Cumming of Altyre, the bailie-depute, were among the witnesses to the agreement, which is dated 26th January 1552, or, according to modern computation, 1553. A month afterwards, on 26th February, the parties were admonished, under pain of the greater excommunication, to fulfil the terms of the contract.

Three months later found the Laird of Freuchie on his deathbed. At his "place of Ballacastell," on the first of June 1553, the Laird, "sick in body but sound in mind," calmly made up an inventory of his possessions and arranged all his affairs.[1] His last directions were very simple. In the quaint phraseology which for many a day was customary in Scotch wills, he bequeathed his soul to God and his body to be buried. He appointed his son and heir, John Grant, his sole executor, and his last important earthly task was done, though he survived the making of his will some weeks, dying on the 26th of August following.

This Laird's possessions, as given in the inventory before his death and the confirmation after that event, were of the simplest and most patriarchal character. Corn and cattle, oxen, cows, sheep, and horses, compose all his goods, the household belongings for his five residences or manors named, amounting only to £200, and in the final

[1] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 108.

valuation to £100. The five places named as being those at which the Laird had his own property are his "manor-place of Ballacastell" (called in the confirmation "Freuchie"), Knockando, Mullochard, Gartenmore, and Kilsanctninian. The last named lay in Urquhart. The value of the Laird's own possessions, as detailed in his testament, was estimated at £1964, 9s. 4d. of the money then current. To this in the confirmation was added 500 merks due as rental by tenants, and other debts, making the personal property amount to £2502. This sum, however, was exceeded by the debts of the deceased to the extent of £352.[1]

This Laird of Freuchie directed his body to be buried, as honourably as was fitting, in his parish church of Duthil. He is thus the first Laird of Freuchie as to whom there is any authentic evidence of residence there or of burial in the parish. His grandfather, the young Laird, who died at Kindrochat, in Mar, in 1482, was carried by his clansmen to the Cathedral Church of Elgin and buried there, a significant fact suggesting an early residence of the family in that neighbourhood. No record exists as to the sepulture of any of the earlier generations of Grant, or Lairds of Freuchie.

There is no clear evidence as to the marriage or marriages of this Laird of Freuchie. That he married early in the century is proved by the fact that his son and heir, John Grant, was himself married in 1539, or before it. That the Laird married a lady named Christina Barclay, who survived him, is also proved by her being named as his relict, and entering into an agreement with the executor as to terce, etc.[2] Who Christina Barclay was has not been ascertained from any document in the Grant charter-chest. In Mr. Chapman's account of the family of Grant, Isobel Barclay, daughter to the Baron of Towie, is said to be the second wife of John Grant of Freuchie, son of James Grant of Freuchie, and she is claimed as their ancestress by the family of Grant of Monymusk.

That John Grant of Freuchie had no such wife will be shown in the next memoir; but the above tradition, though erroneous in detail, may indicate that Christina Barclay, as she was undoubtedly the wife of James Grant of Freuchie, was his second wife. It is probable also that she was the mother of Archibald Grant in Ballintomb, who in 1581 is described

[1] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 111. [2] *Ibid.* p. 113.

as brother of John Grant of Freuchie, and who must have been much younger than his brother. As he was the ancestor of the family of Monymusk, this would agree with their tradition.

But if Christina Barclay was the second wife of James Grant of Freuchie, there is no clear evidence as to his first wife. In some published pedigrees he is said to have married, first, Lady Janet Leslie, who, however, as will be shown, was the second wife of his son, John Grant, the fourth Laird of Freuchie. Lachlan Shaw, however, states that James Grant married a daughter of John, sixth Lord Forbes, and as this is so far corroborated by other evidence, it is probably correct.

There is thus reason to believe that James Grant, third of Freuchie, was twice married, first to Elizabeth Forbes, and secondly to Christina Barclay, who survived him. By these wives he had four sons and five daughters.

1. John Grant, his eldest son, who succeeded to the estates of Freuchie, and whose history is given in the following memoir.
2. William, who, as son of the Laird of Freuchie, received, on 7th May 1541, from the Bishop of Moray, a charter of the lands of Finlarg or Muckrath. He died, without issue, before 22d December 1560, when his brother John received a precept of *clare constat* for his own infeftment in these lands as heir of William.[1]
3. Duncan, who also received from the Bishop of Moray, in January 1542, a feu-charter of the lands of Easter Elloquhy [Elchies]. He was engaged, in 1568, in a dispute with his neighbour, James Grant of Wester Elchies, in reference to their marches, which was amicably settled. For assisting in the rebellion of Huntly he received a remission, along with other members of the family, in 1569. He died in October 1580, and was succeeded by his son, James Grant of Easter Elchies. James Grant appears in several family transactions between 1580 and 1602, but died before 1620, apparently without issue, as the estate of Easter Elchies reverted to the family of Grant, evidently in terms of the charter of 1542.
4. Archibald, who, on 8th March 1580-81, received a crown-charter of the manse of the sub-deanery of Moray. In that charter he is

[1] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 126.

designed as "Archibald Grant in Ballintomb, brother of John Grant of Freuchie." He was the ancestor of the Grants of Monymusk, whose pedigree is given in this work.

The daughters were :—

1. Isobel, who married, before 1543, Archibald Campbell, eldest son and apparent heir of Sir John Campbell of Cawdor,[1] and had issue.
2. Margaret, who married Thomas Cumming, grandson and heir of Alexander Cumming of Altyre. Their marriage-contract is dated 15th September 1552.[2]
3. Janet, who married Alexander Sutherland of Duffus. Their marriage-contract is dated 26th January 1552-53.[3] She survived him, and married, secondly, before 10th January 1579, James Dempster of Auchterless.
4. Agnes, who, after her father's death, married David Ross, son of Alexander Ross of the Holm. Their marriage-contract is dated 24th August 1558.[4]
5. A daughter, name unknown, who is said to have married Alexander Gordon, Laird of Strathavon.[5] She is said to be the youngest daughter of *John* Grant of Freuchie and Elizabeth Forbes, but it is more probable that she was the daughter of James Grant.

[1] The Thanes of Cawdor, p. 170. Receipts for tocher at Castle Grant.

[2] Copy Contract at Castle Grant.

[3] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 106.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 125.

[5] Burke's Commoners, vol. iv. p. 8.

X.—JOHN GRANT, Fourth of Freuchie.
LADY MARGARET STEWART, his first wife.
LADY JANET LESLIE, his second wife.

1553-1585.

No evidence has been found to show when John Grant, the fourth of Freuchie, was born. He was married to his first wife, Lady Margaret Stewart, in or about the year 1539, and would then be at least twenty years of age, which would make his birth occur before the year 1520. During the lifetime of his father he bore the designation of "John Grant of Mulben," and took part with him in several important transactions. He was named in 1548 as one of those by whose advice his father was to act in his dealings with Ewen Cameron of Lochiel.[1] The young Laird also, like his father and grandfather, associated with the Earl of Huntly in the government of the Highlands; and he joined with his father in 1546 in a bond of manrent to the Earl, for which they were made bailies of the castle of Drummin, as narrated in the previous memoir.[2]

According to a remission granted by Queen Mary, John Grant, younger of Freuchie, during his father's lifetime, joined the party of Matthew, Earl of Lennox, who had declared for England against the Earl of Arran, then Governor of Scotland. The remission is dated on 9th July 1552, and alleges that John Grant was with Matthew, Earl of Lennox, in arms against the Governor on Glasgow Moor in May 1544. Upon a comparison of dates, however, and also considering that the Earl of Glencairn, for it was he, and not the Earl of Lennox, who encountered Arran on Glasgow Moor, had with him only 500 men, and those hastily summoned from among his own friends in the west,[3] it may be doubted whether any of the Grants could have been present. It is not impossible that John Grant, or some of his clan, had joined Lennox's party

[1] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 103. [2] *Ibid.* p. 97.
[3] Diurnal of Occurrents in Scotland [Bannatyne Club], p. 32.

at an earlier period and had since returned home, but it is probable that the remission was merely a formal document, and was intended to condone any other possible offences committed by the young Laird.

John Grant succeeded to his father and became fourth Laird of Freuchie in August 1553. There is some discrepancy among the various documents relating to the subject as to the precise date of the decease of James Grant, third of Freuchie, but the two inquests held, the one at Elgin and the other at Inverness, for serving John Grant heir to his father, both declare the death of the latter to have taken place on 26th August 1553. John Grant was retoured heir to his father in the lands of Glencarnie and Ballindalloch, in the lordship of Glencarnie and sheriffdom of Elgin and Forres, at Elgin, on 6th October 1553.[1] Sasine followed, taken "on the soil" of these lands in the ensuing month.[2]

In the same month of October, John Grant was retoured heir to his father in the lands which belonged to him in Inverness-shire, consisting of the lands of Freuchie, comprehending the town of Freuchie, with its mill, Dalfour, Auchnagall, and Glenlochy; the lands of Urquhart, namely, Brodland, with its fortalice, and the other lands comprehended; the half lands of Lochbroom; the half lands of Lochcarron and Kessoryne, including Strome Castle; the half lands of Lochalsh, including Glengarry; and the lands of Morar. The lands of Lochalsh, and the lands of Kessoryne, with Strome Castle, and the office of constable there, had formerly belonged to the chief of Clan Cameron; the lands of Lochcarron, Lochbroom, Glengarry, and Morar, had belonged to Alexander Makane Makalester of Glengarry, now deceased; and all, as formerly narrated, had been apprised to the Laird of Freuchie as compensation for the raid of Urquhart.

The precept from the Crown, in terms of the retour, is dated 26th October 1553, and infeftment duly followed, sasine of the lands of Urquhart being given on the soil of the lands of Brodland on 8th November in the same year. Sasine of the lands and barony of Freuchie was given at the "castle and fortalice of Ballachcastell," under reservation of the two Congashes, Auldcharn, and the two Culfoichs, held in liferent by

[1] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 112.

[2] Original Precept and Sasine at Castle Grant. The precept states the death of James Grant on 14th August 1554, which is apparently a clerical error.

Margaret Stewart, wife of John Grant, and of a reasonable terce to Christina Barclay, relict of James Grant.[1] On 3d November 1553, George, Earl of Huntly, as Sheriff of Inverness, issued a precept for infefting John Grant in the lands of Lochbroom, Lochcarron, Lochalsh, Glengarry, and others,[2] but there is no evidence extant of any formal infeftment in these lands. In regard to the lands of Freuchie, Urquhart, Lochalsh, and others above referred to, it may be stated that John Grant of Freuchie received a gift from the Crown of the relief duty due from his lands of Freuchie, Lochalsh, Kessoryne, Lochcarron, Lochbroom, Glengarry, and Morar, held for ward and relief, on 3d April 1554, and on 6th April he received a gift of the double feu-duty exigible on his entry to the lands of Glencarnie and Urquhart, held of the Crown in feu-farm.[3] In the same year the Laird obtained a precept of *clare constat* from Patrick, Bishop of Moray, for infefting him as heir of his father in the church lands of Laggan, Ardinch, and other lands and fishings, in the Bishop's barony of Strathspey and regality of Spynie, upon which precept infeftment was duly given;[4] and on another similar precept, he was infeft in the lands of Nether Auchroisk.[5]

In the same year, on 30th October, Robert [Reid], Bishop of Orkney, and his nephew, Walter, the lately elected Abbot of Kinloss, appointed the Laird of Freuchie as successor to his father in the office of bailie of the abbey. The preamble of the letter of appointment shows that the first troubled movements which afterwards culminated in the Reformation, were beginning to be felt in the north. The purpose of the appointment is declared by the granters to be "for defence of ws, oure place and tennentes of Kinlos, in this brokin and troublus warld." The Laird of Freuchie is appointed bailie for life, with the usual powers, and with authority to appoint Alexander Cumming of Altyre as his depute. The document was signed at Kinloss by Bishop Reid and no fewer than nineteen monks or brethren.[6] It is doubtful whether these all belonged to Kinloss; some of them may have been residents of Beauly Priory.

[1] Precept and Instruments of Sasine at Castle Grant.

[2] Original Precept at Castle Grant.

[3] Original Gifts at Castle Grant.

[4] Original Precept and Sasine, dated 30th March and 8th May 1554, at Castle Grant.

[5] Original Precept and Sasine, dated 20th and 27th June 1554, *ibid.*

[6] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 114.

While at Kinloss the Laird of Freuchie entered into a contract with his father's widow, Christina Barclay, as to her terce and other matters. Although his father's debts had exceeded his goods to a considerable extent, yet John Grant gave to his father's widow, in full payment of her claims, all the oats, bear, sixteen oxen, and the "insycht gudis" in Knockando, which she had possessed for a year, apparently as a dower house. He stipulates, however, that if she departed from Knockando permanently, she should leave in the house all the "treyne (wooden) insycht and brew lwmes" (vessels) that were in it during her occupancy. She agrees that he should hold courts, punish trespassers, and act as her bailie on her terce lands, he guaranteeing the payment of her rental at the proper terms. In lieu of the customs of the widow's terce lands, the Laird assigns to her twenty wedders, and the kids and fowls from the barony of Knockando. The tenants of Wester Daltullies, Ballintomb, and other lands named, are to give her their homage and service, and to labour the mains of Knockando for her behoof. Further, the parties were to act towards each other as if they were mother and son. This document was signed by the Laird and his mother at Kinloss, in presence of the Bishop of Orkney and other witnesses, on 30th October 1554, and two years later, on 20th August 1556, both parties were admonished, under pain of excommunication, to fulfil the terms of the contract in all points.[1]

About this time the Laird of Freuchie added to the Grant possessions the lands of Muldares, Wester Muldares, and Bogbain, with mills, etc., in the earldom of Rothes, within the sheriffdom of Elgin and Forres. These he received from George, Earl of Rothes, and Andrew Leslie, Master of Rothes, as fiar of the earldom, by charter dated 12th December 1554. The lands were to be held blench of the granters.[2]

In the beginning of the year 1555, the Laird of Freuchie appeared at Inverness to make a protest in regard to the taxation of his property. It would appear that he had been summoned to attend an inquest to be held for making up the taxed roll of every pound land of old extent in accordance with a requisition from the Crown. The 23d of March had been fixed as the date of the inquest, and the Laird was sum-

[1] Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 113, 114.

[2] Original Charter at Castle Grant.

moned for that day, but on attending the court he found that the roll had already been made up and sealed. He therefore protested that if the taxed roll affecting his lands did not conform to his "serwing of ald extent," that roll should not prejudice him or his heritage, as he had appeared on the day appointed to him. He also stated that he was ready to make payment to the Sheriff-depute of his part of the taxed roll so far as regarded his lands in the shire of Inverness, provided the Sheriff would give him a note of the amount, and that not being forthcoming, the Laird protested that no harm should arise to him therefrom, as he had offered to pay.[1]

Hitherto the Laird of Freuchie had been engaged chiefly with his own affairs. He was now to act, if not in a wider sphere, at least with fuller authority, and as a power in the great problem of securing the peace of the Highlands. The Clan Ranald had always been troublesome to the Government, especially under the leadership of John of Moidart, called John Moydertach; and the Clan Cameron also refused to submit to the royal authority. Various commissions were issued against these clans without any good effect, and the disputes which arose between the Regent Arran and the Queen Dowager, Mary of Guise, as to the transfer of the regency to the latter, allowed the rebellious Highlanders to resist the Government for some time without check.[2] In April 1554 the Queen Dowager assumed the government, and with her usual vigour proceeded at once to take steps to bring the Highlands into obedience. Without entering into details foreign to the immediate purpose of this work, it may be said that the principle upon which the new Regent endeavoured to act was that pursued partly by King James the Fourth, and more decidedly by King James the Fifth, but which had for a time fallen into abeyance, namely, to make chiefs of clans responsible to the supreme Government for the acts of their followers, obliging them to apprehend and bring to justice the criminals of their own tribe.[3]

The Laird of Freuchie, though personally law-abiding, yet as the chief of an extensive territory, came under the scope of the new policy.

[1] Extract Protest at Castle Grant.

[2] Gregory's Highlands and Isles, pp. 182, 183.

[3] *Ibid.* pp. 91, 186.

On the 8th June 1555, he received a commission to act as justiciar of the Crown within the whole bounds and lands of Strathspey ("except so much as John Grant of Ballindalloch and his father occupy"), the whole lands of Urquhart and Glenmoristoun, and so much of the lands of Strathdoun (Strathavon) as belonged to him. The commission gave the Laird full power, and special command and burden were laid upon him to search out, examine, and arrest all persons, whether dwellers within the bounds or sojourners, accused or suspected of crime. The reasons assigned for granting the commission were that "divers homicides, murders, thefts, oppressions or sornings, reset of theft, and open or strong-handed rapine had existed within the bounds of the lands of Strathspey, Urquhart, Glenmoristoun, and Strathdoun, lying within our sheriffdoms of Inverness, Elgin and Forres, and Banff respectively, to the extreme depredation and destruction of our poor and faithful lieges, inhabitants of the same."[1] This preamble was no doubt a formal one, and does not mean that the Laird of Freuchie's men were worse than their neighbours, but it implied that he was now to be held directly responsible for the punishment of their crimes.

As is shown by another commission from Archibald, Earl of Argyll, justiciar-general of Scotland, to the Laird of Freuchie on 15th May 1555, at least one freebooter in Strathspey claimed special attention at this time. This was John Reoch Grant, accused of common theft and other crimes,[2] and the Laird of Grant was instructed to apprehend and bring him to trial. Who John Reoch Grant was does not appear, but he may have been John Roy Grant of Carron, who three years later was implicated in the murder of the head of the Ballindalloch family. There is a story told by the historian of the family of Sutherland, in referring to the events of this period, which shows the prompt compliance of the Laird of Freuchie with the duties laid upon him by the Government. Sir Robert Gordon states that when the Queen Dowager came north, which he says was in July 1555, though others place the event in 1556,[3] "she held justice-aires with most extreme and rigorous punishment, and charged every one of the

[1] Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 116.

[2] Original Commission at Castle Grant.

[3] Sir Robert Gordon. Gregory, p. 185. There are no means of accurately fixing this date, as the Privy Council Records for the period are wanting, but the Regent was certainly in the north in 1556.

captains of the Highlands to bring in the offenders of their own kin, . . . wherethrough many were entered, both of Mackenzie kin, Balnagown, Lord Lovat, Mackintosh, Laird of Grant, and many others, whereof there were sundry executed; and among the rest, the Laird of Grant being charged to bring in a special friend called James Grant for his oppression, because he could not be apprehended and brought quick (or alive) to justice, he caused him and the rest of his company to be slain, and their heads to be presented to the Queen Regent."[1]

In this year, 1555, also, a question arose betwixt the Earl of Huntly and the Laird of Freuchie as to the service of the latter as heir of his father in the lands of Tullochgorm. The matter came for settlement before the Lords of Council, and a commission was issued to certain parties to proceed with the service. From the narrative contained in this document it would appear that on the 23d March 1554-5, while presenting his other brieves from Chancery to the Sheriff of Inverness, who was the Earl of Huntly himself, and his deputes, the Laird of Freuchie also produced a brief for his service in Tullochgorm, Curr, and other lands held feudally from Huntly, and desired that it might be executed. This petition the Sheriff and his deputes refused to grant, and the Laird complained that they had caused him to lose his rents for the past term, and alleged that they intended him to lose his future rents, and to expel him from his heritage. The commission granted by the Supreme Court on 4th December 1555, gave those selected by the Lords full power to do everything necessary to complete the Laird's title to the lands in question.[2]

In reference also to the lands of Cardells, the Laird entered into a contract, in 1556, with Alexander Grant, brother-german to John Grant of Ballindalloch, in which they appointed arbiters to settle a dispute which had arisen between them. Alexander Grant claimed these lands in heritage, and alleged that James, the late Laird of Freuchie, had ejected him, his servants and goods, from the lands of Mekill and Little Cardell, and the half town of Pitcroy, in the sheriffdom of Elgin and Forres, so far back as the month of March 1542-3, and that the profits had been violently withheld from him by the deceased Laird and his successor. The arbiters

[1] Sir Robert Gordon, quoted in Invernessiana, p. 224.

[2] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 117.

appointed were as follows:—Arthur Forbes of Balfour, William Ogilvie of Allanbuy, John Roy Grant of Carron, and Sir John Gibson, chaplain in Elgin, or any two of them, on behalf of the Laird of Freuchie; George Meldrum of Fyvie, knight, William Leslie, younger of Balquhain, Master John Leslie, Commissary of Aberdeen, and Alexander Con of Awchry, or any two of them, on behalf of Alexander Grant. Walter Leslie of Kininvie was chosen as oversman, and the arbiters, or so many of them, were to meet in "the kirk or cloister of the Gray Freris of Aberdene," on 20th September next, there to accept and hear the rights of parties, and to give decree within fifteen days thereafter. The parties bound themselves to abide by the decision of the arbiters.[1] These lands, although for a time they were a source of trouble between the families of Freuchie and Ballindalloch, were eventually purchased by the Laird of Freuchie.

As already stated, the Queen Dowager came north to Inverness in person to settle the feuds in the Highlands. Among those summoned to her presence was Y-Mackay of Farr, ancestor of the Lords Reay, who had committed spoliation in Sutherland. Mackay refused to appear, and the Earl of Sutherland was sent to punish him, but he evaded the Earl, and, among other misdeeds, burned the church of Loth. Mackay was, however, soon after defeated by Kenneth Mackenzie of Kintail, surrendered himself, and was committed a prisoner to the Castle of Edinburgh. The Laird of Freuchie became one of the sureties for Mackay's good behaviour, as appears from the bond of relief signed by the latter at Edinburgh on 25th July 1557,[2] in which Mackay promised to relieve the Laird of the sum of 1000 merks, the amount of his security. At a later period Mackay was released, and after good service on the Borders against the English, returned to Sutherland, where he made himself notorious, some years afterwards, by burning the town of Dornoch.[3]

In 1560, the Laird of Freuchie was again drawn into the current of events affecting the kingdom at large. He was in that year present in Edinburgh as a member of the Parliament which abolished the established religion and enacted the Confession of Faith; but his attention was soon afterwards engaged with affairs in his own neighbourhood. The youthful Queen of Scot-

[1] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 119. [2] *Ibid.* p. 124. [3] History of the Earldom of Sutherland, p. 156.

land, Mary, returned to her own country in 1561, and as she was at first much guided in her policy by her natural brother, James Stewart, she gave great offence to the Roman Catholic party in Scotland, especially to the Earl of Huntly, then the most prominent leader of that party. The Earl also incurred the distrust and resentment of the Queen by his double-dealing, and, irritated at her treatment of himself and his party, he resolved, on learning the Queen's intention to visit the north, to attempt a rebellion. On the 11th September 1562, Queen Mary arrived at Inverness, and was refused admittance to the castle by Huntly's retainers. A recent writer states that finding the castle closed against her, the Queen issued a proclamation which soon brought assistance; that the chief of the Mackintoshes exerted himself to rally his clan round his sovereign, and prevented the march of such as were proceeding from Badenoch to join Huntly.[1] The Queen soon found herself at the head of a considerable force, with which she occupied the town of Aberdeen. It would appear from a letter from James Stewart, Earl of Murray, to the Baron of Kilravock, appointing a rendezvous at Strathbogie,[2] that the Queen had intended to attack Huntly in his own castle, but the latter assembled his vassals, and marched rapidly towards Aberdeen. The result was disastrous; his force melted away, and on the 28th October 1562, his army, reduced to five hundred men, was confronted at Corrichie, about twelve miles from Aberdeen, by a force of two thousand under the Earl of Murray. In the conflict which ensued, Huntly's army was completely defeated, his two sons taken prisoners, and himself slain.[3]

The Laird of Freuchie, as holder of lands in Strathavon and Badenoch, was a prominent vassal of Huntly's, but history is silent as to what part he took in the rebellion. Vassals were not bound to follow their feudal superiors against their Sovereign, and the Laird appears either to have refrained altogether from action, or to have joined the royal forces. It favours the latter alternative, that on the 4th November 1562, only seven days after the death of Huntly, and while still at Aberdeen, Queen Mary issued an order charging the keepers of the house or castle of Drummin

[1] The Mackintoshes and Clan Chattan, p. 226. [2] Rose of Kilravock, p. 237.
[3] Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. v. p. 224.

to deliver the same to the Laird of Freuchie, or "Lard of Grant," as he is also styled, to be kept by him for Her Majesty's behoof. If the keepers refused to give up the castle, authority was given "that the said Lard of Grant pas and tak the said hous, and . . . gif neid be, to lay assege to the samin."[1] On Wednesday, the 2d December following, Falkland pursuivant, summoned the keepers, and required the delivery of the house and its keys within six hours, but what answer he received is not recorded. The next day the Laird of Freuchie, accompanied by the Queen's messenger, his own servants, and a notary to record the proceedings, appeared before the place, and the pursuivant again required delivery. But to this challenge no one replied; the gates were closed, and the stronghold empty. The new custodier had to scale the walls, or, as the notary relates it, the Laird of Freuchie "causit leddyr the said castell, and causit his servandis wyth hymselfe enter in the said castell," and so took possession on behalf of Her Majesty.

Towards the end of 1563, the Laird of Freuchie was again called upon to act on behalf of the Crown, this time against the Clan Gregor, who now began to trouble the Government. In the month of September, the Privy Council, in the name of Her Majesty, "understanding that the Clan Gregour, being hir hienes rebellis, and at hir horne for divers horrible attemptatis committit be thame, hes nocht onlie massit thame selfis in greit cumpanyis, bot als hes drawin to thaim the maist part of the brokin men of the hale cuntre, quhilkis at thair plesour birnis and slayis the pouer liegis of this realme, revis and takis thair gudis, sornis and oppressis thame," etc., desired to provide a remedy for these crimes. To this end the Council issued an act to the noblemen and chiefs, or "principallis," of certain districts, which the Clan Gregor frequented, ordaining them to "expell and hald the saidis brokin men furth of" their bounds, as specified. Among these chiefs, the Earl of Murray was made responsible for Braemar, Badenoch, Lochaber, Brae of Moray, and other districts in Inverness-shire, and the Laird of Freuchie was ordered to expel the rebels from Strathspey, Strathavon, and the Brae of Strathbogie. Full power and commission was given to the Laird and others to search for and apprehend

[1] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 3.

the rebels, to gather a force and pursue them, as also to besiege any house in which they might take refuge. The Laird and others were required, for the more effectual carrying out of the act, to muster their men on the 20th of October following, and to remain in arms, within their own bounds, for twenty days, to expel the rebels as far as possible.[1] From this time onwards, the Clan Gregor continued to cause much disturbance in the country and annoyance to the Government, but this Laird of Freuchie was not again specially called to take part against them.

Another dispute, in which the Laird of Freuchie was interested, though he was not the direct raiser of the question, was settled by the Earl of Murray, in the Sheriff's Court at Inverness, on 17th October 1563. It arose out of a complaint made by Donald M'Innes Mor against William Fraser of Strowie. The former alleged that Fraser had blocked or stopped the passage of Loch Ness. The defender, in his reply, admitted the charge, and gave as his reason the damage done to the woods "pertenyng to him, to my Lord Lowet, and the Laird of Grant, of the quhilkis he beris charge, continuallie cuttit, pelit, and distroiit be the travelloris vpon the said loucht," etc. The decision on the complaint was, first, that the passage of the loch should be "frie and unstoppit" in time to come, and that no impediment be made to any of the lieges. Secondly, to prevent the destruction and "peling" of the woods, a power of search was thenceforth given to the provost and bailies of Inverness, that they might arrest all green timber and bark brought to the town's market for sale, in any way, or from any place, unless the bringer of the wood could produce a satisfactory certificate in writing from the baron on whose lands he got the wood. Failing such certificate, all such wood, sold or unsold, was to be forfeited, and any one who had bought the wood before the official inspection, was to lose his money if the wood was arrested. The act was to come into operation on the 1st November 1563, and stringent provisions were made for staying the transit of all timber from the port of Inverness.[2]

It may be noted that the act just quoted, and the precept formerly narrated in regard to the house of Drummin, are the first authoritative

[1] Register of the Privy Council of Scotland, 22d September 1563, vol. i. pp. 248, 249.

[2] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 128. Act dated 17th October 1563.

documents in which the Laird of Freuchie is denominated Laird of Grant. This designation, however, though from this period onward it occurs from time to time in formal documents, was not adopted by the Lairds themselves, and they continued to be designated of Freuchie until a much later period.

No doubt on account of his personal influence, the Laird of Freuchie, in the following year, was accepted by the Government as cautioner or surety for Donald Cameron of Lochiel, the chief of the Clan Cameron. Certain parties, of whom John, Earl of Athole, was the principal, bound themselves to the extent of 2000 merks that Donald Cameron should remain in ward within Edinburgh until John Grant of Freuchie should come forward as security. Donald Cameron formally bound himself to keep good rule in his country, and in no way to trouble his neighbours. If he failed in this, he offered the Laird of Freuchie as security that he would appear before the Council to answer for his conduct, under the penalty of 2000 merks. This bond was executed by Lochiel at Edinburgh on the 3d, and by his cautioner, at Freuchie, on the 10th November 1564, and finally recorded before the Privy Council on the 27th of the same month.[1] In return for the Laird of Freuchie's obligation, Lochiel gave him a formal bond of relief,[2] and by an Act of the Privy Council, at Dunkeld, the Laird was fully discharged from all his obligations to the Government.[3]

The Earl of Huntly, who was the son of the Earl slain at Corrichie, was a warm adherent of Queen Mary, and in his train the Laird of Freuchie was present at the Palace of Holyrood on 9th March 1565-6, that eventful night when David Rizzio was slain. The Laird's name has generally been overlooked in connection with this affair; but that he was one of the Queen's party at that time is stated in a document, nearly identical with what is printed in the Appendix to Bishop Keith's History, but which is fuller and more minute in its details,[4] the paper published by Keith being a copy.

[1] Register of Privy Council, vol. i. pp. 293, 294.

[2] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 130. Bond dated 20th November 1564.

[3] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 132. Act dated 29th June 1565.

[4] Printed originally in London in 1699, and reprinted in "Tracts on Scottish History" in 1836. Apparently the same with the Cottonian MS., Caligula B. ix. f. 219*, known as Morton and Ruthven's Narrative.

The circumstances leading to the murder of Rizzio, and the details of that tragedy, have been so often narrated, that they need not be repeated here, and reference will be made only to the part played by the Laird of Freuchie, or, as he is styled in the narrative of the affair, the Laird of Grant. It is well known how the conspirators entered the Queen's supper-chamber, and, seizing their victim, dragged him, or were forced by the pressure of numbers, to the outer chamber, where he was despatched. While the tragedy was being enacted, Lord Ruthven returned to the Queen's presence, and, after the deed was done, the Earl of Morton passed out into the inner or nether court for keeping of the same and the gates. Queen Mary and Lord Ruthven were disputing in the inner chamber, neither being actually aware of the completion of the crime, when "one came knocking fast at the Queen's chamber door, declaring that the Earls Huntly, Athol, Bothwel, Cathness, and Sutherland, with the Lords Fleming, Levingstone, secretary, Tillibarn (Tullibardine), the comptroller, and Laird of Grant, with their own servants and officers of the palace, were fighting in the close against the Earl of Morton and his company." The king would have gone down, but Lord Ruthven stayed him, and himself went to keep order. He therefore, with support, went down to the court, but before his coming "the officers were dwong into their houses; and the lords were holden in at the gallery door by the Earl of Morton and others being with him, and were constrained to pass up to the gallery and to their chambers."

Lord Ruthven then "passed up to the Earl Bothwell's chamber, where he found the Earls of Huntly, Sutherland, Cathness, the Laird of Grant, and divers others." To them he explained that all had been done at the king's suggestion and desire, and that the banished Lords, Murray and others, were to be recalled. The Earls of Huntly and Bothwell promised to be reconciled to the Earls of Murray and Argyll, with whom they were at enmity, and gave their hands to Lord Ruthven, in token of good faith. The latter then went to the Earl of Athole's chamber, and was accompanied by the Earls of Caithness and Sutherland and the Laird of Grant. The latter was present at the interview between Athole and Ruthven, when explanations were again made as to the king's conduct, and the conference

then ended by Athole's desiring Ruthven to ask the king's permission for the Earl and those that were then in the chamber to pass to their own country.

During this interview the Earls of Huntly and Bothwell, taking alarm for their own safety, in view of the Earl of Murray's return, escaped from a low window of the palace; and at the same time the incident occurred of the townsmen of Edinburgh mustering for the Queen's safety, and being dismissed by an assurance from Darnley that both the Queen and he were well. When all was again quiet, and the King had left the Queen's chamber and retired to his own, Ruthven preferred the Earl of Athole's request, which the King was unwilling to grant without a bond. Lord Ruthven replied that the Earl was a "true man of his promise, and would keep the thing he said." The King and the Earl then had an interview, after which the Earl took leave, and went to his chamber, where he and his company made ready to go forth, which they did; and with him went the "Earls of Sutherland and Cathness, the Master of Cathness," and others, including the Laird of Grant.

No further evidence as to the Laird of Freuchie's movements after he thus left Holyrood can be ascertained. Two days after the murder, Queen Mary made her celebrated flight to Dunbar, and was there joined by the Earls of Huntly, Bothwell, Caithness, and others, with their friends, of whom, probably, the Laird was one. The course of events ended in the Queen's imprisonment in Lochleven Castle. This last occurrence enabled the Laird of Freuchie to pass homewards to his own country, where turbulent neighbours, emboldened perhaps by his absence from home, were threatening to assail his estates.

Towards the end of Queen Mary's reign Donald Cameron of Lochiel was slain by some of his own kin, those accused of the crime being his uncles, Ewin Cameron of Erracht, and John Cameron of Kinlochiel, who also usurped the chieftainship of Donald's nephew and heir, then a minor.[1] These self-constituted leaders of the Clan Cameron immediately began to trouble their neighbours, and the Laird of Freuchie's outlying possessions of Urquhart and Glenmoriston were threatened with an attack. Having

[1] Gregory's History of the Highlands, pp. 202, 203.

been informed of their intention, the Laird took the precaution of obtaining letters under the royal signet, directed against the intended marauders. As the lands of Urquhart and others were held of the Crown in feu, the Government had a direct interest in securing the integrity of the lands. This is stated in the letters, which narrate the petition of the Laird of Freuchie, that "he is credibly informit diuers wikkit personis of the Clanrannald and Clanchamroun . . . intendis schortlie to mak incursionis vpoun the said Johnnes landis, and to burne, herrie, and destroy . . . nocht onelie to his greit skayth and dampnage, bot to the hurt and detriment of ws, the saidis landis being of oure propirtie, quhilkis being heriit and laid waist, we will want the few males thairof." Charge is therefore given to Lachlan Mackintosh of Dunachton, and Kenneth Mackenzie of Kintail, and all others of the "Clanchattane and Clankenzie," that they shall in no way permit the threatened raid, on pain of being proceeded against as art and part in the same.[1] These signet letters were issued in the name of King James the Sixth, as Queen Mary had been obliged to demit the crown in favour of her son, and was still a prisoner in Lochleven Castle. The precautions taken were effective in preventing the threatened attack.

On the 2d of May 1568 the Queen made her escape from Lochleven, and her friends in the west of Scotland mustered an army of nearly 6000 men in her behalf. As is well known, however, the Queen's party were defeated at Langside, and within a fortnight after her escape from Lochleven, she was a fugitive in England. Of the northern nobles, the Earl of Huntly adhered strongly to the fortunes of Queen Mary. After her flight into England he was appointed by her one of her lieutenants in Scotland. The Earl and his friends joined in subscribing a bond, by which they pledged themselves as faithful subjects to maintain the Queen's authority, and to acknowledge "no other usurped authoritie."[2] The date of this agreement is 1568, but the day and month not being given, it is uncertain whether it was drawn up before or after the Queen's flight. It may have been executed while the northern barons were mustering to join the Queen after her escape from Lochleven. The Laird of Freuchie

[1] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 132. Letters dated 1st March 1567-8.
[2] Spalding Club Miscellany, vol. iv. p. 156.

was the first after the Earl of Huntly to sign this bond, and he evidently acted with the Earl in support of the Queen's party, as is proved by proceedings at a later date.

On account of his close adhesion to him in the national crisis, the Earl of Huntly showed considerable favour to the Laird at this time. Acting as the Queen's lieutenant, he bestowed upon the Laird the abbacy of Kinloss, and otherwise gave his friendly assistance in the Laird's own affairs. The gift of the abbacy of Kinloss arose out of a crime alleged against Walter Reid, the abbot. The abbey and dwelling-place of Kinloss, with all their belongings, are said to be escheated because the abbot had not found surety to underlie the law for the slaughter of a person named Fraser, for which he had been proclaimed a rebel. The whole profits of the abbacy were therefore bestowed upon the Laird of Freuchie, though it is probable he did not enjoy them long. The letter of gift is signed and sealed by the Earl of Huntly, at Aberdeen, on 18th February 1568-9.[1]

The Earl of Huntly also acted as arbiter in a dispute between the Laird and James Mackintosh of Gask in reference to the lands of Laggan. The dispute was complicated by a charge made against James Mackintosh for the murder of William M'Inchruter, a tenant or servant of the Laird of Freuchie, as well as for violent occupation of the lands of Laggan for five years. Huntly's decision as to the murder was, that as it was unpremeditated, James Mackintosh should crave pardon of the Laird and make a money payment to the deceased's family. With regard to the lands, Mackintosh was to restore the goods taken, and to remove himself from possession within a certain period. Lachlan Mackintosh of Dunachton, Chief of Clan Chattan, pledged himself for his clansman's obedience to the decree, which was given by the Earl and signed by all parties at Huntly, on 30th September 1568.[2]

Shortly after the escape of Queen Mary from Lochleven, Huntly gave in his adhesion to the new government under the Regency of Murray, and the same document which bears his signature contains also that of the Laird of Freuchie. The document signed by them was a bond drawn up by the Regent's Privy Council, by which the subscribers acknowledged

[1] Original Gift at Castle Grant.

[2] Original Decree at Castle Grant.

the authority of King James the Sixth and the Earl of Murray as Regent, and swore to obey them in all points. Along with the signatures of the Earl of Huntly and John Grant of Freuchie, who signed on 15th April 1569, are those of a number of other northern barons, though it does not appear that the signatures were all appended on the 15th of April, but more probably at various dates.[1]

The Regent's Government, however, was not satisfied with a mere general testimony of allegiance by the Earl of Huntly or his vassals, the Laird of Freuchie, and the Chief of Mackintosh, and special articles of submission and arrangement were entered into between the Regent and Huntly, in the following month, at St. Andrews, in which the latter gave up his cannon, and engaged to support the Government, while the former promised to deal leniently with those who had supported Huntly. At a later date Lachlan Mackintosh tendered his submission, and on the 7th June 1569 the Laird of Freuchie appeared before the Regent at Aberdeen, and made his offer of allegiance. In this document he first formally acknowledges the new government. He then refers to the Earl of Huntly's submission, and as the Earl had bound himself to satisfy all persons injured by him betwixt the 1st August 1568 and 31st March 1569, while "serving as pretendit lieutenent to the quenis grace," so the Laird promises to satisfy all persons "be-west Spay" for all injury done by himself or servants during the same period, and generally to keep "gud reull" henceforth.[2] Following on the above submission, the Laird received, on the 3d a precept, and on the 9th July 1569 a formal remission for himself and his clan. The precept and remission narrate the actual taking up of arms and marching to the field with the Earl of Huntly against the king's party, and other offences against the Government.[3]

From Aberdeen the Regent pushed northward to Inverness, and carried out as far as possible his plans for settling the government and punishing marauders in the Highlands. Among other minor offenders against whom commissions were issued, were certain persons named Alester M'Allan, George M'Yntagart, and others their accomplices, who in October

[1] Register of Privy Council, vol. i. p. 654.

[2] *Ibid.* vol. i. pp. 663-665, 668, 669; vol. iii. of this work, p. 136.

[3] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 137.

1568 had burned "thre scoir houssis, with the insicht and cornis," on the lands of Rothiemurchus, and killed a servant of Duncan Grant, younger of Freuchie. In the following February they invaded the lands of Glencarnie, and burned eight houses, slew six men, and burned and destroyed their corns and goods, "quhairthrow the said landis ar all laid waist, besyde a nwmer of pover bairnis left fadirles to beg thair meit within the cuntre." A charge under the signet was directed to George, Earl of Huntly, and others, to apprehend the offenders above named, and bring them to justice.[1]

What effect this charge had is not apparent, but the Laird of Freuchie himself and his son took the punishment of the offenders into their own hands, and made a seizure of some of them, as is narrated in a Commission of Justiciary directed to the Laird and his son Duncan, to enable them to execute justice upon the persons captured.[2]

In August 1569, the Laird of Freuchie received from the Regent Murray a letter, requiring him to pay £172 (Scots) from the feu-duties of the lands of Urquhart, Glenmoriston, and other crown lands, to the Laird of Lochleven, as part of the expenses incurred by him while Queen Mary was under his charge.[3] These feu-duties had been assigned as a provision for supplying the Queen's table, and for other similar purposes, but had remained unpaid, and the Laird was required to pay the sum, which he did promptly, as appears from a receipt in his favour by the Laird of Lochleven.[4]

In the years 1570 and 1571, the Laird of Freuchie entered into special relations with his neighbours of Glengarry and Kintail. The possessions of Lochalsh, Lochbroom, Lochcarron, and other lands, which, as formerly narrated, had been apprised to James Grant, third of Freuchie, as compensation for the raid on Urquhart, do not appear ever to have been of any real utility to the Lairds of Freuchie. The Laird of Freuchie, however, in the alliances he now made, transferred the greater portion of the lands from himself to those who were better able to deal with them effectually. This course was doubly politic; the Laird got rid of a troublesome possession, and by giving up so much territory at a distance, obtained a greater

[1] Original Charge, dated 17th June 1569, at Castle Grant.
[2] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 138.
[3] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 11.
[4] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 140.

security that his lands of Urquhart and Glenmoriston should remain undisturbed. It is for this reason chiefly that the marriage-contracts now to be referred to are worthy of notice.

A contract was concluded at Elgin betwixt the Laird of Freuchie, for himself and his daughter, Barbara Grant, on one part, and Colin Mackenzie, son and heir of the late Kenneth Mackenzie of Kintail, with consent of his curators, on the other part. The young chief of Kintail agreed to marry Barbara Grant, and to make over to her in liferent certain lands. Her father, on the other hand, bound himself to pay with his daughter 2000 merks of tocher, and also to infeft Colin Mackenzie in the half lands of Lochbroom, in the sheriffdom of Inverness.[1] Barbara Grant had formerly been contracted (in 1568) to Robert Monro, younger of Foulis, but it does not appear that the marriage was solemnised or completed.[2] On the day following the making of the contract, Colin Mackenzie gave his bond of manrent in favour of the Laird of Freuchie, specially obliging himself to defend the Laird against the Clan Ranald.[3]

A year later the Laird entered into another matrimonial contract, also at Elgin, this time with the chiefs of Clan Ranald themselves, for uniting his daughter, Helen Grant, with Donald, the son of Angus M'Alestir of Glengarry. It was provided that Donald M'Angus M'Alestir should marry Helen Grant before the ensuing mid-summer, and that she should be infeft in certain lands. Angus M'Alestir of Glengarry [Macdonald of Glengarry], father of Donald, binds himself and his successors, "Lairdis of Glengarrie," to serve the Laird of Freuchie and his successors, "Lardis of Frewquhy," against all persons, "the auctoritie of our souerane and his chieff of Clanrandall onlie beand exceptit." If, however, Angus's chief should move against the Laird of Freuchie, then Angus would take part with the latter against his chief. Special provision is made for the protection of the Laird of Freuchie's lands of Urquhart and Glenmoriston. Angus of Glengarry binds himself to defend these lands in every way possible, and also to hinder all thefts of cattle from Strathspey. On the other hand, the Laird of Freuchie consented to Angus enjoying the nine merk land of Lochalsh

[1] Original Contract, dated 26th July 1570, at Castle Grant.
[2] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 133. [3] *Ibid.* p. 142.

apprised from the Clan Cameron, until he obtained possession of the lands of Auchindrone. The Laird of Freuchie also bound himself to infeft Glengarry and his heirs-male in the lands of Glengarry, Morar, part of Lochalsh, and Lochcarron, formerly apprised from Angus and his father for the raid of Urquhart. A penalty of no less than £10,000 Scots was to be incurred by Angus Macdonald, if he failed to implement the contract.[1]

A recent writer on the Macdonalds states that Donald M'Angus of Glengarry refused to marry Helen Grant. The same writer, after referring to the apprising of 1548, adds :—"The estates" [Glengarry, etc., above named] "had not passed to Grant in virtue of the above named apprising, but they were again apprised in consequence of Donald's refusal to marry Freuchy's daughter. They are, however, regranted by Grant to (Angus) Glengarry by a charter, already quoted, and confirmed by the Crown on the 8th July 1574."[2]

Whether the story of the repudiation in the case of Glengarry be true or not, the Laird of Freuchie took measures for securing, as far as pen and ink could do it, that Colin Mackenzie of Kintail should not play him false. At Forres, on 18th April 1572, the contract of 1570 was solemnly ratified, with this special addition, that if Colin Mackenzie repudiated Barbara Grant, then the Laird of Freuchie should again have access to the lands of Lochbroom. Colin Mackenzie also bound himself to act against Lachlan Mackintosh of Dunachton, and all others, the king and the Earl of Ross excepted; the Laird of Freuchie on his part excepting the Earl of Huntly.[3] Eight days after, at Ballachastell, on 26th April, two more contracts were signed by the parties, the first relating to the rents of Lochbroom, and an arrangement to be made with Angus Macdonald of Glengarry as to the lands of Auchindrone. The second contract is a solemn renewal by both parties, under "pane off periure and diffamatioun," of their former bond of mutual manrent and service. Special clauses were inserted to the effect that Colin should assist Grant against Mackintosh, and that Grant should aid Colin against invasion by Hew, Lord Fraser of Lovat.[4]

[1] Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 143-149. Contract dated 17th November 1571.
[2] History, etc., of the Macdonalds of Glengarry, by Alexander Mackenzie, pp. 23, 24.
[3] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 149. [4] *Ibid.* pp. 150-152.

These clauses were warranted by the disturbed state of the country, which was such, that in 1573 the Earl of Sutherland complained to King James the Sixth, in regard to his service as heir to his father in his lands in Inverness-shire, that he could obtain no inquest to sit at Inverness, because many barons and gentlemen of the sheriffdom, such as Colin Mackenzie of Kintail, Hugh, Lord Fraser of Lovat, Lachlan Mackintosh of Dunachton, Robert Monro of Fowlis, with others, were at deadly feud among themselves. The king therefore directed an inquest to be held in the burgh of Aberdeen.[1]

The enmity on the part of the Laird of Freuchie against Lord Lovat may have arisen or been quickened by personal considerations, if the following story be true, as narrated by the author of the History of the Fraser Family. Referring to Hugh Fraser, Lord Lovat, as constable of the castle of Inverness, the historian states:—"His Lordship was a great promoter of manly sports, and an expert bowman. It was a general custom in those days for all the nobility to meet at stated periods for the purposes of tilting, fencing, riding the horses, and the like exercises. At one of these rencontres, in the chapel-yard of Inverness, Lord Lovat unhorsed the Laird of Grant and the Sheriff of Moray. This, with some taunt which followed, so irritated these gentlemen, as to occasion sharp words, when Lovat said that as he had given them a specimen of his tilting, he would now try the mettle of their riding. Dashing the rowels into his steed, he rode through the river, and made straight for the hill of Clachnaharry, bidding them keep apace; here he leaped his horse over the ledge of the rock, and dared his pursuers to follow. But they, terrified with the appearance of the place, judged it wisest to desist. The impression made by his horse's shoes below was visible for sixty years after, as it was kept clean by a man who had an annual pension for preserving it."[2]

The Laird of Freuchie was, at least in one instance, himself a sufferer from the disorganised state of the country, as appears from an extract decree of the Lords of Council against James Malcolmtosche M'Counglas in Stroyne. The charge against him was that he had, on the 30th of August 1574, "within the feriot and clois tyme of harwist and vacance," taken

[1] Origines Parochiales, vol. ii. p. 668.

[2] Anderson's History of the Family of Fraser, p. 89.

from the lands of Laggan, in the barony of Strathspey, belonging to the Laird of Freuchie, certain goods and furnishings. These consisted, so far as the Laird personally was concerned, of cattle, sheep, and horses, which were upon the lands, and which are said to have been the Laird's "awin proper guidis," and were in keeping of John M'Agodow, a servant or tenant. Besides the stock there were taken from the tenant certain implements, some of which indicate progress in agriculture; one brew caldron, value £10 (Scots); another caldron, value 5 merks; one iron pot, value 26s. 8d.; one gyrdill, value 18s.; one pan, price 24s.; one "culter" (coulter) and one sock, price 26s. 8d.; two "bull axis," valued together at 23s. 4d.; two "womyllis and ane hethe," valued at 13s. 4d.; one great brew "fatt," price 30s.; one small "fatt," price 15s.; four barrels, 13s. 4d. each; two iron "cruiks," value 45s.; with six pair of "thetis" (traces) for a plough, price 30s.[1]

The Laird of Freuchie, it is said, assisted his son-in-law, Colin Mackenzie, in his contention with the Monros as to the possession of the castle and lands of the Chanonry of Ross. Mackenzie was also aided by his brother-in-law the Laird of Mackintosh.[2] Munro of Milntown had received from the Regent Murray a grant of the fortress, but his title was not completed at the Regent's death. The Mackenzies were jealous of the possession of the castle by the Monros, and laid siege to the place. The Munros held out three years, but one day, getting short of provisions, they made a sortie to the Ness of Fortrose, in the hope of securing fish from a salmon stell there. They were immediately discovered and followed by the Mackenzies, who killed their commander and twenty-five others. The garrison of the castle then surrendered, and the Mackenzies took possession.[3]

In the beginning of 1574 the Laird was annoyed by his tenants in Urquhart damaging the woods and forests of that barony. The Highlanders, it is said, never counted it theft to take a tree from the forest or a fish from the river, and the Laird in this case, as the forests were Crown property, was obliged to obtain letters of inhibition against the destroyers of the woods. The letters narrate John Grant of Freuchie's complaint that

[1] Original Decree at Castle Grant.

[2] The Mackintoshes and Clan Chattan, p. 232.

[3] History and Genealogies of the Mackenzies, p. 121.

whereas he held the barony of Urquhart, with the woods called the Forest of Cluny, in the sheriffdom of Inverness, and had incurred great expense in dyking, parking, and preserving the green wood, growing trees, and meadows within the forest, that they should not be destroyed; yet the tenants and occupiers of the barony or lands adjacent to the forest, "alswele be day as vndir scilence and cloude of nycht, brekis doun and destroyis the dykis, parking, and haning thairof, makis entres to thameselfis, their hors, cattell, and guidis thairintill, and nocht onlie cuttis doun . . . the growand treis . . . but als . . . eitis, scheris, and destroyis the medois, gers," etc. The names of the delinquents were to be specially proclaimed in public at their parish kirks; and a further proclamation made at Inverness inhibiting all from destroying the woods, under pain of the penalties imposed by Parliament.[1]

In the same year the Laird of Freuchie became involved in a dispute with the Bishop of Moray, who claimed payment of certain rents and feu-duties for the crop of the year 1573.[2] The Laird and others protested against this, and letters summoning all parties were issued by the Lords of Council, but the sequel of the matter cannot be ascertained from the muniments at Castle Grant.

Reference has been made to a contract in 1571, between the Laird of Freuchie and Donald MacAngus M'Alister of Glengarry. In 1575, at the desire of the latter, the Laird of Freuchie joined with others in a special bond to the Privy Council, that a certain Alexander Betoun should re-enter ward in the castle of Blackness on forty days' warning.[3] Who this Alexander Betoun was does not appear; but on 20th March and 7th April 1575, John Grant also acts as surety for two other persons—Rory M'Kenzie, brother of Colin M'Kenzie of Kintail, and Alexander Ross, who had made themselves obnoxious to the government.[4] The Laird of Freuchie was also, three years later, summoned to assist Glengarry under somewhat peculiar circumstances. In 1576 a rupture had taken place between the Regent Morton and the Earl of Argyll, arising out

[1] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 153.

[2] Signet Letters at Castle Grant.

[3] Register of Privy Council, vol. ii. p. 443. Bond dated 20th and 21st April 1575.

[4] Register of Privy Council, vol. ii. pp. 442, 443.

of a dispute between the latter and the Earl of Athole. The Earl of Argyll avoided the court and retired to his own country. In 1577, or early in 1578, he mustered his vassals, nominally in pursuit of certain alleged "troublaris of the commoun quietnes of the cuntre," but in reality to invade the territories of Glengarry. Glengarry appealed to the Regent, and letters were at once issued by the Privy Council, directed on the one hand to the Earl of Argyll and his adherents, forbidding them in any way to molest or pursue Glengarry or his friends, who are described as "peciabill and gude subjectis;" and, on the other hand, to the Tutor of Lovat, Colin M'Kenzie of Kintail, John Grant of Freuchie, and others, commanding them to assemble their friends and servants to assist Glengarry against the Earl of Argyll, when required to do so, and to remain under arms till all danger be past. Other letters of a similar tenor were directed to other parts of Scotland.[1] The cause of Argyll's threatened invasion of Glengarry is not known; in the Council's letters it is spoken of as "malice consavit causles" against Glengarry. The show of force made on behalf of Glengarry seems to have checked the proceedings of the Earl of Argyll, as no further record appears of the matter.

In 1577, the Laird received from Robert Douglas, Earl of Buchan, a lease of the lands of Fodderletter, Delnabo, and other lands in Strathavon, which were in the Earl of Buchan's hands by a gift from the Crown, as part of the ward of the Earl of Huntly.[2] The annual rent to be paid was £136, 12s. 8d. Scots.

On 24th October 1581, George, Earl of Huntly, gave a special bond to the Laird in reference to a remission which the Earl was bound to obtain from the king for Lachlan Mackintosh of Dunachton, that the remission should not take effect until Lachlan Mackintosh should cease from molesting the Laird of Freuchie in the occupation of certain lands. These were the lands of Rothiemurchus, Ballanespic (Ardinch), and Laggan, in the regality of Spynie; the lands of Dalfour, in the lordship of Badenoch; the lands of Clwne Raekmoir and Moir-Clwne, in Strathnairn, within the earldom of Moray. These lands bordered on Mackintosh's territory, and were invaded by him, but the Earl of Huntly bound himself to insure that

[1] Register of Privy Council, vol. ii. pp. 673-676. [2] Original Lease at Castle Grant.

the Laird of Freuchie and his tenants should enjoy peaceable possession of the territory in question.

The castle of Strome, which nominally belonged to the Laird of Freuchie, became, in the year 1582, the subject of dispute between the Macdonalds of Glengarry and the Mackenzies of Kintail, who were also at feud regarding another matter. The affair came before the Privy Council on a complaint by Donald of Glengarry against Colin Mackenzie of Kintail that the latter had come to the castle of Strome, where the former was residing, had taken him prisoner, and had spoiled his goods. Letters had gone forth against M'Kenzie to deliver up the castle to Macdonald, but without effect, and the Council again issued a charge for the delivery, dated 10th August 1582.[1] On the 11th January following, Colin Mackenzie of Kintail made a counter complaint, narrating that he had waited on the Council until the meetings of the latter were interrupted by the Raid of Ruthven; that he had received the castle in terms of a contract with Macdonald; that he had formerly been charged by the Lords of Session to render the castle of Strome to John Grant of Freuchie "as pertening to him in heretage," and therefore, under the double charge, he was uncertain to whom he should yield the fortress; further, that he had found security (of 2000 merks) that he would deliver the castle to Macdonald, if it were the king's wish. The Council, on hearing this complaint, suspended the charge at the instance of Macdonald, providing, however, that Mackenzie should deliver the fortalice to such person as the king should appoint.[2] A charge was afterwards issued (on 8th March 1583) that Strome Castle should be delivered to the Earl of Argyll, then Chancellor.[3] The Laird of Freuchie, however, as will presently be seen, still preserved his heritable rights in the castle and lands in the neighbourhood.

There is little further to relate regarding this Laird of Freuchie, so far as can be ascertained from the family muniments. In the beginning of the year 1582, he had to mourn the loss of his eldest son and apparent heir, Duncan Grant, younger of Freuchie.[4] The Laird's declining years were still further harassed by the encroachments of neighbouring lairds, as

[1] Register of Privy Council, vol. iii. p. 505.
[2] *Ibid.* pp. 541-543.
[3] Register of Privy Council, vol. iii. p. 555.
[4] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 155.

appears from the letter of appeal written by him to the gentlemen of his clan and their response, both dated 21st March 1584.[1] The Laird writes to his "maist speciall freindis and kynnismen" to show them the feeble state of his health, and that he and his friends are "mishandlit" by their neighbours without any fault of their own. He sends his (second) son and grandson to speak with them, desiring to know if they have any fault to find with either, or with himself, for doing wrong to their neighbours, that the matter may be amended. This letter was dated from Ballachastell on a Sunday, and was received and answered on the same day by the gentlemen of the clan, gathered at the church of Cromdale. They unanimously declared that they would support their "chief and maister" against all invaders, not only with their goods, but with their bodies, and that they found no fault with their chief, his son or grandson, in any time past.

Feeling his bodily infirmities increasing, and rendering him unfit for the conduct of his own affairs, he made provision for retiring from active life, and for the management of his estates. By a deed dated at Ballachastell on 30th August 1584, he had made over a great part of his lands and estates to John Grant, his grandson and apparent heir. His reasons for this are set forth in the preamble to the document, and are as follows: that he knew himself to be affected with and liable to various diseases and ailments, and to be unable and unfit for taking part in public affairs, so that he could no longer apply himself or give attention to the king's service, the defence of the country from invasion, and other public offices useful to the State. He therefore made over the whole of his lands of Freuchie, his lands in Lochalsh, Strome and its castle, Lochbroom, Glengarry, and others in Inverness-shire, with Easter Urquhill, Cantraydoun, and other lands in Nairn, and Mulben and other lands in Elgin. The Laird reserved to himself a liferent right in these lands, and to his wife, Janet Leslie, her reasonable terce.[2]

Ten months after retiring from the management of his estates the Laird of Freuchie died at Ballachastell on the 3d of June 1585. At his death he possessed large landed estates, and considerable personal property. Besides the stock and rents of Ballachastell and other manors, and the

[1] Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 157, 158. [2] Original Disposition at Castle Grant.

rents due from the tenants of Urquhart, Mulben, Knockando, Cromdale, Inverallan, Duthil, and Strathavon, he drew rents, probably in right of his second wife, from Balsusnie, Smeatoun, Bennochie, and other lands in Fifeshire. Of ready silver "in pois," or hoarded, he had at his decease the sum of 10,000 merks; and of coined gold "in ane box" the sum of 20,000 merks. The household goods at Ballachastell, with silver-work, body-clothes, and armour of the deceased, were valued at no less than £666, 13s. 4d. of then current money.

The value of the Laird's stock in his separate manors and his personal effects, including the ready money above stated, amounted to £25,392, 10s. Scots; while the rents, etc., due to the deceased raised the sum to £47,806, 16s. 8d. Scots. The debts owing by the Laird only amounted to £621, 6s. 8d., thus leaving of "frie geir" the large sum of £47,185, 0s. 10d. Scots.[1]

The value of some of the silver-work and other personal property belonging to the deceased may be gathered from letters under the royal signet, directed against Lady Jane Leslie, his relict, who refused to deliver the articles in question to the heir when he claimed them as heirship moveables.[2] The property in dispute, said to have been in the Laird's possession at his dwelling-place of Freuchie, consisted of "ane cheinzie of gold weyand xx vncis, price of ilk vnce thairof xxx lib.; ane pair of goldin braislattis veyand vj vncis, price of ilk vnce thairof foirsaid; ane syde nekit clok of fyne Franche blak, foirlappit with blak welwott, price thairof lx pundis; ane dowblat of blak satene, price thairof xxx lib.; ane pair of breikis of grograne of silk, price thairof xx lib.; ane grene burde-clayth of fyve elnis of lenth and sex quarteris of breid, price of the elne 1s.; ane knok ovirgilt with gold, price thairof ten crownis, price of ilk crowne 1s. money; ane fut mantell of fyne Scottis blak, price of the same xij lib." By the letters Lady Jane Leslie was charged to deliver up these moveables to the grandson and heir of the deceased.

The Laird, in his latter will and testament, appointed his body to be "bureit in the kirk of Dowthall, in Bogbegis Yll." That appointment

[1] Testament in Register of Testaments in Commissariot of Edinburgh, vol. xvii.

[2] Original Letters, dated 26th November 1586, at Castle Grant.

was carried out. His memorial stone was found in the Grant family burying-vault at Duthil, and is now at Castle Grant. It contains the armorial bearings of the Grant and Athole families impaled for husband and wife, with the date of the deaths of John Grant, his wife Lady Margaret Stewart, and their elder son Duncan Grant. A representation of the stone is here given. In his will he left £1000 to his grandson John "to support him." Another legacy was 40 merks to Nichol Cumming,[1] "ane pure man." After stating that he had provided his son Patrick Grant in the estate of Rothiemurchus, and that he had been much "inquietit" in the possession, the Laird goes on to say, "thairfoir I leif to the said Patrick Grant the haill guidis, geir, cornes, cattell, nolt, scheip, gold, siluer, cunzeit and vncunzeit, and all vtheris quhatsumewer . . . to support the said Patrick in his trubillis, and to help him to leif as ane honest [honourable] man." Patrick Grant was also appointed his father's executor. The will is dated at Ballachastell, 24th November 1584.[2]

John Grant, fourth Laird of Freuchie, was twice married. His first wife was Lady Margaret Stewart, daughter of John, third Earl of Athole. The marriage took place before 19th February 1539, as on that date Margaret Stewart, spouse of John Grant, received a Crown charter of the lands of Mulben and others in the shire of Elgin and Forres, with the lands of the two Culfoichs and others in the shire of Inverness, in liferent, and she was duly infeft in these lands on the 3d and 10th November following.[3] Lady Margaret Stewart predeceased her husband in the year 1555, as appears from the memorial stone here represented.

After remaining a widower for about two years, the Laird took a second wife, Lady Janet Leslie, daughter of the Earl of Rothes, who was herself a widow. The marriage was celebrated before 8th March 1557, as on that date John Grant of Freuchie and Janet Leslie, his spouse, received a Crown charter of the lands of Mulben.[4] Lady Janet Leslie appears to have been the widow of the Laird of Naughton in Fife,

[1] This Nicol Cumming is evidently the grandson of Patrick Grant Reoch of Auchnarrow, the son of Marjory Lude; the lands of Auchnarrow and others were apprised from him in 1585, and finally sold to the grandson and successor of John Grant, fourth Laird of Freuchie, in 1589.

[2] Register of Testaments, Commissariot of Edinburgh, vol. xvii.

[3] Original Charter and Sasines at Castle Grant.

[4] Registrum Magni Sigilli, Lib. xxxii. No. 241.

ARMORIAL STONE OF

JOHN GRANT OF FREUCHIE WHO DIED 1585.

MARGARET STEWART HIS WIFE WHO DIED 1555.

DUNCAN GRANT THEIR SON WHO DIED 1581

as she is designed "Lady Jeane Leslie, Lady of Naughton," in a seventeen years' lease granted to her by Robert Pitcairn, Commendator of Dunfermline, of the teindsheaves of Bogie, Bennochie, Smeatoun, and Balsusnie, in the shire of Fife,[1] dated in the year 1568. She had apparently the liferent of these lands. Lady Janet Leslie survived her second husband, and married again as her third husband, before 8th August 1590, James Elphinstone, brother-german of Robert, third Lord Elphinstone. But she did not long survive her third marriage, having died in Kirkcaldy on 17th December 1591.[2]

By his first and second marriages, this Laird of Freuchie had two sons and seven daughters.

1. Duncan Grant, younger of Freuchie, of whom a short memoir follows. He predeceased his father, and his eldest son, John, succeeded his grandfather.
2. Patrick Grant, who received from his father, about 1574, the lands of Rothiemurchus. He was the ancestor of Sir John Peter Grant of Rothiemurchus, as shown in a separate pedigree of the *Rothiemurchus Branch.*

The daughters were—

1. Elizabeth, Elspet, or Isobel. On 19th January 1560, and again in November 1561, Elizabeth Grant, daughter of John Grant, was contracted to William Fraser of Strowie,[3] but there is no evidence that the marriage was completed. On 23d July 1574, the Commissaries of Edinburgh assigned a term to Elizabeth Grant to prove the precept of divorcement pursued by her against John Leslie of Balquhain. The marriage-contract is said to be dated 15th February 1564,[4] which is so far corroborated by the receipts for the dowry, still existing at Castle Grant. In 1576, in a document connected with the process of divorce, she is called Isobel. On 21st January 1580, William Cuming of Inverallochy granted to Isobel, daughter of John Grant of Freuchie, in liferent,

[1] Lease at Castle Grant.

[2] Register of Testaments, Commissariot of Edinburgh, vol. xxv.

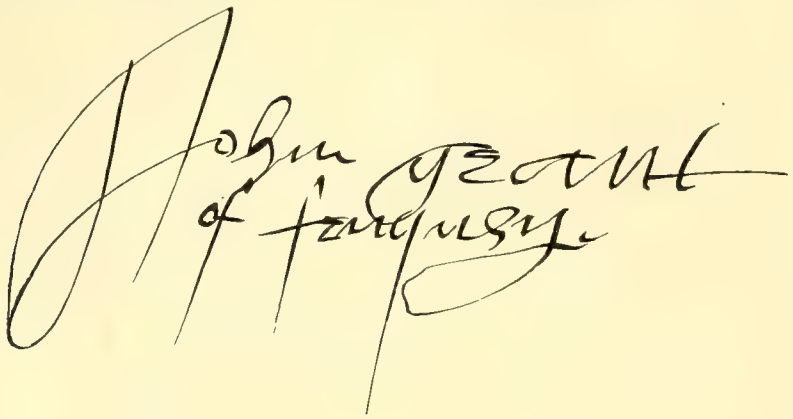
[3] Original Contract at Castle Grant.

[4] Historical Record of the Family of Leslie, vol. iii. p. 73.

and to the heirs-male to be born betwixt himself and her, his lands of Inverallochy, in terms of a marriage-contract of the same date.[1] This Isobel is apparently identical with Elizabeth, as the latter is called by both these names.

2. Grissel. She was contracted in marriage, on 30th November 1565, to Patrick Grant, younger of Ballindalloch, and died before 1576.
3. Margaret, named after Grissel in a document dated 17th March 1558. She married (contract dated 20th February 1560) Alexander Gordon, son and apparent heir of George Gordon of Beldornie.[2]
4. Katharine, named after Margaret in a document dated in 1559. No further trace of her has been discovered.
5. Marjory, named after Margaret in a document quoted as of date 20th January 1561, but no further information regarding her has been ascertained.
6. Barbara, named after Marjory on 20th January 1561; contracted in marriage on 16th November 1568, to Robert Munro, younger of Fowlis.[3] This arrangement may not have been completed, as on 18th April 1572, she was contracted to and married Colin Mackenzie of Kintail, and had issue.[4]
7. Helen, contracted in marriage on 17th November 1571 to Donald M'Angus M'Alester, younger of Glengarry.[5] She is said to have been repudiated by him.

[1] Copy Charter at Castle Grant.
[2] Receipt for Dowry at Castle Grant.
[3] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 133.
[4] *Ibid.* pp. 149, 151.
[5] *Ibid.* p. 143.



XI.—DUNCAN GRANT of Abernethy, younger of Freuchie. MARGARET MACKINTOSH (of Mackintosh), his wife.

1566-1582.

Duncan Grant, younger of Freuchie, predeceased his father, and there is little to be gathered from the muniments as to his history. To improve the position of the young Laird in the country, and to enable him to assist his father in the management of his extensive territories, and also probably as a provision on his marriage, John Grant of Freuchie, in or about the year 1565, provided his son Duncan to the lands of Abernethy. As has been shown in the Introduction, the Lairds of Freuchie held these lands on lease, so early as the year 1516. This is shown by a series of discharges for £40 as the yearly rental of the lands granted by the Earls of Moray. In 1563 and 1564 the receipts for the rent of Abernethy are in name of John Grant, fourth of Freuchie; but the rent for Whitsunday and Martinmas 1566 is paid by Duncan Grant, younger of Freuchie, showing that he had entered into possession of the lands before that date. He occupied the lands of Abernethy during his life, and seems to have chiefly resided there.

Highland raids were still of frequent occurrence in the time of the young Laird, and he and his father obtained a royal commission to deal with offenders. In 1569 Duncan Grant was associated with his father in a commission of justiciary by King James the Sixth, directed against sundry persons who had made a raid on the lands of Rothiemurchus and Glencarnie. The raiders had also killed a servant of Duncan Grant, and the latter, with his father, succeeded in apprehending several of the marauders. The king's commission of justiciary was necessary to enable the captors to do justice, that is, to hang their prisoners.[1] The commission was dated at St. Andrews on 16th August 1569, and on the 2d September following Duncan Grant presented himself before the provost and bailies of Elgin,

[1] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 138.

with the commission in his hand, and desired them to take his oath of fidelity for execution of it, which was duly done.

Duncan Grant obtained a fifteen years' lease from the Earl of Athole of the Mains of Clawalg [Clava], Dalcroy, and Drumtaynwall, lying in the parish of Croy. The yearly rent is not stated, being rated according to use and wont.[1] The lands of Clava had formerly been rented by Duncan's father for the sum of 40s. per annum.[2]

The young Laird also maintained the connection of the family with the House of Huntly by transactions about lands. In 1577 Robert Douglas, Earl of Buchan, as donator of the ward of George, Earl of Huntly, gave to his "veil belovit freind" Duncan Grant, apparent of Freuchie, a lease of the Earl of Huntly's lands of Candillmoir and Culquheich, lying in the lordship of Strathavon and sheriffdom of Banff, with power of bailziery over the lands rented. The yearly rental to be paid during the lease or during the ward and non-entry of the Earl of Huntly was £17, 15s. 4d. in full of all dues from the lands.[3]

About this time, also, Duncan Grant acquired the lands of Ardneidlie, Corsairtly, and Cowperhill, in the parish of Keith. They formed part of the possessions of the Earls of Huntly, but had been disponed to the family of Baillie, and subfeued by them to the Meldrums of Eden. William Baillie of Ardneidlie disponed the lands, on 3d April 1578, to Duncan Grant, who came to an arrangement with John Meldrum, then designed portioner of the Ord, on 28th August in the following year. The lands form the subject of a somewhat curious document, subscribed at Banff by Meldrum on the same day in which the arrangement was made for their alienation. In the document Meldrum says he had been informed, "be sinister report and informatioun," that John Grant of Freuchie, and Duncan Grant his son and apparent heir, were "participant of the spoilzies of horse, nolt, and scheip" from the lands of Ardneidlie and others, about midsummer and September respectively, in the year 1578. Acting on this information, Meldrum had raised a summons against the Grants, which had been duly executed, but he now asserted that "because it is cleirlie knawin to me sensyne that they ar

[1] Original Lease, dated 20th March 1575, at Castle Grant.

[2] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 129.

[3] Original Lease, dated 22d June 1577, at Castle Grant.

innocent, and na way was participant of the said spoilzies," he therefore, not being willing to "trowbill thame be the law for the samyn," renounces all action against them in all time coming.[1] After obtaining the lands the young Laird issued a warning against Thomas Meldrum and others, pretended tenants and occupiers of the lands of Corsairtly, Cowperhill, and Ardneidlie, with the mills and mill lands, charging them to remove from these lands at the next term of Whitsunday, that his own tenants might peaceably enter and enjoy them.[2] Ardneidlie and the other lands remained in the possession of the family of Grant until the year 1700, when they were disponed to Alexander Duff of Braco, ancestor of the Earls of Fife.

By resignation of John Grant, Laird of Corriemony, of the four merk lands of Corriemony and others into the hands of the Crown in his favour, Duncan Grant, apparent of Freuchie, added these lands also to the Grant estates. He received a charter of them under the Great Seal,[3] and was duly infeft. The Laird of Corriemony, however, reserved his own life-rent in the lands, and another part of the arrangement secured that the Laird of Freuchie would bestow upon him the half town and lands of Cluny, in the lordship of Badenoch and shire of Inverness.[4]

Duncan Grant, younger of Freuchie, died at Abernethy some time between 19th February and 1st May 1582. His will, of which only a copy, much mutilated, is preserved, was made at Abernethy on the first of these dates, and an inventory of his moveable goods was made on the 1st of May after his decease. He seems indeed to have made two wills, or a short will and a long codicil, which is dated in March 1582. In his will he appointed his father, the Laird of Freuchie, and his wife, Margaret Mackintosh, his executors. In the codicil he bequeathed Ardneidlie to his second son, James, his silver work to his wife and children, with other legacies, the terms of which cannot be clearly ascertained, owing to the defaced condition of the document.[5] His property was not large, the "frie gear" amounting to £2181, and the stock, corns, and inside plenishing are not extensive, as given in the inventory made after his death.[6] His remains

[1] Original Document at Castle Grant.
[2] Original Warning, dated 24th February 1579, *ibid.*
[3] Original Charter, dated 19th August 1580, *ibid.*
[4] Original Paper at Castle Grant.
[5] Memorandum or Copy Will, *ibid.*
[6] Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 155, 156.

were buried in the family vault at Duthil, as is shown by the memorial stone of his parents, represented on a previous page.

Duncan Grant, younger of Freuchie, married Margaret, daughter of William Mackintosh of that Ilk, or of Dunachton. She survived him, and married a second time, before 1586, Alexander Gordon, younger of Abergeldie. She seems to have married, as her third husband, before 1604, William Sutherland of Duffus. Of the marriage of Duncan Grant and Margaret Mackintosh there was issue five sons and two daughters.

1. John, who succeeded his father in Corriemony, and his grandfather as Laird of Freuchie.
2. James, to whom his father bequeathed Ardneidlie. He was more commonly known as James Grant of Logie, and was ancestor of the Grants of Moyness, in the parish of Auldearn, Nairnshire.
3. Patrick. He received from his brother John, then Laird of Freuchie, a charter of the lands of Strome, which was confirmed by King James the Sixth.[1] He afterwards received the lands of Easter Elchies, and was the ancestor of the Grants of Easter Elchies, of whom a pedigree is given in this work.
4. Robert, who received from his brother, the Laird of Freuchie, in lease, the davach land of Clachaig, in the lordship of Abernethy.[2] He was ancestor of the Grants of Lurg, of whom a pedigree is given in this work.
5. Duncan Grant of Dandaleith, in the parish of Rothes. He appears as a witness to several deeds between 1607 and 1616. He died before 24th February 1620, leaving two sons, John and James. His eldest son John succeeded him in Dandaleith.

1. Elizabeth, who married Alexander Cumming, younger of Altyre.[3]
2. ——, a daughter, name unknown, mentioned in her father's testament, but no other trace of her has been discovered.

[1] Original Charters, dated 10th July 1589 and 13th July 1593, at Castle Grant.
[2] Lease dated 7th June 1620, in Register of Leases, *ibid.*
[3] Original Contract of Marriage, dated 27th April 1594, *ibid.*

XII. JOHN GRANT, Fifth of Freuchie.
LADY LILIAS MURRAY (of Tullibardine), his wife.

1585-1622.

During the long tenure of the Grant estates by this Laird,—part of them having been held by him for forty years, and another portion of them for thirty-seven years,—he was often engaged in public transactions of importance. The friendship which had existed between the Earls of Huntly and the Lairds of Freuchie was not maintained between this Laird and the first Marquis of Huntly, whose rebellions, as will be seen, brought the Laird into frequent antagonism with the Gordons.

As already stated, John Grant was the grandson of his predecessor, the fourth Laird, and the son of Duncan Grant, younger of Freuchie, the subject of the preceding memoir. He appears to have been born about the year 1568. In a precept by King James the Sixth for infefting John Grant as son and heir of his father, Duncan Grant, apparent of Freuchie, in the lands of Corriemony, dated 27th February 1582, he is described as of lawful age.[1] But he could have been so only under a dispensation to enable his feudal title to be completed, as he was at that time, and up to September 1588 under the charge of curators.[2] Upon that precept infeftment was given in the following May.[3] John Grant, fifth of Freuchie, succeeded to his grandfather on the death of the latter on 2d June 1585. On the 14th of the same month the ward and non-entry of the young Laird of Freuchie were bestowed by King James the Sixth upon his favourite, James Stewart, Earl of Arran, then Chancellor. Six weeks later, on 30th July, King James was compelled, in obedience to the demands of the English ambassador, to commit the Earl to ward in St. Andrews for his alleged share in the death, really accidental, of an English nobleman, Lord Russell, at a warden meeting on the Borders; and though the prisoner was liberated on the

[1] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 156.
[2] *Ibid.* pp. 158, 169.
[3] Instrument, dated 17th May 1583, at Castle Grant.

6th August, he never regained his influence in Scotland. He was also deprived of his title of Earl of Arran, as three days after his release the king ratified the gift which he had made of the ward of Freuchie, and regranted the same to Stewart, not as Earl of Arran, but "to our traist cousing, James, Lord Stewart, lait chancellar of our realme." The gift comprised the ward, non-entries, and other feudal casualties of all lands belonging to the deceased John Grant of Freuchie or the late Duncan Grant his son.[1] A year later Lord Stewart assigned, on payment of a sum of money, his whole interest in these subjects to Patrick Grant of Rothiemurchus, one of the young Laird's curators.[2]

John Grant, fifth Laird of Freuchie, was, in 1586, infeft in the Crown lands of Urquhart in terms of a royal precept.[3] He was also in the following year infeft in the lands of Glencarnie and Ballindalloch as heir of his great-grandfather, James Grant, the third of Freuchie; but he was not retoured heir to his grandfather in the lands of Freuchie until 7th October 1589. The retour embraced the barony of Freuchie, the lands of Kessoryne, Strome, and Strome Castle, with the church lands of Laggan and others in Strathspey.[4] The young Laird also, in 1586, completed his title to the lands of Tullochgorm, Clurie, and others in Badenoch, held of the Earl of Huntly,[5] and on the 31st of July in that year he received from the Earl a formal bond of maintenance similar to that granted to his grandfather and great-grandfather in 1546, save that no mention is made of any bailiary or other fixed service on the part of the Laird of Freuchie.[6] The latter, however, gave a bond of manrent to the Earl in the usual form.[7] It bears date in 1586, the month and day being left blank, but as both bonds are dated at Elgin, they may have been granted on the same day.

The Laird of Freuchie was also infeft in the lands of the two Auchnarrows, Downan, and Port, in terms of a precept in a charter by James Grant of Auchernack, the then proprietor of these lands. As previously narrated, these lands in 1473 were the property of Marjory Lude, "Lady of half the barony of Freuchie," who sold them to her son Patrick Grant,

[1] Original Letters of Gift at Castle Grant.

[2] Original Assignation, dated 2d September 1586, *ibid.*

[3] Sasine, dated 19th May 1586, *ibid.*

[4] Extract Retour at Castle Grant.

[5] Instrument, dated 20th April 1586, *ibid.*

[6] Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 97, 165.

[7] Miscellany of Spalding Club, vol. iv. p. 236.

called also Patrick Reoch. He died in 1513, and the lands were in non-entry for the long term of sixty-seven years, up to 1580, when they were apprised to James Grant of Auchernack. In 1585 they were finally confirmed in favour of the latter by a Crown Charter from King James the Sixth.[1] Auchernack sold them to John Grant of Freuchie in 1589, and thus the two halves of the original barony of Freuchie became united in the possession of the Laird of Freuchie.

The young Laird of Freuchie was early drawn into the current of public events. Shortly after his succession to his grandfather, and before he reached his majority, the struggle began between the Earls of Sutherland and Caithness, which kept the Northern Highlands in a state of commotion, and lasted for five years from 1587 to 1591.[2] One of those who took part with the Earl of Sutherland was the Laird of Mackintosh, who was probably enabled to do so the more readily by having entered into an important contract with the young Laird of Freuchie, at Inverness, on 14th June 1586. In this contract, the question as to the ownership of Rothiemurchus, which had been the source of dispeace and bloodshed betwixt the Mackintoshes and Grants, was finally settled in terms of a decreet-arbitral obtained thereupon, by the Laird of Mackintosh resigning all rights he had or might have to the lands and barony of Rothiemurchus. Mackintosh also bound himself to preserve and guard the lands of Urquhart, Glenmoriston, and all others belonging to the Grants, against the inroads of the Clan Cameron, Clan Ranald, or others. In return for these benefits, the Laird of Freuchie and his curators obliged themselves to infeft the Laird of Mackintosh in certain lands in Lochalsh and Kessoryne, and also in Strome Castle, with the office of Constable, all as formerly held by Cameron of Lochiel, but which had come into the hands of James Grant, third Laird of Freuchie, in the manner narrated in his memoir. The Laird of Freuchie also promised to uphold the Laird of Mackintosh in peaceable possession of Lochaber against the Clan Cameron and all others, except the King and the Earl of Huntly.[3]

[1] Original Charter at Castle Grant.
[2] Sir Robert Gordon's History of the Earldom of Sutherland, p. 192.
[3] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 158.

The transfer of the lands of Lochalsh, Strome Castle, and others, to Mackintosh, apparently partook of the nature of a sale, as the first clause of the contract is an acknowledgment by the Laird of Freuchie for the payment of 20,000 merks. Provision is afterwards made for the refunding of that sum should the young Laird, on reaching majority, refuse to grant a formal charter of the lands. Probably, however, the 20,000 merks were never wholly paid, or for some other reason John Grant of Freuchie resumed the lands, as, on 10th July 1589, he bestowed them on his brother, Patrick Grant, the gift being afterwards confirmed by a Crown charter.[1] By a minute of agreement four years later, Mackintosh renounced all writs made to him of Kessoryne, etc., and the Laird of Freuchie paid to Mackintosh 5000 merks.[2]

This alliance between Grant and Mackintosh had in the end important consequences. It is somewhat difficult to follow the true sequence of events, but on 27th March 1588, their bond of mutual assistance against the Clan Cameron was supplemented by a Royal Commission, directed to the Earl of Huntly, Lachlan Mackintosh, and John Grant of Freuchie. They were empowered to proceed against Allan M'Conil Dhu, the captain of Clan Cameron, who, with a large following, had during various months of the year 1584 made a descent upon Lochaber, and committed depredations there.[3] This raid was no doubt the cause of the mutual bond betwixt the Lairds of Freuchie and Mackintosh.

Notwithstanding that the Earl of Huntly, and the Lairds of Mackintosh and Freuchie, were thus conjoined against the leader of Clan Cameron, the current of public and political events soon forced them asunder, and a year or two later found the lesser barons in battle array against the more powerful Earl. Perhaps, however, the two Lairds made some use of their commission in the meantime, though no record remains of the fact. But the next document among the Grant muniments relating to the Clan Cameron is of a friendly nature. It is a bond betwixt the Laird of Freuchie and Allan Cameron of Lochiel, dated at Grant's residence of Ballachastell, 30th June 1589, in which they mutually oblige themselves to

[1] Original Crown Charter, dated 13th July 1593, at Castle Grant.

[2] Minute of Agreement dated 25th January 1593-4, vol. iii. of this work, p. 176, note.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 166.

assist and maintain each other, especially against the Macdonalds of Glencoe,[1] but also against all other persons save the King and the Earl of Huntly. Such bonds as this were frequent, but their effect was wholly temporary, and the obligations were too often disclaimed the moment they conflicted with the self-interest of the granters. So it apparently was in this case, as a year later the Laird of Freuchie and Cameron of Lochiel were ranged in opposite factions, the one espousing the cause of the Earl of Huntly, and the other that of the Earl of Murray.

The proceedings of the Earl of Huntly at this period have been recorded elsewhere, but a brief reference to them here is necessary, in order to understand the part taken by the Laird of Freuchie. The Earl was a Roman Catholic, and was for some time busily engaged in intrigues with Spain, along with the Earl of Errol and other Roman Catholic noblemen and gentlemen in Scotland. The discovery of Huntly's Spanish correspondence led to a temporary imprisonment (from February 27th to March 6th, 1589) in Edinburgh Castle, and a few days after his release he and the Earl of Errol proceeded to the north, where, with the Earl of Crawford, they appeared in arms at the head of 3000 men about the beginning of April.[2]

When it became known that the king had mustered an army, though inferior in numbers, and was marching in person at the head of it, Huntly's force rapidly dwindled away, and the rebellion collapsed, though Huntly and the other leaders still remained at large. In his progress northward, the king received the submissions of many of the barons who had followed Huntly, and reached Aberdeen on the 20th April 1589. Between the 20th and the 30th of April, Slains Castle, the seat of the Earl of Errol, was taken, and the Earl of Huntly made prisoner. On the latter date, before the king's departure from Aberdeen, the Privy Council issued an order that bonds should be drawn up and subscribed by faithful subjects in defence of the true religion and of the king's government against the Roman Catholic conspiracy, and the Earls of Huntly and Errol in particular. In terms of this ordinance a bond was drawn up and subscribed by the king in person, John, Master of Forbes,

[1] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 170.

[2] Register of the Privy Council, vol. iv. pp. 360-375.

George [Abernethy], seventh Lord Saltoun, Ogilvie of Findlater, and other northern barons.[1]

Among those who signed this bond were John Grant of Freuchie and his neighbour, Lachlan Mackintosh of Dunachton. In regard to them and some others a recent Scottish historian, writing of Huntly's rebellion, the king's exploits, and the capture of Slains Castle, makes the following statement. "The Lairds of Frendraught, Grant, and Mackintosh, the powerful clans of the Drummonds and the Forbeses, with many others, who had been seduced from their allegiance by the Catholic faction, submitted themselves."[2] This assertion is somewhat too sweeping, and is not borne out by evidence. The Laird of Frendraught and the Drummonds, indeed, seem to have been implicated in the rebellion, as the former, though he signed the bond, was bound over in a large penalty, and the latter refused to submit. But the Lairds of Freuchie and Mackintosh appear to have signed the bond along with the king without any restrictions or security for their good behaviour. Moreover, the relations between these two Lairds and the Earl of Huntly were the reverse of friendly, issuing a few months later in open rupture.

The Laird of Freuchie was a member of the Protestant party, and therefore opposed in religious matters to the Earl of Huntly. This is proved from the minutes of a so-called Convention of Estates (apparently *pro re nata*), held on 27th July 1588.[3] The meeting was called by the king on receipt of news as to the sailing of the Spanish Armada, which indeed, ere the tidings reached Scotland, had already arrived in the English Channel and been attacked by the English fleet. The chief act of the Convention was to appoint Commissioners with justiciary powers, and very extensive authority, to apprehend and try Jesuits, rebels, and similar offenders. These Commissioners were to use their "exact diligence," under the penalty of £1000 each for negligence. Among those specially named to act for the landward parts of Scotland was John Grant of Freuchie, as one of three appointed for Elgin and Forres. The Laird of Freuchie's position as a Commissioner would naturally lead

[1] Register of the Privy Council, vol. iv. pp. 375-377.

[2] Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 147.

[3] Register of Privy Council, vol. iv. pp. 298-302.

him to take part with the royal forces against the Roman Catholic rebels, and that he did so may be surmised from the fact that he was re-appointed to the same office by a later Act, of date 6th March 1590.[1]

Shortly afterwards, the Laird was also ordered to find surety, within fifteen days after being charged to do so, that he would assist and concur with Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy in executing the latter's commission against the unfortunate Clan Gregor, and that he would raise his whole force in pursuit of them, should they come within his bounds, under pain of being held as art and part with them, and answerable for their spulzies.[2] Previous to this date, the Laird of Freuchie had become specially obnoxious to the Government on account of his alleged "present misreule," with which an act of the Privy Council declares the king had resolved to take order,[3] and his territory had been noted as one of those in which "broken men" were harboured. In accordance with the Acts of Council on the subject, he was, on 16th December 1590, required to find security to the amount of £10,000 that he would keep good rule in his district, for which sum James, Earl of Murray, became cautioner.[4]

This charge of "misreule" partly arose out of a quarrel, trivial in its origin, but which was peculiarly tragic in its consequences. Patrick Grant of Ballindalloch, a kinsman of the Laird's, died in September 1586, leaving a widow, named Margaret Gordon. John Grant, tutor of Ballindalloch, in administering the estate, gave some offence to the widow in money matters. She called in the assistance of her friends, the Gordons, to maintain her rights, and, by their advice, married as her third husband John Gordon, brother of Sir Thomas Gordon of Cluny. Upon this, according to the historian of the House of Sutherland, the tutor of Ballindalloch, "grudgeing that any of the surname of Gordoun should duell amongst them," at the instigation of "the Laird of Grant," quarrelled with John Gordon and killed one of his servants. In revenge, John Gordon pressed matters so far that the tutor and his adherents were denounced rebels, and the Earl of Huntly was stirred up to pursue them at law, he being Sheriff of the shire. The Earl therefore obtained a commission, in virtue of which he besieged

[1] Register of Privy Council, vol. iv. pp. 463-465.
[2] *Ibid.* pp. 510, 528.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 548.
[4] *Ibid.* pp. 782, 803, 813.

the house of Ballindalloch and took it by force, on the 2d day of November 1590, the tutor, however, making his escape.[1]

The Laird of Freuchie was highly incensed at the violent proceedings of the Earl of Huntly, as the death of insignificant clansmen was commonly atoned for by an assythement or compensation in cattle or money, or if any reprisal were made in such cases, it was usually confined to the immediate friends of the slayer or the slain. There were, however, other causes of dissension at work, for which this affair of Ballindalloch was at first only a cover. If the Laird of Freuchie really instigated Ballindalloch, he was merely an instrument, the prime mover of the disturbance being no less a personage than John Maitland, Lord Thirlstane, Chancellor of Scotland. This is boldly affirmed by Sir Robert Gordon, writing not long after the event, who states that Sir John Campbell of Calder was employed by the Chancellor, "from whom he had receaved instructions to ingender differences and warrs between Huntley and Morray," which charge, Sir Robert adds, he accomplished "verie learnedlie" by means of the Laird of Grant.

If this be so, an insignificant brawl was, by a political intrigue, made the cause of much turmoil. The immediate effect was, as stated, the attack by the Earl of Huntly on the house of Ballindalloch, which was resented by the Grants. Their chief summoned his friends, who assembled at Ballachastell, and there, on 5th November 1590, four days after the siege of Ballindalloch, they entered into a mutual bond for offence and defence. This bond was subscribed by the Earls of Athole and Moray, Simon Lord Lovat, the Laird of Freuchie, John Campbell of Calder (the moving spirit of the affair in the north), Thomas Stewart of Grandtully, Patrick Grant of Rothiemurchus, Sutherland of Duffus, and Archibald Grant of Ballintomb.[2] The purpose of the leaguers, though not plainly stated, was evidently one of hostility against the Earl of Huntly, for, whereas in former documents of a similar nature executed by the Lairds of Freuchie, the Earl of Huntly's jurisdiction is specially excepted, no such clause occurs in the present contract. The parties bind themselves that in case it shall happen any of them, "as weill the meanest as the greatest," to be pursued

[1] History of the Earldom of Sutherland, p. 215.

[2] Copy Bond in Monymusk Charter-chest, printed in Spalding Club Miscellany, vol. ii. p. 93.

or invaded in their "persones, guides, or geir, be any persone or persones quhatsumewer," they shall join in opposing such invasion to the utmost of their power, against all, the King only being excepted.

The next document in which the Laird of Freuchie figures is even more unmistakeable in its terms. Lachlan Mackintosh of Dunachton had not joined the party at Ballachastell on the 5th November, but, a week later, he and the Laird of Freuchie entered into a solemn compact at Forres.[1] Certain clauses of this bond refer to a mutual transfer of lands betwixt the parties, but the article of most importance is a stipulation that the Laird and Mackintosh shall assist each other against "ony erle within this realme," who should "wrangouslie" invade or trouble them. Each party is bound in the strictest manner to assist the other against "ony sic erles" upon forty-eight hours' warning, if necessary. Here there can be no doubt as to the purpose of the coalition, which must have been premeditated for some time, as Sir Robert Gordon asserts that Huntly had summoned the Grants and Mackintoshes as his vassals to appear before him, but that they, being supported by the Earls of Athole and Moray, refused to appear. Referring to this bond between Grant and Mackintosh, and also to subsequent transactions betwixt them, a recent writer on the history of the Clan Chattan describes the influence exercised by the Laird of Freuchie on the fortunes of the Lairds of Mackintosh as a "baleful influence," as it resulted in a four years' quarrel with Huntly, and other embarrassments.[2] But whatever misfortunes to the chiefs of Mackintosh arose out of their connection with the Grants, the feud against Huntly cannot be laid wholly to the charge of the Laird of Freuchie. The Clan Chattan themselves had already had a dispute with the Earl in reference to his attempt to build or restore the castle of Ruthven in Badenoch, a project which the Mackintoshes stoutly opposed as prejudicial to their interests, and they had hindered the work so far as they could by refusing the feudal service required of them.[3]

This is the testimony of a contemporary, and it can scarcely be

[1] Vol. iii. of this work, p 171.
[2] The Mackintoshes and Clan Chattan, by A. M. Shaw, p. 312.
[3] History of the Earldom of Sutherland, p. 214.

doubted that jealousy of the growing power of the Gordons was a reason quite sufficient for the chief of Mackintosh joining heartily, and of his own accord, in a coalition against the Earl, without being led into it by the Laird of Freuchie. But, as already stated, other and more powerful agencies were at work. Sir John Campbell of Calder has been described as the chief instigator of the coalition in the north, and as he was a witness to the bond between Grant and Mackintosh, the "baleful influence," if there was any such, may fairly be ascribed to him and not to the Laird of Freuchie, who was only a subordinate agent.

The bond betwixt the Lairds of Freuchie and Mackintosh was signed at Forres. At the same place, also, were met the Earls of Athole and Murray, who, it is said, were there in concert with the Grants, Mackintosh, and the Knight of Calder, to arrange their plans. Calder, Mackintosh, and Grant urged the Earls "to tak their tyme, and now or never afterward, to resist the house of Huntley, and to mak themselves strong in the north, haveing at this tyme so great a pairtie, and being so well freinded at Court."[1] The Dunbars, allies of the Earl of Murray, advised the contrary, and alleged the difficulty of opposing Huntly. While thus disputing, the advice given by the Dunbars received a practical application by the sudden approach of the Earl of Huntly himself at the head of an armed force. This unexpected addition to the convention at Forres so dismayed those who had just been asserting the strength of their party and friendship at Court, that one and all made speedy escape to Darnaway Castle. Thither they were followed by Huntly, on whose approach the Earl of Athole and the Lairds of Calder, Freuchie, Mackintosh, and Dunbar again fled, while the Earl of Murray remained behind to defend his house. In a preliminary skirmish Huntly lost one of his principal followers, and finding that most of his opponents had escaped and that the castle of Darnaway was well furnished to resist a siege, he disbanded his forces on 24th November 1590.[2]

Such is the account of Sir Robert Gordon, but that given by the Earl of Huntly himself in a "supplication" made by him to the Privy Council a month or two after the events took place, states the details in a somewhat different way, for though the affair ended at the time at the castle

[1] History of the Earldom of Sutherland, p. 215.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 215, 216.

of Darnaway, and no further appeal was made to arms, the belligerent parties fought out their quarrel in the Law Courts. In his supplication the Earl of Huntly stated that by virtue of his Majesty's commission he had gone to the place of Ballindalloch to apprehend the tutor of Ballindalloch and others, accused of slaughter, etc., but as the Laird of Freuchie, their chief, had promised to enter them within the Earl's place of Strathbogie on a certain day, he had "left of all forder persute of thame at that tyme." The Laird of Freuchie, however, did not keep his promise, but, accompanied by the Earl of Murray and Sir John Campbell of Calder, had taken the field with an armed force, and, in consequence, had been charged to deliver up the rebels, on pain of treason, a charge which he "contempnandlie disobeyit." To enforce his authority the petitioner had, on the 22d November (1590), marched to the town of Forres, where, he understood, the Lairds of Grant, Calder, and Mackintosh were convened, "with the haill brokin men of the cuntrey." They, however, before his coming, passed to the castle of Darnaway, where they were reset by the Earl of Murray. The petitioner then sent an officer of arms with twelve witnesses towards the castle to ask delivery of the malefactors, when there issued from the castle a number of men, followers of the Laird of Freuchie and the others, who pursued the officer and witnesses, "dischargeit pistollettis at thame, and than enterit agane within the said castell," from which they fired various pieces of artillery, "nochtwithstanding ony signis of peace and halding up of naipkynnis in taikin thairof," which resulted in the death of John Gordon, brother of Sir Thomas of Cluny.[1]

Counter allegations to this representation were made at its first hearing on 14th December 1590 by the Earl of Murray, and the Lairds of Grant and Calder in particular declared themselves innocent of John Gordon's slaughter, as they were not within the castle of Darnaway at the time. The immediate result of the second hearing of Huntly's case on 23d January 1590-91, was that the king accepted his services, and reserved the defences of the other side. They had already, however, obtained from the Lords of Council and Session a decree in their own favour, exempting them

[1] Register of Privy Council, vol. iv. pp. 569, 570.

from the execution of Huntly's commission.[1] The plea for exemption put forward by the Laird of Freuchie and his allies is founded first on the illegality of private commissions of justiciary, and secondly on a series of charges of manslaughter against the Gordons, for which reasons, and because of the unreconciled feud betwixt the parties, they argued that the commission ought to be suspended, which was done, the Earl of Huntly making no appearance in reply.

The next step in the proceedings was a complaint, made on 26th May 1591, by the Laird of Freuchie on his own behalf against the Earl of Huntly in regard to the letters of treason above referred to. He alleges they had been wrongfully executed, as he had found surety for his good rule to the extent of £10,000. He states that Sir John Campbell of Calder was his security, and another document shows that the Earl of Murray was also cautioner for him to the same amount.[2] The Laird therefore submits that the letters of treason should be suspended, which was done.[3] Another complaint preferred by the Laird of Freuchie on 30th June, openly charged the Earl of Huntly with "maist awfullie" pursuing the Laird and his tenants, and committing depredations. The Laird repeated his statements about having found caution, and alleged that within these few days the Earl had obtained a commission against him, and had warned the country to pass against him. The Laird further asserted that the narrative of the Earl's commission was false, and petitioned that this commission should also be suspended, which was done.[4]

The next shot in this legal duel was fired by the Earl of Huntly, who, on 4th August 1591, replied to all the Laird of Grant's statements, and procured from the Lords of Council an order for executing letters of indemnity against him notwithstanding the suspension.[5] These letters required that the Earl and his servants should be unmolested by the Laird. This last measure of the Council seems to have settled matters so far that overtures were made for reconciliation between the parties. It is not clear from which side the advances came, but a document signed on behalf of the Earl of

[1] Decree, dated 20th January 1591, vol. iii. of this work, pp. 176-179.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 179.

[3] Register of the Privy Council, vol. iv. pp. 626, 627.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 646.

[5] *Ibid.* p. 663.

Huntly and the Gordons, and dated at Kinminitie on 22d October 1591, declares that John Grant of Freuchie and Lachlan Mackintosh of Dunachton shall be accepted and received again to the favour of the Earl as formerly, "swa lang as thai keip thair dewtie and faythfull seruice to his lordschip and his houss, but (without) defection." This document is signed by Patrick Gordon of Auchindoun and others, for the Earl of Huntly.[1]

This arrangement between the Laird of Freuchie and the Earl of Huntly left the latter free to turn his attention towards his chief enemy the Earl of Murray, the story of whose tragical death at Donibristle, on 7th February 1592, has been often told. The popular indignation at the murder was very great, and in consequence the Earl of Huntly was warded in the castle of Blackness. His imprisonment, however, only lasted a few days, and he again returned to the north, where the Grants and Mackintoshes, especially the latter, were burning to avenge the death of the "Bonnie Earl," as he was popularly called. The Clan Chattan invaded Badenoch, and were opposed by the Clan Cameron, who were allies of Huntly, while the Clan Ranald were deputed by Huntly to ravage Strathspey,[2] and, according to Sir Robert Gordon, eighteen Grants were slain (another account says twenty-two), the Laird of Ballindalloch wounded, and his lands wasted. The Earl of Athole also, a kinsman of the murdered Earl of Murray, advanced towards Darnaway with an armed force. These warlike preparations and tribal contests, which, as a recent historian truly says, "spread like the moor-burning of their own savage districts from glen to glen and mountain to mountain, till half the land seemed in a blaze,"[3] were checked for a time by the despatch northward of William, Earl of Angus, with powers as the King's Lieutenant in the north. His commission states that the lawless broken Highlandmen of the Clan Chattan, Clan Cameron, Clan Ranald, and others depending on the Earls of Huntly and Athole, "hes sa wrakit and schakin lowis sindre partis of the north cuntrie," that murders, houseburning, spuilzies, etc., go on "with far greitair rigour nor it war with forreyne enemyis."[4]

[1] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 180.

[2] History of the Earldom of Sutherland, pp. 217, 218.

[3] Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 181.

[4] Original Commission, dated 9th November 1592, in Douglas Charter-chest.

What the Grants, Frasers, and Mackintoshes doubtless conceived to be a proper warrant for their share of the slaughters committed is found in a commission of justiciary, dated 6th June 1592, and directed to the Lord Fraser of Lovat, Lachlan Mackintosh, the Laird of Freuchie, and three other Grants, the Lairds of Ballindalloch, Rothiemurchus, and Glenmoriston, authorising them to proceed with fire and sword against various parties in Lochaber accused of murder, etc.[1] At this juncture the Laird of Freuchie entered into a mutual bond of manrent and assistance with a member of the proscribed Clan Gregor.[2] This bond curiously enough excepts the Earl of Huntly from the effects of the alliance; but this was a mere form, as the Clan Cameron and Clan Ranald, against whom it was directed, were in his service. Moreover, the Clan Gregor had been much attached to the deceased Earl of Murray.

Armed with these letters of fire and sword, and having the M'Gregors as allies, the Laird of Freuchie and his party probably contributed their quota in raising this disturbance in the north, but the Earl of Angus's commission was only directed against the Clan Chattan, Clan Cameron, and Clan Ranald. Angus carried north with him full instructions how to proceed against the contending parties, and also several missive letters, including one to the Laird of Freuchie, of date 10th November 1592.[3] This missive attributes all the disturbances in the north to the Earls of Huntly and Athole, and, treating the Laird as a loyal subject, desires him to aid the Earl of Angus with all his power to put down disorder. The Earl of Angus advanced to the north certainly as far as Monymusk, and judging from the tenor of King James the Sixth's letters to him,[4] he so far succeeded in settling affairs that in the beginning of December mutual assurances passed betwixt the Earls of Athole and Huntly, and Mackintosh of Dunachton.[5]

Shortly after this the Earls of Angus, Huntly, and Errol, fell into disgrace because of their adherence to the Spanish conspiracy, and the king himself led an army against the traitors. They were forced to fly, and

[1] Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 180-183.

[2] Bond, dated 20th June 1592, *ibid.* p. 183.

[3] Vol. ii. of this work, pp. 3, 4.

[4] Original Letters, dated 28th and 30th November 1592, in Douglas Charter-chest.

[5] Original Obligations, dated 4th and 8th December 1592, *ibid.*

their estates were confiscated, but the measures taken against them were not at that time enforced. Caution was exacted for good behaviour, as appears from a royal letter, dated 13th March 1592-3, forbidding the Laird of Freuchie to be outlawed for acting as one of the cautioners to the Earl of Huntly,[1] and in May following the king remitted to the Laird the sum of 5000 merks, his share of the whole amount of the security given for the Earl of Huntly.[2] The temporising character of King James the Sixth's policy, notwithstanding the pressure brought to bear on him by Queen Elizabeth and the Scottish clergy, enabled the Catholic Earls to make considerable advance in influence and strength, but on the 30th of May 1594 the estates of the three Earls, Angus, Huntly, and Errol, were forfeited, and themselves proclaimed traitors. Thereupon Huntly and Errol drew together in arms, and gathered a considerable band of followers, one of their chief adherents being Francis Stewart, Earl of Bothwell, the most restless and turbulent spirit of his time. A systematic plan of rebellion was concerted with Bothwell, but it was never executed, owing to the course of events in the north.

King James the Sixth had openly declared his intention of marching in person against the Catholic Earls, but a commission was also given to Archibald, the seventh Earl of Argyll, the father of the Marquis, to take the field against Huntly. This office was readily accepted by Argyll, who, though a young man, was eager to revenge the death of his relative the Earl of Murray, and great preparations were made for the expedition. Argyll began his march with a considerable army. Men gathered to his standard from all quarters under various leaders, and as it reached the neighbourhood of Badenoch and Strathspey it was joined by the Laird of Mackintosh and the Laird of Freuchie. Argyll's army is said to have ultimately increased to the number of 12,000 men, though this may be an exaggeration. His first military operation was to besiege the Castle of Ruthven in Badenoch, but it was so stoutly defended for the Earl of Huntly by the Macphersons that the attempt to reduce it was abandoned. Drummin Castle, on the Avon, was reached on 2d October 1594,[3] after

[1] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 4. [2] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 184.
[3] History of the Earldom of Sutherland, p. 226.

which the march was directed eastward toward Strathbogie, but near Glenlivet the large and somewhat motley army of Argyll was met by a small but well-trained force of about 2000 men under the leadership of Huntly.

The Earl of Argyll held a council of war, at which his most experienced officers advised delay, but this advice was overruled, and he resolved to fight. He disposed part of his forces on the declivity of a hill between Glenlivet and Glenrinnes, the right wing consisting of the Macleans and Mackintoshes, the left wing of the Grants, Macneils, and Macgregors, the centre being composed of Campbells. This vanguard, it is said, numbered 4000 men, and Argyll commanded the rest of the army in the rear. The smaller body commanded by Huntly was composed chiefly of horsemen, well mounted and armed, and the Earl had also with him six pieces of artillery. These were dragged forward unperceived by Argyll's troops, and the battle may be said to have begun with a shot from one of the cannon, which killed Campbell of Lochnell, a chief officer among the Highlanders, who were thrown into great confusion by the discharge.[1] Taking advantage of this, Huntly encouraged his men to the attack, and the result of the battle was that after an obstinate contest Argyll was obliged to retreat, and Huntly and Errol remained masters of the field.

It does not appear whether the Laird of Freuchie was present at this engagement or not. His clan, or at least a portion of his men, formed part of the left wing of Argyll's army, and are said to have been commanded by John Grant of Gartenbeg. The defeat sustained by Argyll's party has been ascribed to this John Grant, who, it is alleged, had entered with Campbell of Lochnell, who had a private quarrel with his chief, into a compact with Huntly that as soon as the battle began the detachments commanded by them should give way. On the death of Campbell his men fled, and John Grant of Gartenbeg, it is asserted, proved a source of weakness in the wing where he was stationed. Be this as it may, the Catholic Earls certainly gained the advantage, though their triumph was of short duration, as the king in person took the field against them, demolished their castles, and in the end forced Huntly and Errol to take refuge abroad.

[1] History of the Earldom of Sutherland, pp. 227, 228; Shaw's Moray, pp. 267, 268.

The historical events above narrated, from the siege of Ballindalloch in 1590 to the battle of Glenrinnes in 1594, including the tragical end of the Earl of Murray, have been recounted briefly and only where bearing on the history of the Laird of Freuchie, who, though he does not figure very prominently on the stage of passing events, was yet, as before stated, the instrument, no doubt unconsciously, by which the leaders in a widespread conspiracy strove to gain at least one of their aims. It appears from documents afterwards discovered, that Maitland the Chancellor, the Earl of Huntly, with Campbell of Glenorchy, Campbell of Lochnell, and others, were all banded together to achieve the murder of the Earl of Murray, the Earl of Argyll, Colin Campbell of Lundy, his brother, and Sir John Campbell of Calder, though the last named was at first made a tool to stir up matters in the north. The object of this conspiracy was to secure the earldom of Argyll for Campbell of Lochnell, who promised to reward his associates suitably. The plot succeeded so far that the Earl of Murray and Campbell of Calder were slain, but the death of Lochnell, and the confession of another conspirator, revealed the details of the plot to Argyll, who flew to arms and waged a war of extermination against Huntly, until the king interfered and shut up the chief contending parties in separate strongholds.[1] Such was the eventful history in which the Laird of Freuchie played a part for the time, and it was wound up by the solemn farce of the reconciliation of the three Catholic Earls to the Kirk in June 1597, and their restoration to their titles and estates. Two years later, on 17th April 1599, the Earl of Huntly was created a Marquis, at which mark of the royal favour the Clan Chattan, the Grants, the Forbeses, and other neighbouring clans submitted themselves to his jurisdiction.

After the battle of Glenrinnes the Laird of Freuchie seems to have remained at home, strengthening his friendly relations with his own clansmen and with neighbouring chiefs. By an Act of Parliament in 1587, stringent regulations had been made for the rule of the Borders and Highlands, and landlords and chiefs of clans were rendered responsible for their tenants and dependants, and also for pursuing criminals and bringing them to justice. This was followed by a "General Band" of

[1] Gregory's Highlands and Isles, pp. 245-253; Tytler's History of Scotland, vol. vii. pp. 282-285.

landlords and others, obliging themselves to fulfil the provisions of the Act.[1] Whether the Laird of Freuchie concurred in this general bond or not is not known. As formerly stated, in 1590 he was put under heavy caution for "misreule," but after the battle of Glenrinnes he directed his attention to the disorderly state of his neighbourhood, and took stronger measures to insure the preservation of peace within his bounds. This is evidenced by the fact that on 17th March 1595, Patrick Grant of Rothiemurchus, Patrick Grant of Ballindalloch, John Grant of Glenmoriston, and several other prominent members of the Clan Grant met at the kirk of Cromdale and joined in a bond to their chief, the Laird of Freuchie, that they, their servants, tenants, and others, should observe the king's peace, quietness, and good rule in the country. To prove their sincerity they became bound, "in cais thai satisfie nocht the actis and statutis of his Hienes parliament and general band," to pay to the Laird various sums of money, Grant of Ballindalloch and Grant of Rothiemurchus being bound to pay each 6000 merks, and the others proportionate sums. The Laird promised his assistance to his clansmen in keeping good order, they granting this bond because he was bound as surety for them to the Government.[2]

Besides this agreement with his own clan, the Laird sought and obtained similar bonds from his neighbours. On 3d June 1596, at Aberdeen, Sir Thomas Gordon of Cluny came under a special obligation to deliver up to the "Lard of Grant" two brothers of the name of MacInnes, for whom Sir Thomas was responsible, should they trouble or molest the Laird or his servants.[3] He also entered into a mutual bond of manrent with Donald M'Angus Macdonald of Glengarry in which, after the usual pledges to keep the peace towards each other, and give mutual assistance in case of invasion, the question of the ownership of the lands of Kessoryne, Strome, and others is discussed.[4] These lands, as narrated in a former memoir, had been apprised to James Grant of Freuchie in 1548, in compensation for the raid by Lochiel and Glengarry on the lands of Urquhart, etc., but they had proved a

[1] Register of Privy Council, vol. iv. pp. 787-789.

[2] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 185.

[3] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 186.

[4] Bond dated 28th April 1597, *ibid.* pp. 189-192.

source of considerable trouble to him and his heirs. In 1582, the castle of Strome had been a subject of debate before the Privy Council betwixt Donald of Glengarry and the Mackenzies of Kintail, and was then adjudged to be handed over to the Laird of Freuchie. In this agreement of 1597 both Grant and Macdonald lay claim to the lands, but it was arranged that the ownership should be decided by arbitration, Macdonald binding himself, if the Laird of Freuchie's title were preferred, to pay three merks of rent for every merk land in the territory. The matter was finally disposed of by John Grant of Freuchie, on 19th April 1600, conveying the disputed lands to Macdonald of Glengarry in feu-farm, and they solemnly renewed their alliance.[1] One obvious reason why Macdonald of Glengarry so anxiously desired to regain the castle of Strome, was that it afforded not only a basis of operations against the Mackenzies of Kintail, with whom he was at feud, but also a place of refuge for his own clansmen. Macdonald, however, did not possess the castle long after he finally obtained it from the Laird of Freuchie. Mackenzie of Kintail in the year 1602 besieged the castle, which soon surrendered, and he caused it to be demolished.[2]

In connection with these transactions of the Laird with Glengarry, and the feuds betwixt the Macdonalds and the Mackenzies, a story is told very characteristic of the familiar relations betwixt a Highland chief and his clansmen, but in this case the familiarity tended to spoil a bargain for the Laird of Freuchie. The constant retaliations and bloodshed taking place between the Macdonalds of Glengarry and the Mackenzies, seem to have prompted Kenneth Mackenzie of Kintail to seek some course by which he might obtain a legal hold over his adversaries. He, therefore, attended by a body of his kinsmen, paid a visit to Ballachastell, to his uncle the Laird,[3] with a view to purchase the claim of the latter against Glengarry, in virtue of the apprising already referred to. The Laird was at first unwilling to sell, but at last fixed the price of his claim at 30,000 merks. Mackenzie's kinsmen meanwhile were lodged in a great kiln in the neighbourhood, and were making merry with friends, some Grants among

[1] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 196.

[2] Gregory's Highlands and Isles, p. 302.

[3] John Grant, fifth of Freuchie, in whose time this incident is said to have happened, was *cousin* and not "uncle" to Kenneth Mackenzie of Kintail.

the number, who were bearing them company, and thither their chief sent to inform them of his negotiations, and to ask if he should give the sum asked for Grant's claim against Glengarry. The messenger, after telling his tale, was ordered to return and tell Grant and Mackenzie that had they (Mackenzie's kinsmen) not hoped that the uncle would give that paper as a gift to his nephew after all his trouble, the latter would not have been allowed to cross the ferry of Ardersier. They would like to know where he could find such a large sum, unless he harried them and his other friends, who had already suffered sufficiently. Then, taking their arms, they bade the messenger tell Mackenzie to leave the paper where it was, but if he desired to have it, they would sooner fight for it than give a sum, the raising of which would be more difficult than dislodging Glengarry by force. The Mackenzies afterwards left the kiln and sent one of their own number for their chief, who, on his arrival, was soundly rated for entertaining such an extravagant proposal, and requested to leave the place at once. This Mackenzie agreed to do, and informed the Laird of Freuchie that his friends would not hear of his giving so large a sum, and that he would rather dispense with the claim against Glengarry altogether than lose the goodwill of his clansmen. Meanwhile, one of Freuchie's retainers, who had been in the kiln, related to his chief what had been said by the Mackenzies when the price was named to them, which so impressed the Laird and his friends, that Mackenzie, who was starting homewards, was prevailed upon to remain another night. He did so, and before morning obtained the desired "paper" for 10,000 merks, one-third of the sum originally asked.[1]

This story is so far corroborated by the fact that, about the time the incident is said to have happened, the young chief of Kintail granted a receipt to the Laird of Freuchie for the charter of comprising, granted on 4th May 1548 to James Grant of Freuchie, which, with relative papers, was now handed over to Mackenzie, in terms of a disposition by the Laird to him of lands in Kessoryne, Lochalsh, Lochcarron, etc.[2] This receipt, however, is dated at Inverness, and not at Ballachastell, and is executed

[1] History of the Mackenzies, 1879, pp. 163, 164.

[2] Original Discharge, dated 1st May 1606, at Castle Grant.

on the same day with a bond of manrent betwixt the parties, obliging them to refer any disputes to the decision of various Grants and Mackenzies, mutual friends of the parties.[1]

The Laird of Freuchie, pursuing his pacific policy, continued to make friendly bonds with neighbouring chiefs. On 3d September 1597, he received from John Stewart, Earl of Athole, as the Earl's "guid friend," a bond of maintenance, in token of the "dewtie, amitie, and freindschip" formerly existing between the families, and at the same time obtained from the Earl a lease of the lands of Clawalge (Clava), in Nairnshire, and of Kinnermony, in Banffshire, for five years, in continuation of his present occupancy.[2] Two years later Lord Lovat and the Laird entered into a mutual submission of all questions and controversies betwixt them or their tenants, arising from mutual oppression.[3] A similar measure procured a formal discharge from John Lord Forbes, exonerating the Laird, his uncle, from all action for spuilzies committed by the Clan Grant.[4] Other mutual bonds of manrent and friendship with neighbouring proprietors were entered into at later periods of the Laird's lifetime. Of these the principal were—A bond between the Laird and Alexander Dunbar of Westfield, on 18th September 1602;[5] the bond of manrent, already referred to, with Kenneth Mackenzie of Kintail, on 1st May 1606; a similar document, in which John Leslie of Kinninvie obliges himself to serve John Grant of Freuchie, dated 6th May 1607;[6] and two bonds by clansmen to their chief, one by Patrick Grant of Carron, dated 8th September 1611,[7] and another in the following year by Patrick Grant of Ballindalloch.[8] As all those bonds are similar in tenor, the mere mention of them is sufficient. There can be little doubt they tended to render the Laird's occupation of his lands more peaceful, and to strengthen his influence in his neighbourhood. Indeed, the prudence and economy with which this Laird managed his affairs, and the large acquisitions of land he was thus enabled to make, earned for him, specially of all the Lairds of Grant, the title of "John of Fruchy." So

[1] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 201.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 192-194.

[3] Bond, dated 13th September 1599, *ibid.* p. 195.

[4] Discharge, dated 11th June 1601, *ibid.* p. 197.

[5] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 199.

[6] *Ibid.* p. 204.

[7] *Ibid.* p. 209.

[8] Original bond, dated 22d November 1612, at Castle Grant.

says Lachlan Shaw, who adds that, even in his day, more than one hundred years later, that title was applied *par excellence* to the subject of the present memoir.[1]

In 1602, the Laird of Freuchie was one of the first persons invested with powers to put down witchcraft in the Highlands. As is well known, King James the Sixth prided himself on his skill in dealing with those who pretended to be, or were accounted, conversant in the black art. An epidemic of superstition on the subject of witchcraft seems to have prevailed during his reign, and many fell victims to their imposture. Lachlan Shaw, in his History of Moray, says that charms, casting nativities, curing diseases by enchantments, and fortune-telling, were commonly practised, and firmly believed. Particular families, he also states, were believed to be haunted by certain demons, the good or bad geniuses of these families; such as on Speyside, the family of Rothiemurchus by Bodach an Don, *i.e.* the Ghost of the Dune; the Baron of Kinchardine's family, by Red Hand, or a Ghost, one of whose hands was blood red; and other families were believed to have similar attendants.[2] Judging from the terms of a commission to the Laird, the king desired to extend his spiritual care for his people to that part of the Highlands. The commission was directed to the Laird, Patrick Grant of Rothiemurchus, Patrick Grant of "Baldarroch" (Ballindalloch ?), Mr. James Grant of Ardneidlie, and Mr. Patrick Grant, minister (of Cromdale or Advie), and is levelled against those accused "of witchcraft, sorcerie, inchantments," etc., within the territories of the Laird. It is stated that there are a great number of such persons within the bounds indicated, and that they had behaved with the greater boldness because no one had been authorised to proceed against them.[3] It cannot be readily ascertained if this commission was acted upon. The chief chronicle of trials for witchcraft is contained in the session records of the various parishes, and these have not always been preserved. No evidence exists among the Grant muniments to show how it was carried out.

The influence acquired by the Laird of Freuchie led his neighbours and clansmen to apply to him as arbiter in their disputes, and peacemaker in their feuds. At Balmacaan, the residence of the Laird in Urquhart,

[1] Shaw's Moray, p. 31. [2] *Ibid.* pp. 344, 345. [3] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 198.

on 23d July 1606, Allan Cameron of Lochiel entered into a bond of mutual assistance and defence with Ranuil M'Allan of Lundie and Allan M'Ranuil, his son, chiefs of the Clan Ranald of Glengarry, by which they were to assist and serve Lochiel at the advice and consent of the Laird of Freuchie.[1] This document differs in no respect from other bonds of a similar nature, but one of the parties was Allan Dubh M'Ranuil, the leader of the Macdonalds of Glengarry in that raid against the Mackenzies, in the year 1603, known as the Raid of Cilliechriost. Tradition has, with its usual exaggeration, narrated this exploit with details of unwonted ferocity; but the true history of it, as told by one of the sufferers, resolves it into an ordinary Highland foray, in which cattle were driven off, a few men were slain, a number of dwelling-houses burned, and greatest loss of all to the complainer, the Archdean of Ross, his library was destroyed. The particulars of the affair, however, fall to be told in the next memoir, that of Sir John Grant, who, in 1622, received a gift of the escheat of the principal offender.

The Laird also acted as arbiter in a submission between Patrick Grant of Tullochgorm and Patrick Grant of Carron, as to the amount of compensation for an attack upon a certain John Grant in Auchloney, at the church of Kirkmichael, and decided that £80 Scots should be paid by the offenders.[2]

King James the Sixth appointed this Laird, conjointly with Sir Walter Ogilvie of Findlater, a commissioner to the Synod of Moray, to be held on the 4th August 1607.[3] This was an important charge, as the commissioners were to support the recently appointed Bishop of Moray in his introduction as head of the clergy in his diocese. The year 1606 had witnessed the restoration of the order of Bishops, by Act of Parliament, to "their ancient and accustomed honours," etc., in accordance with the king's plans for the reconstruction of Episcopacy. The royal head of the newly established hierarchy was anxious that the men whom he had named as Bishops should be well received in their respective sees, and that they might gain possession of the temporalities as far as possible. The letter now addressed to the Laird shows the mode to be adopted. The Bishop was not to be thrust upon the Synod as Bishop, but as a "constant moderatour," and the

[1] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 203.

[2] Submission dated 28th October 1608; vol. iii. of this work, p. 207.

[3] Vol. ii. of this work, pp. 4, 5.

commissioners were to strengthen their position by the exhibition of an Act of Assembly authorising "constant moderatours in presbyteries and synods," and to urge obedience to that act. If the Synod refused obedience, or if the Bishop, being admitted, refused to act, the refusers were to be charged in the king's name to obey, and if still refractory they were to be denounced rebels, and the Synod dissolved. The commissioners were to declare the king's desire for the peace of the Church, and especially for a peaceable General Assembly, by which "some good shal be done and effected in the Church." To this end the commissioners were to cause the election by the Synod of Moray "of two of the most godlye, wise, and peaceably disposed" ministers, who might meet and confer with other similarly disposed clergymen from other Synods at a meeting appointed for the 27th August at Holyrood. This conference was to prepare a "peaceable General Assembly," but if this plan failed through unwillingness or obstinacy on the part of the Synods, then the king threatened to put his "owne hande to that worke," and to redress matters "by authoritie."

The Bishop of Moray, in whose behalf the Laird of Freuchie was thus to bestir himself, was Alexander Douglas. He had, in 1606, been appointed constant moderator of the presbytery of Elgin, who, in January 1607, were ordered by the Privy Council to receive him as such under pain of rebellion. The Laird of Freuchie and his fellow-commissioner were to establish him as constant moderator of the Synod, and they no doubt succeeded in doing so, as he attended the General Assembly of 1610, which was the first that allowed the office of a bishop, and so was "peaceable" in the king's eyes.

As stated in the Introduction, the Laird of Freuchie, in the year 1609, added largely to his already extensive possessions by the acquisition of the lands of Abernethy from the Earl of Murray. He also acquired the lands of Cromdale from Thomas Nairn, commonly called Baron of Cromdale, and shortly afterwards obtained from the Crown an erection of these lands, along with those of Inverallan and others, into the Barony of Cromdale.

But while the Laird was thus successfully adding to his territorial possessions, he had still to arrange several disputes with his neighbours. Letters under the King's signet were directed against him as responsible for certain of his tenants in Kinchirdie and elsewhere, who had been guilty

of highway robbery.[1] In the following year the Laird himself was the complainer against another species of robbery committed against him and his tenants by John Forbes of Pitsligo. The latter was charged with pasturing his cattle upon lands belonging to the Grants, and also inciting the complainer's servants to quarrel. The Laird therefore procured letters of law-burrow against Forbes, which were duly executed.[2] About this time also the Laird brought to a conclusion another litigation between himself and Alexander Gordon of Strathown or Strathavon, which had dragged on in various forms from before the year 1595, and which, as it involved removal from lands, was of a vexatious character. The affair originated in an action of spoliation raised by the Laird of Strathavon, charging the Laird of Freuchie, as heir of his grandfather, with the offence of spoliation of trees, etc., in the complainer's lands of Drummin, Fodderletter, Inverouries, and others, and the forest of Glenavon. This spoliation, it was alleged, began so early as 1575. These lands, or part of them, had been attached to the bailiary of Drummin Castle, when that was held by the Grants, although they formed the subject of disputes so early as 1495. The history of the lands, or the action regarding them, need not be recorded here; as by a contract betwixt the parties, dated at Edinburgh on 24th March 1612, the Laird of Freuchie gave up any claim he had to them.

But though this matter was so far amicably settled, the vexations of the litigation, and the petty annoyance of the dispute with Forbes of Pitsligo, who, as well as Gordon, was a vassal of the Marquis of Huntly, evidently tended to aggravate the estrangement between that nobleman and the Laird of Freuchie, and so to increase the troubles which followed. This animosity was further augmented by an agreement between the Earl of Argyll and Cameron of Lochiel, by which the Earl gained a footing in Lochaber as Lochiel's superior,[3] as the agreement in question was drawn up, partly, at least, by the advice of the Laird of Freuchie. This may be surmised from two documents dated in the early part of the year 1612, and signed by Cameron of Lochiel.

[1] Original Letters, dated 14th March 1611, at Castle Grant.

[2] Original Letters, dated 27th August 1612, *ibid.*

[3] The Mackintoshes and Clan Chattan, p. 293.

The first of these is a letter addressed to the Laird, in which Lochiel shows that he had reposed confidence in the Laird as to friendly dealings with Mackintosh, and that he attached much importance to the Laird's advice, in accordance with which he desired to act in all weighty affairs.[1] This letter is dated 12th March 1612, and doubtless expresses the spirit with which Cameron executed the second document referred to, which must have been signed in the early part of 1612.[2] In this paper, which is a submission, John Grant of Freuchie is named as one of the arbiters on Cameron's side to arrange matters between him and the Earl of Argyll, who had purchased a claim over the estate of Lochiel. The claim was settled on 22d August 1612 by Cameron accepting a charter from Argyll as superior, and agreeing to hold his estate of the Earl instead of the Crown, for £100 yearly feu-duty.[3]

The vassalage thus constituted greatly offended Huntly, who looked upon Argyll as his greatest rival in the Highlands, and was very angry at the Earl's obtaining a footing in Lochaber, though the estates of Lochiel had held of the Crown and not of the Marquis. Huntly demanded that Lochiel should break his agreement, which the latter refused to do. The Marquis then resorted to measures of retaliation to punish his former ally for contumacy, but these ended at first in a triumph for Lochiel, and Huntly was so enraged, that he procured from the Privy Council a commission of fire and sword against the Camerons. Huntly intrusted the execution of this commission to his eldest son, the Earl of Enzie, who endeavoured to enlist the Laird of Mackintosh against the Camerons, but that chief refused, and by so doing brought down upon himself the vengeance of the Gordons.

A claim made by Huntly in the year 1618, as to the tithes of Culloden belonging to Mackintosh, was opposed by the latter, who, in so doing, was supported by the Laird of Freuchie and Mackenzie of Kintail. At the time of tithing Huntly sent messengers to distrain the corn on the Culloden estate, but they were driven away by Mackintosh and his friends, who were by the Earl of Enzie pursued before the Privy Council

[1] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 40.

[2] Original Submission, dated in 1612, month and day blank, at Castle Grant.

[3] Memoirs of Locheill, Maitland Club, p. 55.

and denounced rebels. "Therupon," says Sir Robert Gordon, "the Earl of Enzie assembles a number of his most speciall freinds to goe strain and cast down the cornes of Culloden, and to leid them to Invernes. The Clan Chattan, the Grants, the Clan Cheinzie, doe still brag to hinder and stay him; Mackintoshie fortifies the house of Culloden with munition and shott, which wes by him committed to the custodie of his tuo uncles, Duncan and Laghlan; they draw all the cornes within shott of the castell." At this point Sir Robert Gordon was called in, who, acting as peacemaker, advised Mackintosh not to provoke Huntly further against himself, as he would be ruined if he did not submit in time. Sir Robert besought him not to act by the advice of the Laird of Grant or of Mackenzie, who desired only to further "their owne ends, trying iff, by his fall, they might harm the house of Huntlie." Mackintosh, however, would not listen to Sir Robert, but followed the advice of the Laird of Freuchie, who was his father-in-law. The Earl of Enzie mustered a force of 1100 well-armed horsemen, and with these and 600 Highlanders on foot, he marched towards Culloden, with the intention of asserting his rights, but in the end, by the mediation of Sir Robert Gordon, Lord Lovat, and others, bloodshed was averted, and matters settled for the time betwixt the contending parties.[1]

In the above narrative the unfriendly feeling cherished by the Laird of Freuchie against the Marquis of Huntly and the Gordons is very evident, and it may therefore readily be believed that he was not unwilling to advance the Earl of Argyll's influence in Lochaber as a rival to Huntly. Sir Robert Gordon states that about the year 1619 the Laird submitted himself to the Earl of Enzie, but that "jarrs and controversies" still continued until the deaths of the Laird of Freuchie and Sir Lachlan Mackintosh, who both died in 1622.[2]

The Laird of Freuchie, as feuar of the Crown baronies of Urquhart, Glenmoriston, and Glencarnie, was required, by letters under the Signet, to pay his share of the £240,000 Scots voted to the King by the Parliament of Scotland, to defray the expenses of the marriage of the Princess Elizabeth and the Palatine of the Rhine. The proportion of that sum to be paid by the barons and freeholders was £80,000 Scots, and the Laird's

[1] History of the Earldom of Sutherland, pp. 357-359. [2] *Ibid.* p. 360.

share was at the rate of eighteen shillings for every pound land of old extent.[1] Part of the Laird's proportion was paid in 1612, and the whole amount for all his lands was paid on or before 15th December 1615.[2]

In the year 1612, the Laird received from the Privy Council an invitation to come to Edinburgh in his capacity as Convener of the Justices of Peace within his county. He was to attend on the 24th November with his records, and give an account to the Exchequer of the fines, etc., arising from his office, that the king's satisfaction in the establishment of justices might be increased by finding that in the preserving of the peace of his realm, there arose some gain to his "cofferis."[3]

If the Laird of Freuchie journeyed to Edinburgh in obedience to this summons, he no doubt, among other items of news in the capital, found a frequent subject of conversation to be the measures taken by the powerful Earl of Argyll against the proscribed Clan Gregor. From the date of the conflict betwixt that clan and the Colquhouns of Luss, at Glen Fruin on 7th February 1603, in which the Colquhouns were defeated, the Clan Gregor had been the subjects of constant prosecution. The acts of the Privy Council against them had been very severe, and had been carried out by the Earl of Argyll and his adherents with great rigour. In 1606 the survivors of the clan had been ordered to lay aside the name of Macgregor, and assume other surnames,[4] and now, in the end of 1612, further enactments against them were proposed. One of their most famous leaders, Robert Abroch Macgregor, was then engaging public attention, not only by the fame of his deeds, but by the interest made to King James the Sixth on his behalf, which, notwithstanding powerful opposition, had a favourable result.[5]

The Laird of Freuchie had at this time fallen under the suspicion of the Government, or, at least, of Argyll's party, by sympathy shown to the expatriated Macgregors, some of whom had found a place of refuge on the Laird's territories. In the year 1606 a few of the Clan Gregor, when compelled to change their names, had taken the surname of Grant, and in a document to be afterwards referred to; it was made a charge against

[1] Original Letters, dated October 1612, at Castle Grant.

[2] Discharges, dated October 1612, etc., *ibid.*

[3] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 11.

[4] Collectanea de Rebus Albanicis, Iona Club, pp. 130-132.

[5] *Ibid.* pp. 133-135.

the Laird that he had harboured the proscribed clan since the year 1610.[1] This led him into communication with those in authority on the subject of the Clan Gregor, and a letter addressed to the Laird by the Earl of Argyll, dated 18th March 1613,[2] refers to promises made to the King by Lord Scone in name of the Laird. The Earl desired that the Laird of Freuchie would act in the matter "as ye wald have his Maiestie to thinke well of your doeinges, otherwise you may be assur'd of his Maiesties indignation," with a further hope that the Laird would "have a special care to do his Maiestie good service."[3]

The immediate occasion of the Earl of Argyll's letter was a royal missive of some days' earlier date (11th March 1613), directed from the Court to the Laird of Freuchie, intimating that the only outlaws now remaining of the Clan Gregor were such as were harboured on the Laird's estates, namely, Allester M'Allester Vreik and Duncan M'V'Eandowie, with their followers. His Majesty writes that Lord Scone would have persuaded him that the Laird neither allowed nor was privy to the favour shown to the outlaws; "yet," he adds, "we will rest in suspens till suche tyme as by your future actionis yow give proofs of your bigane cariage in this errand." The king then refers to Lord Scone's promise on the Laird's behalf, that the latter would do service against "these lymmers," and states that betwixt Lord Scone and the Earl of Argyll certain conditions were agreed on concerning the Laird, adding significantly, "whiche we wil haue a cair to see performit according as your future service shall merite."[4]

The Laird of Freuchie being thus urged, both by the king and the powerful Argyll, bestirred himself to remove their suspicion of his good faith. He succeeded in apprehending one of "the speciallis" of the Clan Gregor, the above-named Allester M'Allester M'Gregor, who is described as a "notorious and rebellious Hieland man." This fact is recorded in a remission granted to the Laird in the year 1613.[5] In the early part of that year (17th April) the Laird received a special commission, in which Lord Scone and James Campbell of Lawers, acting for the Earl of Argyll,

[1] Extract Submission and Decreet Arbitral, 25th February 1615, at Castle Grant.

[2] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 12.

[3] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 12.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 6.

[5] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 214, month and day blank.

empower the Laird of Grant, as having testified his willingness to do good service against the Clan Gregor, to meet and intercommune with any of that clan, although rebels.[1] By this it is evidently meant that the Laird and the small company of ten persons who were authorised to attend him should, within a specified time, hold a parley with the outlaws within his bounds, and endeavour to induce them to submit to his Majesty. But as intercommuning with the Macgregors was then a crime to which heavy penalties were attached, Lord Scone and his co-lieutenant bound themselves to secure the Laird and his servants from these penalties until the 20th of June following, when this commission for parley was to expire. After that date it was probably understood that the Laird should adopt severe measures to bring the Macgregors to justice, if they did not yield to pacific dealings. The remission referred to was made to the Laird of Freuchie, Patrick Grant of Ballindalloch, and other Grants, their kinsmen, and frees them from all fines and penalties incurred by neglect of the laws in resetting outlaws and not bringing them to justice, in terms of the Acts of Parliament of 1587 and general bond already referred to. It imports that the Laird and his dependants had been specially active, and had taken "extraordiner panes and travellis" (trouble) in suppressing the Clan Gregor, and arresting the outlaw named.

It has already been narrated in this memoir that the Laird of Freuchie was, in 1590, bound to assist Sir Duncan Campbell of Glenorchy, with his whole force if necessary, against the Clan Gregor, who had shortly before excited popular indignation by the horrible murder of Drummond of Drummondernoch. Previous to the mild remonstrance of the king and Argyll, the Laird's proceedings against the Macgregors had never been very active, and, as already stated, partly for his own purposes and partly on the pretext of a royal commission, he had in 1592 entered into a league, offensive and defensive, with one of the chiefs of that clan. This offence against the letter of the laws, though overlooked at the time, owing to the excitement attendant on the murder of the Earl of Murray, was probably looked upon now as an aggravation of the Laird's offences against the Government, and especially against the Earl of Argyll, the king's lieutenant,

[1] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 213.

who held a special commission to extirpate the Clan Gregor. At all events the Government do not appear to have been satisfied with the management of the Laird of Freuchie in this affair, for though in the royal remission of 1613, just quoted, the Laird and his clan were acquitted of the fines and penalties to which they had become liable, yet, at a later date, a large sum was exacted from them. The reasons given for the infliction of this fine are narrated in a submission entered into betwixt the Earl of Argyll, the exacting party, and the Laird of Freuchie, and repeated in a decreet-arbitral pronounced by David Murray, Lord Scone, and Archibald Primrose, writer, the arbiters named in the submission.[1] These arbiters were chosen to decide regarding "the tryall of Johnne Grant of Freuchie his resett of John Dow Roy, sone to vmquhile Duncan M'Duchan M'Gregour, since the tyme that he associat himself with the rebellis of the Clangregour;" the trial of the "Laird of Grant, his unlauchfull and wilfull resett of any of the Clangregour since thay war declarit rebellis and fugitiwes," viz., since 1610, and other similar charges. Also regarding the sum to be paid by the Laird, he "being fund guyltie and culpable," to the Earl of Argyll, first for his own part and secondly for his clan; and regarding all other claims by the Earl against the Laird for reset of or intercourse with the Clan Gregor. The arbiters unanimously found that the Laird of Freuchie, for himself and the various members of his clan named, should pay the sum of 16,000 merks as a composition of all the sums in which they were mulcted by decree of the Lords of Privy Council. This fine was promptly paid, the whole sum being discharged by the Crown receivers within a few days after the decreet arbitral was pronounced.[2]

In connection with the same business, the Laird had also to meet claims made against his clansmen. A discharge is extant, granted by Archibald Primrose and another to Sir John Grant of Freuchie, which acknowledges payment of 2000 merks, a fine imposed upon Grant of Rothiemurchus by the Privy Council, in July 1613, for intercourse with the Clan Gregor, the Laird being cautioner.[3] For these or other expenses, the Laird seems to have

[1] Extract Submission and Decreet, dated 27th August 1614 and 3d February 1615, at Castle Grant.
[2] Extract Acquittance for 16,000 merks, dated 25th February 1615, *ibid.*
[3] Original Discharge, dated 7th May 1624, *ibid.*

taken means of recouping himself, in a way not agreeable to the ecclesiastical authorities. So much, at least, may be gathered from a letter addressed by John Spottiswood, Archbishop of St. Andrews, to the Laird of Grant, on 16th June 1616, a year after the fine was inflicted and paid, that the Laird was "abstractinge the rentis of the kirk from the right use," and applying them to his own purposes.[1] The epistle in question is somewhat mutilated, but its terms are intelligible enough, and the picture which the Archbishop draws of the state of the kirks in Strathspey is a melancholy one, while he boldly denounces the Laird as the cause of the "desolatioun." The writer states that the Laird's conduct, as reported on, is "planly vnsufferable," and hopes that the Laird will not be so "irreligiouse" as to despise all warnings. The Archbishop concludes by desiring the Laird to provide the churches with competent stipends, and threatens "a more strict and rigorous dealinge" if compliance be refused. No further information on this point has been obtained, but if the Laird declined to listen to the Archbishop's warning, the impoverished churchmen were doubtless righted by the Act of Parliament of the following year, in which stipends were assigned out of the teinds.

In the beginning of the year 1615, the Laird of Freuchie again journeyed from the north to Edinburgh. His residence in that city during the months of January and February of that year is proved by an account of expenditure made on his behalf. The arrangement with the Earl of Argyll, and the payment of the fine of 16,000 merks above referred to, engaged his attention, as also did the obtaining of letters of legitimation for his natural son, Duncan Grant of Clurie.[2] The time of the Laird's sojourn in the Metropolis was also, however, occupied with matters other than those personal to himself. He was one of those summoned to sit as an assize on the trial of Patrick Stewart, second Earl of Orkney, for oppression and treasonable practices within his earldom of Orkney.[3] The Earl had been imprisoned in 1611, but was now brought to trial because he had instigated an attempt, made in 1614, to seize and hold his castle and rents, which had been confiscated to the Crown. A historian of that period states that if he had not confessed his share in the insurrection,

[1] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 41. [2] Original Account of Expenses at Castle Grant.
[3] Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. iii. pp. 308-318.

he would not have been convicted. Many of the noblemen and barons who were summoned on the jury refused to appear on various pretexts, the inclemency of the season among others. The Laird of Grant's presence in Edinburgh, however, prevented his thus withdrawing from the assize, as it is said "the wiser and elder sort of the nobilitie" did, and he was therefore one of those who, on 1st February 1615, found the Earl of Orkney guilty of treasonable rebellion, for which crime, five days afterwards, that nobleman was beheaded.[1]

When King James the Sixth visited his ancient kingdom of Scotland in the year 1617, the Privy Council made great efforts to welcome his Majesty, and, among others, the Laird of Freuchie was called upon to contribute his quota to the general entertainment, in the shape of capercailzies and ptarmigan. The Council in their letter earnestly request that "resounable prouisioun and stoir of eache kynd of thir foullis" may be sent "freshe and callour" by the 25th April 1617, in time to be forwarded to Newcastle to greet his Majesty, who seems to have been anxious to have them.[2] The Council gave permission, the better to forward his Majesty's wishes, to the Laird and his servants "for shoiting and slaying of thir foullis with gwnis."

About this period the Laird of Freuchie had a dispute with Alexander Seton, Earl of Dunfermline, then Chancellor of Scotland, about the non-entries of the lands of Muldaries, and others held of the Earl of Rothes, who was then apparently a ward of the Chancellor. The Lords of Council, on 31st March 1618, gave decree against the Laird of Freuchie for the rent of the lands from 1612,[3] but the matter was finally arranged by a disposition and discharge granted to the Laird by the Earl of Rothes, with the Chancellor's consent.[4] At this time, also, there is evidence of the "jarrs and controversies" between the Laird of Freuchie and the Gordons in a charge of lawburrow made by the Marquis of Huntly against the Laird and his son, Sir John Grant of Mulben. The two Grants are charged with causing depredations by themselves or their tenants on the complainer's lands of Strathavon, and are ordered to find security for good behaviour.[5]

[1] Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. iii. p. 318.
[2] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 12.
[3] Horning at Castle Grant.
[4] Disposition, dated 9th January 1619, at Castle Grant.
[5] Copy Letters of Lawburrow, *ibid.*

The remaining incidents of this Laird of Freuchie's active career, so far as can be gathered from the family muniments, are few. In 1620 he and his son, Sir John Grant, were appointed depute Commissioners to carry out the various Acts of the Privy Council directed against the Gipsies, who were then known as "idill and wagabund peopill," and gave considerable trouble, from their numbers as well as their lawless character.[1] The last public document in which the Laird is named is a royal letter, in which he is directed to co-operate with Sir Lachlan Mackintosh in carrying fire and sword into the territories of the Clan Cameron.[2] Sir Lachlan Mackintosh, whose resentment against the Laird of Lochiel had prompted him to represent matters at Court in such wise as to procure the royal missive and the more formal commission which followed, died on 22d June 1622, while on his way north to execute it.[3] His death occurred at Gartinbeg, in Strathspey, from which it would appear he was hastening to secure the Laird of Freuchie's assistance. The latter, however, is said to have been friendly to Cameron, though, whatever his sentiments, he had little opportunity of giving effect to them, as he only survived his son-in-law Sir Lachlan Mackintosh for three months, dying on Friday, 20th September 1622.[4] No evidence exists as to where this Laird died, but it was probably at Ballachastell, and his remains were interred in the family burial-place at the church of Duthil, where, twenty-one years afterwards, his widow desired to be laid beside him.[5]

The Laird was survived by his wife, Lady Lilias Murray, second daughter of Sir John Murray of Tullibardine, knight, who in 1606 was created Earl of Tullibardine, and his wife, Catherine Drummond, daughter of David Lord Drummond. The marriage-contract of Lilias Murray and the Laird of Freuchie is dated at Gask, on 15th April 1591,[6] and Lachlan Shaw records that King James the Sixth and his Queen honoured the marriage with their presence.[7] Lady Lilias Murray survived her husband

[1] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 216.

[2] Copy Letters, of date 18th June 1622, at Castle Grant.

[3] The Mackintoshes and Clan Chattan, p. 308.

[4] Vol. iii. of this work p. 221. [5] *Ibid.* p. 236.

[6] Original Contract at Castle Grant.

[7] Shaw's Moray, p. 32. There is a tradition in the family that the King desired, in the year 1610, to raise this Laird to the dignity of the peerage. The offer was not accepted. The significant interrogatory, "*Wha'll be Laird o' Grant?*" which is well known, and often quoted, is said to have been made on that occasion, although it has also been attributed to a later Laird of Grant.

for twenty-one years, dying in the end of 1643 or the beginning of the following year. Her testament and latter will is dated on 30th December 1643.[1] She also survived her son, Sir John Grant, who died in 1637. From the evidence of the Grant muniments, she seems to have been a lady of much vigour of character. She took an active interest in the affairs of the Grant family, and was greatly respected by her family and neighbours. Taylor the Water-Poet, who visited Lady Lilias and her husband at Ballachastell in 1618, as stated in the Introduction, was much pleased with her, and he records that she was, both inwardly and outwardly, plentifully endowed with the gifts of grace and nature. That Lady Lilias Murray was a reader, and had, for these days, a good if not very varied collection of books, is proved by a list of her own library given under her own hand.[2] In this list, St. Augustine, and the "Imitation of Christ" occupy a place. In corroboration of the Water-Poet's eulogium on Lady Lilias, the following two poems in her own handwriting are here given. If they be original, they bear out his statement; if they be merely copies, they yet show that the lady's tastes were congenial to the poet's own. The first poem is as follows :—

Dovn in yong bank,
Qvhair leves groves rank,
And flovris do frechlie spreng,
I hard ane may
Bothe galland and gey,
Chengand her nott to sing:
Scho sparet nott to schewe her thocht,
Vill vod and all kovld ring,
I dar veill say be my gvd fay
Sho vos ane lviffer yeing.

Sho sicht and said my lvif is laid
On on that hes my hart,
Qvhilk cavsses me so blytthe to be
In to my hart invartt;
God geve that he vor bvnd to me
And never to depairtt,
That he and I micht leive and dey
In land or onie artt.

[1] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 236.

[2] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 54.

He is my confort nicht and day
My joy and my delyt;
He is the cavsser of my kair
The aisser of my smartt;
He is my joy and my veillfair
In perrades perffytt
In all thes warlld I bad no m[a]ir
Bott hes fair bodie qvhyt.

Thocht he cvm sindell in my sicht
I se hem bothe let and aer,
Veill prenttet in my breist so bricht
Hes pektor vithovt compair.
He lyes vith me bothe day and nicht,
The ttrewtthe I yov deklair,
In to my hartt so deirlie dicht
He hes ane challmer ther.

The second lay is in a somewhat more melancholy strain, and may be intended as the swain's reply to the foregoing—

The grisileig gollf of grepein gref
Filld vp vith vallttreng stremes of vo,
The masket mvmchanc of mescheif
Vith mariades of thocht and mo,
And fanssies fleittein to and fro
My martret mynd, do so molest,
(Ewin better bell dothe brek in tvo)
The bovellis of my bolleng breist.

The corraseives of cankrein kair
Dothe still consom my katteif cors,
I se and cannot slep the snair
Bott yeilld my nek to yok perfors;
And ay sen absens did devors
Me from her sicht in qvhom I glore,
To seik remed findis no remors
To martter me may do no mor.

Cvpeitt, qvhom svld I vyt bot the
For all the dollovr I svstein,
Long micht I leivet at leiberttie
Cvlld I achewett yovr arroves kein;

Thy dovbell delleng that day vos sein,
Thov schot me smylleng or I visst
And of my hart bereft me clein,
Thov tvik me, ttratovr, onder trvst.

Thov did reteir the schaft of trie
And left the hed vithin my hart.
O vinget god! it mervellis me
Qvhov thov prevellis in evre pairtt;
To hell thy hvrtt avelles no airtt,
Thy dartt so pvssionet is of kynd,
The mor I seik to ais my smartt
The mor molest that is my mynd.

For me I thocht the perrellis past
Of all the hewked arrovris fyve,
Tho forttovn brocht me in at last
To vew the virdiest on lyve;
Bot sen I micht no longer stryue,
Her rar perfeksiovnes med me thrall
And svddandly did me depryve
Off former leiberttie and all.

By Lady Lilias Murray, John Grant, fifth Laird of Freuchie, had issue one son and four daughters, who all survived their father.[1] The son was—

John Grant, born on 17th August 1596. He was knighted by King James the Sixth, and was, during his father's lifetime, known as Sir John Grant of Mulben. He is the subject of the next memoir.

The daughters were:[2]—

1. Annas or Agnes, born about Michaelmas 1594. She married Lachlan, afterwards Sir Lachlan, Mackintosh of Dunachton, then a minor. The marriage-contract is dated at Ballachastell, 16th August 1611,[3] the amount of the dowry to be paid by the Laird of Freuchie being 10,000 merks. Lady Mackintosh had issue by her husband, whom she survived. She probably died in 1624, as her will is dated at the Isle of Moy on 9th October in that year.

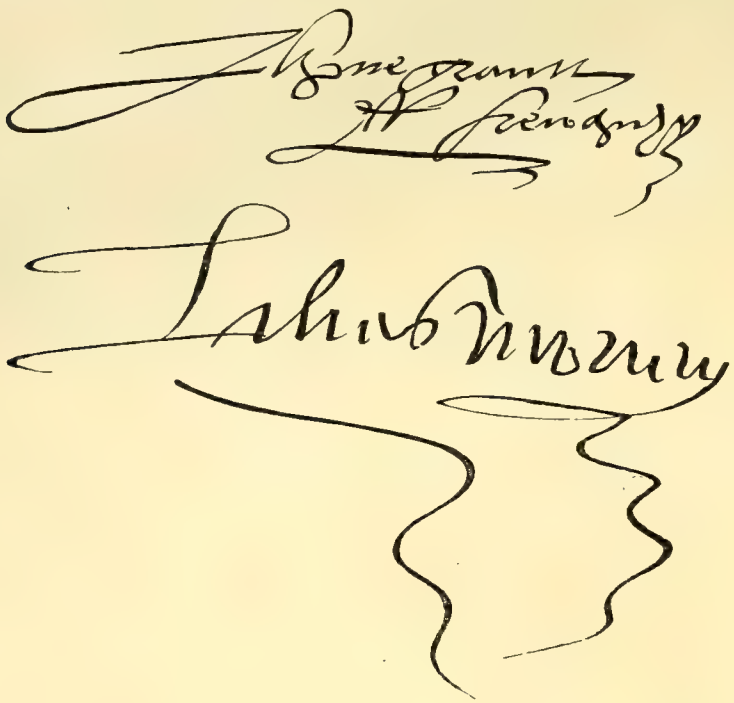
[1] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 221. [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.* p. 410.

She married a second time, as William M'Intosh is named by her in her will as "my husband," but who he was does not appear.[1]

2. Jean or Janet, born about Michaelmas 1597. On 19th September 1612, she was contracted in marriage to William Sutherland, younger of Duffus, the tocher being 9500 merks.[2] They had issue.
3. Lilias, born in 1599. She married, before 1624, Sir Walter Innes of Balveny, and had issue.
4. Katherine, born in 1604. She married Alexander Ogilvie of Kempcairn, and had issue.

This Laird had also a natural son, Duncan Grant, designed of Clurie, who was legitimated in the year 1615. He married, contract dated 4th July 1615,[3] Muriel Ross, relict of Duncan Grant of Rothiemurchus, and was the ancestor of the Grants of Clurie.

[1] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 337. [2] *Ibid.* p. 411. [3] *Ibid.* p. 418.



XIII.—SIR JOHN GRANT, Sixth of Freuchie, Knight. MARY OGILVIE (of Deskford) his wife. 1622–1637.

In a comparatively uneventful period of the national history, Sir John Grant succeeded to and swayed the destinies of the Grant estates. These were at this time no inconsiderable possession. His influence upon them is traditionally said to have been of a somewhat injurious nature, owing to an alleged profuse and expensive style of living, frequent attendance at Court, and making Edinburgh his principal residence. It was undoubtedly the case that the Grant estates were greatly extended by Sir John's father, the fifth Laird, while, on the other hand, James, the seventh Laird, eldest son of the subject of this memoir, succeeded to the paternal inheritance under circumstances less favourable than those existing at the entry of his father, but the facts respecting the life of Sir John Grant, and his management of the Grant estates, disclosed by the family papers, do not support the spendthrift character attributed to him.

Sir John Grant was the only son of John Grant, fifth of Freuchie, and Lady Lilias Murray, and was born on 17th August 1596.[1] His education was partly superintended by Mr. Patrick Inglis, afterwards minister of Kirkwall, who, in a letter to Lady Lilias Murray, dated Kirkwall, 29th November 1631, offers to take charge of the education of the sons of Sir John, if he had any. "He sal be trained vp at scholles," he says, "and I sal be his pedagog, and sal be als cairfull of him as euer I was of his father."[2]

Before he had attained his eighteenth year, John Grant, younger of Freuchie, was contracted in marriage to Mary Ogilvie, daughter of Sir Walter Ogilvie of Findlater, Knight, afterwards Lord Ogilvie of Deskford. The contract was made at Elgin on 11th December 1613, and by it the Laird of Freuchie, elder, agreed to infeft his young son and his wife in the lands of Mulben, Muldaries, Forgie, Auldcash, Bridgeton of Spey, and

[1] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 221.

[2] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 56.

neighbouring lands, with others in Strathisla, the whole forming an estate of considerable dimensions in the parishes of Boharm and Keith, and guaranteed by the Laird of Freuchie to be worth forty chalders of victual yearly, with other casualties. The dowry given by Sir Walter Ogilvie with his daughter was £10,000 Scots, the disposal of which was decided by the terms of the contract.[1] The entry to the lands was to be given at the term of Whitsunday following, and the marriage was probably celebrated about that time.

After his provision to the lands of Mulben, and during the lifetime of his father, John Grant, younger of Freuchie, was more commonly designed "of Mulben," and this was soon afterwards amplified into "Sir John Grant of Mulben," by the dignity of knighthood being conferred upon him. From a comparison of documents there is reason to conclude that this honour was conferred upon the young Laird by King James the Sixth on the occasion of his visit to Scotland in 1617. The demand on the Laird of Freuchie to furnish capercailzies and ptarmigan from the Highlands for King James when he should reach Newcastle, was made at the end of the month of April 1617.[2] The King was in Edinburgh in June following, and held a Parliament there on the 17th of that month. It was probably then that the dignity was conferred, when a similar title is said to have been bestowed upon a near neighbour of the Grants in Strathspey, and one with whom the Lairds, elder and younger, were at this time closely associated, Lachlan Mackintosh of Dunachton.[3] But further, on 10th May 1617, the young Laird of Freuchie, as such, granted a bond for four hundred merks to John Abernethy,[4] while on 19th August 1618, he signed an agreement with James Lord Stewart of Ochiltree for the purchase of the lands of Auchindaren in Strathisla, as Sir John Grant of Mulben,[5] thus clearly showing that the knighthood was conferred sometime between these two dates.

As mentioned in the memoir of his father, Sir John Grant was much associated with him in transactions of a public nature, and in the later

[1] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 413.
[2] Page 191 *antea*.
[3] The Mackintoshes and Clan Chattan, by A. M. Shaw, p. 300.
[4] Original Bond at Castle Grant.
[5] Original Contract *ibid.*

years of his father's life he bore, to a considerable extent, the burden of the management of the estates. Journeys to Edinburgh to attend to law pleas and similar business were at that time a necessity to landlords in the country. Of two such journeys made in 1620 by the young Laird to the metropolis, and of his proceedings there, an interesting record exists in the accounts of Gregor Grant, apparently of Gartinmore, his chamberlain on those occasions, which have been preserved.[1]

The young Laird took journey south on Tuesday, the 1st of February, the company consisting of six gentlemen on horseback, attended by nine "boys" or gillies, and one led horse. The route chosen was by Foyness, the residence of John Grant, younger of Ballindalloch, where they passed the first night; thence proceeding by Blackwater, Boat of Artlache, Kirk of Tullanessall, Boat of Don, Alford, Kincardine-on-Dee, Mureailhous, Fettercairn, and Forfar, they arrived in Perth on the evening of the sixth day. The next day and evening were spent in Perth, and on the 8th February the journey was resumed by Bridge of Earn and Falkland to Burntisland. From this place six of the gillies were sent home with the horses, and the following day was occupied in crossing the Firth of Forth from Burntisland to Leith. Being belated, the Laird put up for the night at Effie Wilson's house, apparently an inn, in the Canongate, and only entered the city on the following day, the tenth after leaving Strathspey. The account further narrates that the Laird took up his abode in John Home's fore-chamber.

On this occasion the young Laird remained nearly a month in Edinburgh, and having engaged the services of Mr. Thomas Hope (afterwards Sir Thomas Hope, the distinguished lord advocate to King Charles the First), Mr. Thomas Nicolson, and Mr. James Oliphant, both eminent advocates, as counsel, in company with whom frequently appears John Belsches, he carried through a considerable amount of law business, including letters of suspension against two ministers, Mr. David Dick and Mr. William Clogie, letters of horning against the Laird of Moyness, letters of lawburrows and spoilzie against the men of Strathern, and a summons of warrandice against Mr. Patrick. But the principal cause which engaged the skill of counsel was

[1] Printed in vol. iii. of this work, pp. 322-334.

a litigation between the Laird of Freuchie and George Lord Gordon, eldest son of the Marquis of Huntly, which had arisen in the following manner:—Mr. William Douglas, Treasurer of Moray, had procured letters of horning against the Laird of Freuchie for payment of the teind duties of the lands of Forgie and Auldcash, which were held by the Laird from the Marquis of Huntly. Considering that by virtue of these letters the lands had fallen into his hands, Huntly gifted them to John Gordon of Buckie, and the young Laird of Freuchie now sought, by this action before the Lords of Council and Session, to reduce the letters of horning with all their consequents. By means of a douceur to the macers, the Laird obtained right of access to the Tolbooth at all times needful, and a payment of £11 Scots, for what purpose is not stated, was made about the same time to the Clerk of Session, Mr. Alexander Gibson. A consultation with counsel was held on Wednesday, 16th February, before the calling of the reduction, in consideration of which fees were paid to the advocates, Mr. Thomas Hope, as principal, receiving the larger fee of two pieces, probably double angels, valued at £26, 13s. 4d. Scots, the other two advocates two rosenobles each, or £21, 6s. 8d., and John Belsches received one double angel, value, £13, 6s. 8d. To the clerk of each advocate a payment of £3, 6s. 8d. was given, with the exception of Mr. James Oliphant's man, who, as he had the process in charge, received the sum of £5 Scots.

Apparently by the Lord Advocate's influence the Chancellor was prevailed upon to allow the case to be heard on the 25th of February, and as, during the hearing, there seemed a probability of the Court rising before the pleadings were concluded, the services of the bellman were secured, by a gratuity of twenty-four shillings, in the way of "halding bak the twelft hour till the caus wer reasoned at lenthe." The stratagem succeeded, and the act of litiscontestation was pronounced that day. Three days later, when the Act had been booked, or registered and extracted, the "aduocatis fauour keithit wes rememberit," and in addition to five pieces, equal to £66, 13s. 4d., given him on the day of hearing for calling the case, he now received in consideration of his favour, "conforme to ane pactioun preceding," the sum of £333, 6s. 8d. The Laird's own counsel, of course, were also duly remembered.

At this stage of the proceedings, the young Laird and his company returned home, taking their departure from Edinburgh on Friday, 3d March. The chamberlain, however, was left to watch the further progress of the litigation, as Lord Gordon had moved to get the Act obtained by the Laird rescinded. The case was again heard by the Lords of Council and Session on the 15th March, when several witnesses from Auldearn were examined, and received from the chamberlain "doles" and money "to tak thame hame." The following day was occupied by a consultation between the Laird's counsel, as a result of which the chamberlain was instructed to proceed to Coldingham for Mr. William Douglas's[1] approbation of his own discharges granted to the Laird, as there was "nothing moir wantit that mycht serve the turne." This was done, and in addition, an "officer of armes" was despatched from "the toun of Duns in the Mers, to Coldinghame," to charge Mr. William Douglas "to gif his athe vpoun the reasones of the libell."

At the desire of Lord Gordon the cause was to have been heard and concluded on Saturday, the 25th March, but the Laird's advisers, deeming that this might not be for his interest, by a somewhat shrewd expedient balked the Lords of part of their work. The Clerk of Session had been secured as a friend, and with his assistance the process was wanting when called for. The Chamberlain narrates the matter thus :—"The clerk haifing takin in the proces to haif bene concludit, the Lord Gordoun, our aduersare pairtie, haifing vrgeit the calling thairof himself, we feareing his vehemencie, and not knowing what he hade to say, be convoy of the clerk, James Gibsoun, abstractit the kuist and haill proces for that day, so that thair wes nothing thairintill at that tyme." The services of the clerk were also given in another form, in the person of his son, "young Mr. Alexander Gibson," to whom the Laird, before leaving Edinburgh, had given two rosenobles, equal to £21, 13s. 4d. Scots, and who now received other two pieces of a higher value, evidently double angels, "for his paynis in solisting and making ane grite number of the Lordis vpoun our syde." On the Tuesday following, the 28th March, the case was heard before the Lords, and they again gave decree in the Laird's favour.

Lord Gordon, however, still held out, and it was in connection with

[1] Mr. William Douglas had, by this time, ceased to hold the office of Treasurer of Moray.

the same litigation that the young Laird undertook the second journey to Edinburgh. On this occasion he was accompanied by six horsemen and their "boiys," and the route chosen was by Strathgarry and Strathtay to Burntisland. Leaving Strathspey on Monday, the 26th June, the company reached Blair Athole that evening, Huntingtower on the following night, and Burntisland on the evening of the 28th. Here, as before, the horses were sent back, and passage taken for Leith, on the way to Edinburgh, where the Laird resumed his lodging in John Home's fore-chamber, on the 1st of July, after putting up for two nights at Effie Wilson's in the Canongate.

The hearing of the case was appointed for the 22d July, but before that date Lord Gordon yielded and agreed to a submission. This arrangement may have been effected through the instrumentality of the Earl of Mar, as on the previous evening the Laird was in attendance on the Earl at Holyrood, and the submission was unknown to the counsel in charge of the case. On intimation of the fact being made to the Judges, they requested that counsel should not be told, in order that they might hear the pleadings; "the President aduising us not to lat our aduocattis know of the submissioun past amangis ws, bot to suffer the mater be reasoned in heest measour, so that we suld sie hou the mater suld go in cais it hade not bene packit vp be submissioun." The issue was that the Lords pronounced an interlocutor assoilzing Sir John Grant from the first reason urged by Lord Gordon, finding his exception relevant thereanent, and appointing him a day in November for proving the same. After this deliverance, "and forsameikle as the said exceptioune wes in effect the resoune of the said Johnne Grant his summondis of reductioune, and that the said Johnne Grant in the first instance led and deducit probatioun for proving thairof, and provit the samen sufficientlie, as the said first decreit reductive proportis, sua that the said Johnne Grant will maist certainlie prove the samen our agane," and "nawayis being willing to truble and vex the said Johnne Grant off Frewquhy be law any furthir in the said matter," Lord Gordon, for himself and his father, placed in the hands of the Laird a formal ratification of the decreet of reduction obtained by the latter on the 28th of March.[1]

[1] Original Deed of Ratification, dated at Edinburgh, 25th July 1620, at Castle Grant.

The Laird's purpose in coming to Edinburgh being thus happily accomplished, he set out on his return journey on Monday, the last day of July, at midnight, a douceur of twelve shillings Scots to the porter at the Nether Bow enabling him to obtain egress from the town at that late hour. Repose, however, was secured at Leith, and the journey was resumed next morning by Burntisland to Perth, thence by Lochend in the Stormont and Strathardle to Strathspey.

During his journeys, and also during his stay in Edinburgh, the Laird displayed a benevolent generosity to the poor met by the way, and also to travelling minstrels such as pipers, "whissilleris and drummeris," and others, vocal and instrumental, who came to his lodgings. "Drink-silver" to waiting maids and men was also liberally dispensed, while the "tas" at the door of Trinity College Kirk, where the young Laird frequently attended, was duly remembered. Tobacco, and sometimes a pipe, had to be procured for the Laird, and "aill" and sweet wines were the usual drinks provided at dinner and supper. Frequently also "wormewoode aill" was required as a morning draught. While on his second visit, the Laird found that several of his people had arrived in town as witnesses in some petty plea between the Lairds of Ballindalloch and Carron, which they wished to bring before the Lords of Council. This the Laird would not permit, as detrimental to his credit and that of the clan. So he took the matter into his own hands, and, "haifing satlit the particulare all to the witnessis expenssis, quhilk they culd not agree vpoun," before he "suld lat thame lous agane and be hard befoir the counsall in sic idle and nochtie actiounes to thair disgraces and their cheiffis also, he being in the toun, resolved to pay the expenssis."

On the death of his father, Sir John Grant of Mulben became Laird of Freuchie, and succeeded to all the Grant estates. These were now so extensive, and the holdings so various, that the completing of the titles to them under their several superiors was a work requiring a considerable expenditure of time. On a precept from James Earl of Murray,[1] he was infeft in the lordship of Abernethy, and shortly afterwards in the lands of Muldaries, on a similar mandate from John Earl of Rothes.[2] Precepts from

[1] Original Precept, dated 22d October 1622, at Castle Grant. [2] Original Precept, dated 6th December 1622, *ibid.*

Chancery ordained his infeftment in Glencarnie and Ballindalloch, the baronies of Freuchie, Cromdale, Lethen, Urquhart, and Corriemony, with the lands of Glenloy, Locharkaig, Glenspean, and Glenroy in Lochaber, and the office of bailie and stewart of the lordship of Lochaber,[1] and sasine was taken in these in the following month.[2] In the church lands of Strathspey, Rothiemurchus, Laggan, Finlarg, and the others held in feu of the Bishops of Moray, the Laird was infeft in 1624,[3] but a year later he resigned them into the hands of John Bishop of Moray,[4] and received a charter of regrant,[5] which was confirmed in a charter under the great seal by King Charles the First.[6]

Lachlan Shaw says of Sir John Grant of Freuchie, that he "entered into possession of his fortune with every advantage, but by the profuse and expensive style in which he lived, his frequent attendance at Court, and residing chiefly at Edinburgh, he considerably impaired it, and sold the estate of Lethen, one of his father's acquisitions, to Alexander Brodie."[7] Tradition has also applied to him the soubriquet of Sir John Sell-the-land, and one writer adds that the epithet originated when the Laird was made a knight.[8] Before making inquiry into Sir John's management of the estates, it may be remarked that, although he appears to have paid more frequent visits to Edinburgh than previous Lairds, it was not to give attendance at Court, which tradition-mongers seem to forget had been removed from the Scottish metropolis to London, but either in connection with the business of his estates, or in obedience to the commands of the authorities. The only known instances of Sir John's attendance at Court, were on the occasion of the visit of King James the Sixth to Edinburgh, already referred to, when the Laird received the honour of knighthood, and a subsequent attendance at the Court of King Charles the First in London in 1631. The two visits to Edinburgh, described in the foregoing pages, were of short duration and were evidently made only at the instance of the young Laird's father, and in the capacity of agent for him.

[1] Original Precepts, dated 3d April 1623, at Castle Grant.

[2] Original Instruments of Sasine, *ibid.*

[3] Original Instrument of Sasine, dated 24th May, *ibid.*

[4] Original Procuratory of Resignation, dated 17th May 1625, at Castle Grant.

[5] Original Charter, dated 18th May 1625, *ibid.*

[6] Original Charter, dated 26th July 1625, *ibid.*

[7] History of Moray, p. 32.

[8] Playfair's Baronage, p. 385.

Sir John's next visit to Edinburgh was in the winter of 1622, when he negotiated a contract with Alexander Lord Spynie for the purchase from the latter of the patronages of the churches pertaining to the chancellary and subchantry of Moray, situated in and around Strathspey, and also in Urquhart. This was a step of manifest importance, and one which must have contributed in no small degree to heighten the influence of the Chiefs of Grant. Under the old ecclesiastical jurisdiction, the exercise of the kirk patronages by the clergy throughout the Grant domains was tolerable, but it must have been far otherwise when a neighbouring lay lord possessed a right of jurisdiction over the interests, spiritual or otherwise, of the Laird's dependants. The churches comprised in the contract, of which the advocation, donation, and right of patronage were purchased by Sir John Grant, were those of Kirkmichael, Inveravon, Knockando, Urquhart, Glenmoriston, Rafford, Ardclach, Cromdale, Advie, Abernethy, Kincardine, and Duthil. The price paid is not mentioned, but it was given at the making of the contract. The terms of this arrangement are fully narrated elsewhere,[1] but one condition was that Alexander Lord Spynie and the Laird of Freuchie should exercise the right of presentation alternately. As the Laird was also possessed, and took steps to confirm himself in the possession, of the teinds of these churches, this measure seems an anticipation of what a few years later, under the direction of King Charles the First, became the universal rule in Scotland, when the titulars of the teinds were obliged to sell their right thereto to the possessors of the lands from which the teinds were paid.

Apparently for the purpose of giving these patronages an heritable form, they were attached to the 40s. land of new extent of Easter Bunlaod in Urquhart. These lands were accordingly resigned by Sir John Grant,[2] and the patronages were resigned by Lord Spynie, for a regrant of the lands and patronages to the Laird and his heirs-male, in terms of the contract. A charter thereof was duly obtained from King James the Sixth, on 12th February 1624,[3] and sasine was taken by the Laird in the same year.[4]

[1] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 428.

[2] Original Procuratory of Resignation, dated 30th July 1623, at Castle Grant.

[3] Original Charter at Castle Grant.

[4] Copy Instrument of Sasine, dated 25th August 1624, *ibid.*

To consolidate the lands of Easter and Wester Muldaries and Bogbend, in the earldom of Rothes, first obtained by the Grants in 1507, with the lands of Balnabreich, lying in the same earldom, and more recently acquired, Sir John Grant resigned them in the hands of the superior, John Earl of Rothes, for a regrant to himself and his heirs-male.[1] The charter granted by the Earl thereupon erected these lands into a free tenandry, to be held in feu-farm for the yearly rent of £8, 8s. Scots.[2]

Sir John Grant also succeeded in adding the barony of Cardells or Pitcroy to the family possessions, a task which the three Lairds who preceded him had successively undertaken but had failed to effect. This barony, comprising the lands of Cardell-moir, Cardell-beg, Delnapot, Smiddiecroft, and Pettincroy, with a mill and fishings on the river Spey attached thereto, was situated in the southern portion of the parish of Knockando in Morayshire. It was bounded by the lands of Knockando on the east, the water of Spey on the south, the lands of the Bishop of Moray on the west, and the lands of the Brae of Moray on the north, and it was separated from the lands of Ballindalloch only by the Spey.[3] The barony had formed part of the possessions of the Friars preachers of Elgin, and as such afterwards fell into the hands of the burgh of Elgin. In 1527 Cardell was feued by James Ogilvie of Cardell, son of Alexander Ogilvie of Deskford and Findlater,[4] but in 1539 it was granted by John Spens, Prior of the Friars preachers of Elgin, to Alexander Grant, brother-german of John Grant of Ballindalloch, for a feu-duty of £20 Scots yearly. A contract between James Grant of Freuchie and Alexander Grant of Cardells, drawn up in form of a notarial instrument in 1551, reveals the fact that the barony of Pitcroy had been forcibly taken possession of by the Laird of Freuchie and retained for some time, and that a litigation had ensued. By this contract Alexander Grant renounced all litigation and cause of litigation against James Grant of Freuchie on these grounds, and obliged himself to infeft the Laird in the barony; the Laird, on his part, obliging himself to grant assedation to Alexander Grant of the lands of Cardell-beg for his lifetime. He also became bound to pay one

[1] Original Instrument of Resignation, dated 31st January 1628, at Castle Grant.

[2] Original Charter, dated 1st February 1628, *ibid.*

[3] Original Instrument of Sasine, 12th November 1629, at Castle Grant.

[4] The Mackintoshes and Clan Chattan, by A. M. Shaw, p. 188.

hundred merks to Alexander Grant, for which the latter was to serve the Laird and his heirs; and in the event of Alexander Grant's dying without surviving issue, he was to leave all his moveable goods then upon the lands of Cardells to William Grant, a younger son of the Laird.[1]

This contract appears to have remained unfulfilled during the lifetime of Alexander Grant, and upon his death his relatives ignored its existence. George Grant, son of John Grant of Ballindalloch, was nephew and heir to Alexander, and he at once obtained himself infeft in the barony on a precept from the Preceptor of Maison Dieu, near Elgin.[2] Immediately thereafter George made it over to his youngest brother, John Grant in Foyness, afterwards Tutor of Ballindalloch, who at once procured his own infeftment therein.[3] This obliged John Grant of Freuchie, great-grandson of James Grant, the Laird who had made the contract, to institute a legal inhibition of these proceedings.

An interdict was obtained against the transfer of the lands by George Grant to his brother,[4] but apparently it was ineffectual, as, two years later, John Grant of Freuchie had recourse to friendly measures, in pursuit of the same object. He obtained an obligation from John Grant in Foyness that the latter would produce to the Laird and his friends all charters and other documents, by virtue of which he laid claim to the barony of Cardells. If these were found authentic and proper, then he bound himself to give security that he would either resign or dispone the barony in favour of the Laird, whom, in the document, he acknowledges as chief and master.[5] But neither was this method successful. The Laird of Freuchie then approached Patrick Grant of Ballindalloch, brother of George and John, who had an interest in the matter, both on account of his relationship to the parties, and on account of a curious matrimonial contract made between him and the last Laird of Freuchie, which also embraced the lands in question.[6] The Laird persuaded Patrick Grant to execute a bond, obliging himself among other things, to cause the heirs of George and

[1] Original Instrument, dated 26th July 1551, at Castle Grant.

[2] Instrument of Sasine, dated 20th December 1585, Old Inventory, *ibid.*

[3] Instrument of Sasine, dated 23d December 1585, Old Inventory, *ibid.*

[4] Inhibition, dated 25th February 1585, at Castle Grant.

[5] Original Obligation, dated 31st May 1588, *ibid.*

[6] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 397.

John Grant to renounce their claims upon the barony, and also to renounce any claim he himself might have thereon.[1] But the engagement was all that could be obtained; the Laird of Ballindalloch would neither fulfil the terms of the contract, nor give the necessary consent to its registration,[2] and John Grant of Freuchie did not pursue the matter further.

Sir John Grant, however, assailed the matter with determination and vigour. While managing the estates for his father, he obtained letters of inhibition against Patrick Grant, eldest surviving son of the now deceased John Grant of Foyness, who was holding back from service as heir to his father, to prevent him selling, wadsetting, or in any way whatever disposing of the lands in dispute, and in the letters his resolution is expressed to "persecute the foirsaid actioun vnto the finall end and decisioun thairof."[3] Notwithstanding this procedure, Patrick Grant disponed the lands to John Grant, fiar of Ballindalloch,[4] but the Laird of Freuchie was not disposed to be dealt with as his predecessors had been, and he at once entered the lists with Ballindalloch, and summoned his opponent before the Lords of Council and Session, produced the contract of 1613, and obtained an order for its registration with execution to follow thereon.[5] This virtually ended the contest, and a new contract was made between the Laird of Freuchie and John Grant, younger of Ballindalloch,[6] which had this advantage over those formerly made, that it was implemented. Sir John Grant obtained infeftment in the barony of Cardells,[7] but he had previously to pay the sum of two thousand six hundred merks, which was due by young Ballindalloch in respect of the lands to the Preceptor of Maison Dieu, and the Provost, Bailies, and Council of Elgin.[8]

At the same time, Sir John Grant succeeded in obliging the Lairds of Ballindalloch to renew their bonds of manrent at every occasion of entry to their lands held of him as superior. This had been unsuccessfully

[1] Bond, dated 23d November 1613, in Extract Decreet of 1627, at Castle Grant.

[2] Extract Decreet of Lords of Council and Session, dated 20th February 1627, *ibid.*

[3] Original Letters of Inhibition, dated 24th February 1621, *ibid.*

[4] Original Disposition, dated 20th November 1624, *ibid.*

[5] Extract Decreet, 20th February 1627, at Castle Grant.

[6] Extract Contract, dated 19th March 1628, *ibid.*

[7] Instrument of Sasine, dated 12th November 1629, *ibid.*

[8] Original Discharge, dated 13th November 1629, *ibid.*

sought by Sir John's father, but Sir John insisted on it, not only as customary, and as conducive to "amitie, love, and friendschip," but "as becomes to be betuix ane cheiff and his kinisman, and ane superiour and his vassell."[1] The Laird of Freuchie was bound to grant a bond of maintenance in return, and if the Laird of Ballindalloch refused to give his bond of manrent, the Laird of Freuchie reserved power to refuse the precept necessary for infeftment in the lands held of him.

The system of wadsetting portions of the Grant estates has been supposed to have originated in the time of Sir John Grant. But in reality it was begun by his father, the fifth Laird, so early, at least, as 1593,[2] and frequently resorted to during the latter years of his life. No testament by the father of Sir John has been discovered, and the want of it, and of a relative inventory of his personal estate at the time of his death, prevents any accurate knowledge of the condition in which he left the estate. From another source, however, it may be inferred that the large purchases of land made by the fifth Laird, combined with the heavy fine imposed upon him on account of the shelter given to the outlawed Macgregors, had not only drained away the ready money at the Laird's disposal, but also rendered borrowing a necessity. Hence it was that only eight months after her husband's death, Lady Lilias Murray took what measures she could to lighten the pecuniary difficulties of her son. "Considering," she says, "the great burdine of debt that Sir Johne Grant of Frewquhye, knicht, my weil beluiffit sone, lyis wnder, and I, as a maist luiffing and tender hartit mother, willing to help him be all the meanes I can," she renounced in his favour certain lands in Cromdale in which she had been infeft by her husband, reserving only the customs paid in kind for her liferent use.[3]

Lady Lilias did more than this to accommodate her son. He had followed the example of his father in wadsetting a number of the lands, raising in 1623 no less a sum than twenty thousand merks thereon, but one of these wadsets, amounting to half that sum—over the lands of Duthil, Tullochcruben, and Kinveachie—he redeemed within a few years. During the ten years between 1623 and 1633 he wadset other lands to the extent

[1] Extract Contract, dated 19th March 1628, at Castle Grant. [2] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 293.
[3] Original Disposition, dated 17th May 1623, at Castle Grant.

of forty-four thousand five hundred merks, among which were the lands of Muldaries for twenty-two thousand merks, and the barony of Lethen for twelve thousand merks. The barony of Lethen had been purchased by the late Laird and bestowed upon his wife, Lady Lilias Murray, for her support during the remainder of her life, but she must have given her permission to her son to raise money upon it. The wadset was effected in 1626. But the barony did not then pass from the possession of Lady Lilias, being given back in lease at a yearly rental of twelve hundred merks. This arrangement, however, did not long continue, as on 14th March 1634 Sir John Grant sold Lethen, and some adjacent lands, to Alexander Brodie of East Grange, for one hundred and five thousand merks.[1] To enable the sale to be effected, Lady Lilias, or Lady Lethen, as she was then styled, renounced her right to the lands, and in return Sir John Grant secured to her rents in Duthil, of the value of three thousand merks annually.[2] Lady Lilias thereupon took up her residence at Ballachastell, the terms of her doing so being the subject of a formal agreement between mother and son—that as Lady Lilias was content to remain in household with Sir John, while she did so, the latter obliged himself to honour, reverence, and entertain her honourably and dutifully according to her estate, with her servants, and Lady Lilias obliged herself to remit to her son, for every year she abode with him, one thousand merks of the three thousand due by him to her as her annual portion.[3]

For the same reasons, Sir John Grant twice exchanged the jointure lands of his wife, first in 1627, for the lands of Lethen and others,[4] and afterwards in 1634, when Lethen was sold, for lands in the lordship of Urquhart and others.[5] In both documents a similar motive for the transaction is expressed, that he and his spouse, acting by advice of their "honourable friendis and weill willaris," considered that it was necessary and expedient for the Laird, and for the singular weal, standing, and benefit of his house, estate, and living, that he have the full right and title of the lands in question in his own person, that he might freely sell, wadset, and dispone thereupon at pleasure, for defraying of his debts and burdens.

[1] Original Contract at Castle Grant.

[2] Original Contracts, dated 19th March 1634 and 21st December 1635, *ibid.*

[3] Original Agreement in duplicate, dated 21st December 1635, at Castle Grant.

[4] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 437.

[5] *Ibid.* p. 444.

In addition to the church patronages and the barony of Cardells, Sir John Grant purchased from James Lord Stewart of Ochiltree the lands of Auchindaren, in the barony of Strathisla.[1] He also redeemed some of the wadsets made by his father; but his own additions to that unprofitable system commenced by his father on the Grant estates, must have impoverished the revenues of the Laird to no small degree, and was certainly felt by the succeeding generations. One beneficial feature of the system was that as the wadsetting was confined as far as possible to the chief's own family or members of the Clan Grant, it raised around the chief a band of proprietors of his own name, though of lesser rank, who each represented and, when occasion required, appeared at the head of the tenants of their respective properties. It has also thus been rendered possible distinctly to trace the cadet branches, until the suppression of the system of wadsetting, and the consequent withdrawal of their territorial designations, have left their later descent in obscurity.

Before leaving the question of the management of the family estates by Sir John Grant, it only remains to note the sale of the pine woods of Abernethy, Kincardine, and Glencarnie for £20,000 Scots, effected by him in 1630 to Captain John Mason, on behalf of the Earl of Tullibardine. All the trees in these districts were placed at the Captain's disposal, to cut and transport, or otherwise to dispose of them as he pleased, during the space of forty-one years from the date of the contract.[2]

With the improvement of the family residence of Ballachastell Sir John Grant appears to have taken some pains. He evidently wished to embellish the interior with works of art and beauty. A letter from Ralph Rawlinson, apparently a sculptor, informed Sir John that twelve of the beasts he had ordered were perfectly ready to be transported to Ballachastell, and that the rest would be in the same condition shortly. He added that he had made choice of the rhinoceros and gorgon in place of the two beasts which the Laird had desired to be omitted.[3] In another letter from the Laird to John Anderson, a painter in Aberdeen, the latter is requested to send home the four portraits given him to be "mowlerit" or cleaned. The Laird adds, "I

[1] Original Disposition, dated 19th August 1618, at Castle Grant.
[2] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 442.
[3] Original Letter, dated 22d August 1629, at Castle Grant.

mynd (God willing) to bring yow to Ballachastell efter Whitsonday for expeding of my galrie, seing I mynd to enter wrightes for sylling[1] of the same as yow show me efter Marche, for it can be no shooner done, seing syling quhilk is done in winter cannot be close. And I pray you hawe fyne colours for paynting of the same, and gold also for painting of the four storme windowes."[2] The portraits referred to as the property of Sir John Grant do not appear to have been preserved. The oldest family portraits now at Castle Grant are those of James Grant, the eldest son of Sir John, and his wife Lady Mary Stewart, which have both been lithographed for this work.

In his relations with neighbouring chiefs Sir John Grant pursued a uniformly peaceful policy, and not unfrequently interposed his influence for the pacification of their feuds, or, when circumstances required it, for their rescue from imminent disaster. Such an opportunity occurred soon after his succession to his father. The Clan Cameron and Clan Chattan were at feud with each other, though Lachlan Mackintosh of Dunachton had refused, at the bidding of the Marquis of Huntly, to appear in arms against the Camerons, and had on that account incurred considerable odium and damage, as was narrated in the preceding memoir. This was on the occasion of Huntly's obtaining the commission of fire and sword against the Clan Cameron after Lochiel had put twenty-two of his own followers to death for conspiring against his authority at Huntly's instigation. At the same time, those who had the care of John Cameron, Lochiel's eldest son, were charged by the Privy Council to produce him to them, that they might take order regarding his education and the peace of the country. For their justification in so doing the Lords of Council say that Lochiel, "of his awne naturall dispositioun being alwyse inclynnit to murther, treachone, and rebellioun, it is verie liklie that he sall trayne up —— Camroun his eldest soun in that same wicked course of lyff, and now in his young aig instruct him in all these policyis, insolencyis, and misdemeanours wherewith he himselff during the haill progres of his bypast lyff hes bene exerceisit." This charge is dated 9th December 1613.[3]

[1] Covering or lining with wood.

[2] Original Letter, dated 10th December 1634, at Castle Grant.

[3] Registrum Secreti Concilii, H.M. Register House, Edinburgh.

Lachlan Mackintosh held the heritable office of bailie and steward of the lordship and stewartry of Lochaber, and in that capacity proclaimed his intention to hold courts within these bounds in July 1616. Viewing this as a slight upon his own authority in Lochaber, Cameron of Lochiel mustered two hundred of his clan, who, "all bodin in feir of weir with bowis, dorlochais, durkis, Lochaber axis," etc., took up their position at the ford of the river Lochy. On the approach of Mackintosh, the Camerons "schott ane number of musketis and hagbuttis at the said Lauchlane and his cumpany, and stayit him fra halding the saidis courtis."[1]

The Laird of Mackintosh reported the matter to the Privy Council, in consequence of which Lochiel was summoned to answer for his conduct. As he did not appear, decree was pronounced against him, non-compliance with which placed him and his clan in the position of rebels, and letters of intercommuning and a commission of fire and sword were procured by Mackintosh against the Camerons in 1618. He also obtained a decreet of removal against Lochiel from the lands of Glenlui and Locharkaig. One result of the encounter consequent upon the commission was that John, eldest son of Lochiel, was captured, and imprisoned in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh.[2]

Having incurred the resentment of the Marquis of Huntly, Mackintosh was diverted for a time from the pursuit of the Camerons. But it was only temporarily. He procured in 1622 a still more formidable commission from Court against Lochiel, to be carried out, not only by himself, but by Colin Lord Kintail, Sir Rorie Macleod of Harris, the Lairds of Freuchie, elder and younger, Sir John Campbell of Calder, John Grant of Glenmoriston, Patrick Grant of Ballindalloch, John McDonald McAllane VcEane of Ilantyrum, captain of the Clan Ranald, and others. King

[1] Register of Privy Council, quoted in the Mackintoshes and Clan Chattan, by A. M. Shaw, pp. 298-300. Memoirs of Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiel, pp. 58, 59.

[2] *Ibid.* The lands of Glenlui and Locharkaig in Lochaber were really at the root of the contention between the Mackintoshes and the Camerons. Originally the property of the Mackintoshes, these lands had been taken possession of by the Camerons, who resisted all attempts made for their recovery. In 1598 these lands were forfeited by Lochiel, and he then entered into an agreement with Lachlan Mackintosh respecting them, which was to last for nineteen years, and any breach involved serious penalties. The attack upon Mackintosh was considered such a breach, and in the position in which Lochiel then stood with the Government, Mackintosh easily succeeded in obtaining the decreet of removal.

James the Sixth, incensed that Lochiel still stood out in his rebellion, "oppressing his neighbours, and beheaving himself as if there were neither king nor law in that our kingdom," instructed the Privy Council, by letter dated 6th May 1622, to expede the commission.[1] In the commission, which was issued in the following month, the King is made to refer to the reduction of the Highlands and Isles to obedience, at great pains and expense, and the establishment of quietness, peace, and justice "by the power and force of our auctoritie, and by our prudent and wyse gouernament." It then proceeds—"Thair is onlie one lymmair, to witt, Allane Cameroun of Lochyell, that lyis oute and refuiss to give his obedience, who, having maid shipwrack of his faith, and promeist obedience, and shaking of all feare of God, reuerence of the law, and regaird of justice, . . . not onlie continewis in his rebellioun as gif he wer nouther subiect to king, law, nor iustice, bot hes associatt vnto himself a nomber of otheris lymmaris, by whome and with whose assistance he intendis, so far as in him lyis, to interteny ane oppin rebellioun, and to disturbe the peace and quiet of the Heighlandis and Ilis."[2]

Fortunately for Lochiel, Sir Lachlan Mackintosh died before his intentions could be carried out, and the chief conduct of the commission devolved upon Sir John Grant of Freuchie, as uncle and tutor to William Mackintosh, the son of Sir Lachlan. In this capacity Sir John, in December 1622, preferred a petition to the Privy Council. Lord Gordon had obtained a commission to proceed against the Earl of Caithness, and was now craving permission to employ his removable tenants in that service. Among the principal of these were the Clan Chattan, and Sir John represented that if these were withdrawn in the service of Lord Gordon, he could not proceed with the execution of his commission against Lochiel. The Clan Chattan, he said, were the special persons on whose assistance he relied, seeing the action was in a manner their own, whereunto he was only accessory in favour of his young sister's son, their chief. He therefore requested that the Clan Chattan might be reserved from Lord Gordon's service, and that he might have added to his commission the concurrence of the whole inhabitants of Moydart, Glengarry, Morar,

[1] Memoirs of Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiel, p. 60.

[2] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 334.

Strathgarry, Athole, Rannoch, and Balquhidder, being the bounds nearest Lochaber. The petition was the more urgent inasmuch as Lord Gordon was proposing to set out on his expedition at the same time that Sir John intended "to go fordwart aganis Allane." The prayer of the petition was granted.[1]

But, notwithstanding the terms of this petition, which was made in the interest of his ward, Sir John Grant was by no means desirous to adopt hostile measures against Lochiel. Towards this the memory of the friendship between Lochiel and the late Laird of Grant, Sir John Grant's own peaceable disposition, and the fact that his wife, Mary Ogilvie, was an aunt of Lochiel, may all have contributed. In any case, instead of proceeding to extremities, Sir John initiated negotiations for pacification of the feud. He obtained a licence for himself and others to intercommune with Lochiel, on condition that he treated first with him to return to his allegiance, and only after that about the differences between him and the Mackintoshes,[2] and the licence was afterwards continued till the end of July 1623.[3] Some correspondence passed between the parties, and then a conference was arranged to be held at Abertarff between Lochiel and certain friends, who had offered themselves as cautioners, and Sir John Grant and others. Lochiel granted a bond of safe-conduct to Sir John and his company,[4] and the meeting took place at Abertarff on 11th July 1623. It may be presumed that Lochiel had previously given evidence of his loyalty to King James and the law, as the meeting appears to have been almost entirely occupied with the settlement of the differences between Lochiel and Mackintosh, the latter being represented by Sir John Grant.

The terms of the agreement were that Allan Cameron of Lochiel should obtain a lease of the lands of Glenlui and Locharkaig during the remainder of William Mackintosh's minority, at an annual rental of twelve hundred merks, half of which was remitted as the interest of a wadset of half the lands, made about 1598 by Sir Lachlan Mackintosh to Lochiel, for six thousand merks. On attaining majority, William Mackintosh could,

[1] Memoirs of Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiel, Appendix, pp. 386, 387.

[2] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 220.

[3] Original Extract Warrant, 31st March 1623, at Castle Grant.

[4] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 223.

if he pleased, redeem the lands within a specified period. All the woods on these lands were reserved to the Laird of Freuchie, who expressed his intention of selling them for the benefit of his nephew's estate, and security was given by Lochiel that the purchasers and workers would be respected, he receiving the tenth part of the price for which the woods should be sold.[1]

These terms of agreement were formulated in a contract subscribed by the parties and their cautioners, an abstract of which is given elsewhere.[2] The contract shows that on his part Sir John Grant undertook to procure a complete remission for Lochiel for all past transgressions, and to obtain the release of his son John from the Tolbooth of Edinburgh; and also that Lochiel promised to appear before the Privy Council, and give security for his future good behaviour. Sir John discharged his part of the agreement by procuring the remission and the release of John Cameron, after the latter had signed the contract as one of the parties, and there is abundant evidence in the letters of Lochiel that he regarded Sir John's efforts to save him and his family and clan with a keen sentiment of gratitude.[3] This feeling was no evanescent one, for after Sir John's death, when Montrose was in the north, and the Laird of Moyness had been plundered by a party of Camerons, Lochiel wrote deploring the "misfortun accidente," which he says had happened during his absence in Argyll, and his friends "knew not that Moynes was ane Grant, but thoct that he was ane Morray man," adding that in "Morrayland" "all men taks thair prey."[4] In another letter on the same subject he says, "The Leird of Grante was the onelie man I loue beiste in the northe."[5]

The Mackintoshes, however, as a clan, were not well satisfied with the management of the Laird of Freuchie during their chief's minority, and with this piece of business in particular, and it was not long before the question was reopened, to become as great a bone of contention as formerly. On the death of Sir Lachlan Mackintosh, Sir John Grant, as already stated, had become Tutor to the young chief of the Clan Chattan. The late Laird of Freuchie had purchased the gift of the ward and non-entry with the

[1] Original Minute of Agreement at Castle Grant.
[2] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 431.
[3] Vol. ii. of this work, pp. 42 *et seq.*
[4] *Ibid.* p. 76.
[5] *Ibid.* p. 77.

marriage of William Mackintosh, the young chief, for Sir John Grant, and Sir John obliged himself not to dispose of this right without advising with and obtaining the unanimous consent of James Master of Deskford, Mr. James Grant of Logie, Sir Rorie Mackenzie of Coigeach,[1] and Patrick Grant of Ballindalloch. The same consent was made essential to any disposition by Sir John of the lands of Glenlui, Locharkaig, Glenspean, and Glenroy, which are stated to have been acquired by the late John Grant of Freuchie with "great trawellis and paneis" from the late Sir Lachlan Mackintosh in wadset.[2] These lands, or part of them, were those disponed to Allan Cameron and his son John, in wadset and feu, and the transaction has been charged upon the Laird as the procuring cause of trouble to the Mackintoshes.[3] But for what he did Sir John Grant had the fullest authority from his nephew's kinsman, William Mackintosh of Borlum, Lachlan his brother, Lachlan Mackintosh of Killachie, and others, in a letter signed by them at Urquhart, before the meeting with Lochiel took place.[4]

It is also said that after the young chief attained his majority, an inquiry into the management during his minority was made, with the result that legal proceedings were about to be taken against Sir John Grant, but were averted by the interposition of friends, who induced the parties to agree to arbitration. The writer of the Kinrara Manuscript, who was brother to the young chief, says that in 1632 Sir John Grant wilfully kept a large sum of money from his ward's estate, by refusing to sell some of the timber on Mackintosh's Lochaber lands, which the Marquis of Tullibardine was desirous of purchasing, in order that he might "draw a bargain his own way," by inducing the Marquis to take his own woods in Abernethy.[5] But Sir John had, prior to 1632, disposed of his own woods of Abernethy, and consequently had at that time no inducement of the nature suggested to impede the sale of the Lochaber woods. From letters addressed to the Laird by a correspondent in Edinburgh, it appears that a determined attempt was made by the Mackintoshes

[1] Sir Roderick Mackenzie of Coigeach laid claim, in 1624, to a share of the gift of the ward and marriage of William Mackintosh, on account of a wadset held by him of the barony of Culloden. [Vol. ii. of this work, p. 50.]

[2] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 423.

[3] The Mackintoshes and Clan Chattan, p. 322.

[4] Letter, dated 7th July 1623, at Castle Grant.

[5] The Mackintoshes and Clan Chattan, p. 312. The Marquisate of Tullibardine was only created in 1703.

to bring Sir John Grant into litigation,[1] but, according to the Kinrara MS., the matter was arranged by arbitration, wherein Sir John was ordained to pay to his nephew £10,000 Scots, though less than a fourth of the sum claimed, and payment of which was not obtained without difficulty and delay.[2] A sum of £10,000, due to William Mackintosh of Torcastle, was one of the debts mentioned by Sir John Grant on his deathbed.[3]

It was during Sir John Grant's wardship of the young chief that the members of the Clan Chattan came into conflict with the Earl of Murray, who had in 1622 ejected certain of their number from the lands possessed by them from time immemorial in Petty. For a time they were restrained by the sage counsels of Angus Williamson of Auldtirly, but he was now dead, and the evicted members of the clan, with their sympathising kinsmen, still rankling with the injury inflicted by the Earl of Murray, mustered to the extent of two hundred, and under the leadership of their young chief's uncle, Lachlan Og, and the son of Angus Williamson, they invaded and robbed the tenants who had been placed in their old holdings in the lands of Petty, besieged the recently-erected Castle Stuart, drove out the Earl's servants, and possessed themselves of the rents of the lands. Having accomplished all they could in Petty, they "fell in sorning throw out Morray, Stratharik, Vrquhart, Ross, Sutherland, Bray of Mar, and diuerss vther pairtis, taking thair mete and food perforce quher thay culd not get it willingly, fra freindis alssweill as fra their faes, yit still keipit thame selfis fra schedding of innocent blood."[4] They openly avowed having taken this course to get back their possessions in Petty, or failing that, their resolution to keep the country in commotion.

To repress this disorder, the Earl of Murray brought three hundred Macgregors from Menteith and Balquhidder, but they effected nothing, owing, it is supposed, to sympathy with the Mackintoshes. Failing in a second attempt, the Earl betook himself to Court and obtained a commission of lieutenantcy in the north, which enabled him to issue letters of intercommuning against the Mackintoshes, and by this means, cutting off their

[1] Original Letters, James Gibson to Sir John Grant, dated 2d July and 28th October 1636, at Castle Grant.

[2] The Mackintoshes and Clan Chattan, p. 321.

[3] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 230.

[4] Spalding's Memorialls of the Trubles in Scotland, vol. i. pp. 1-4.

supplies, he reduced them to sue for terms. The Earl afterwards held courts, at which a number of persons who had assisted the Mackintoshes after the publication of the letters of intercommuning, were, on the evidence of those they had befriended, convicted and heavily fined. John Grant of Glenmoriston was one of those arraigned for reset of the Clan Chattan, and he appealed to the King, putting himself to much trouble and expense, but was obliged in the end to arrange with the Earl.[1] The Mackintoshes generally escaped punishment after a few insignificant members of the clan had been sacrificed to appease the claims of justice; and as Huntly had been annoyed at the Earl of Murray's appointment, he befriended the Mackintoshes, who, by his efforts, were restored to their lands in Petty.

William Mackintosh, the young chief, was in no way implicated in this affair, his clansmen having determined their own conduct, knowing that by reason of his minority, he could not be involved under the terms of the general band of 1587, but, as Sir John Grant was so closely connected with him, he was the recipient of several friendly letters of warning from the Earl of Mar, in one of which he counsels the Laird to recover the house of Culloden, which he says the Council had heard he had delivered to Lachlan Mackintosh, one of the leaders of the Clan Chattan, otherwise it might tend to his injury.[2] Probably the Laird used his influence to terminate the disturbance, as in a letter from Darnaway, Lord Erskine, who accompanied the Earl of Murray north, expresses his pleasure that Sir John was "so kynd a freind" to Lord Murray, and desires him to come to Darnaway on the morrow to converse with the Earl and himself on this business.[3]

Sir John Grant also maintained the friendship which had subsisted between his father and Ranuil McAllan of Lundie, cousin to the chief of Glengarry.[4]

[1] Spalding's Memorialls of the Trubles in Scotland, vol. i. pp. 8, 9.

[2] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 51.

[3] Original Letter, dated 9th October 1624, at Castle Grant.

[4] Ranuil McAllan of Lundie was son and heir of Allan McAlister, younger son of Alexander Macdonald of Glengarry. This is apparent from a discharge by Allan McRenalt VicAllane of Lundie, son of Ranuil, to Sir John Grant of Freuchie, for certain of his writs which Sir John had in keeping. The principal of these mentioned are:—Charter by Angus McAlester of Glengarry to his brother, Allane McAlester and his heirs-male, of the two merk land of Lundie, and others, dated 21st January 1571; Letter of Maintenance by Angus to Allane, dated 20th January 1571; and a Precept of *Clare Constat* by Donald McAngus McAlister to Renalt McAllan, as heir to his father, Allan, dated 10th December 1575.

Before his death, the late Laird had borrowed from Donald McAllan Vic Ranald, apparent of Lundie, three thousand merks, Sir John becoming surety for their repayment; and they were afterwards duly paid.[1] Shortly afterwards Sir John entered into an agreement with Allan McRenalt, apparent of Lundie, who, with advice and consent of his eldest son, Donald McAllan Vic Renalt, and taking burden for his father, Renalt, that he should ratify the agreement, thereby sold to Sir John all the woods and growing trees on certain of his lands in Morar. These, the contract relates, were altogether unprofitable to their proprietors, who had never reaped, nor could they at any time reap, any advantage therefrom, but on the contrary had not only great expense in keeping and guarding the same continually against thieving neighbours, but incurred hatred and deadly feuds on that account. No merchant would venture to buy the woods, on account of the risk of losing his life. A lease of the lands whereon the woods grew for thirty-one years, was given to Sir John Grant, and he undertook to sell them, and give two-thirds of the price he obtained to Allan McRenalt and his heirs.[2] It indicates the vigour with which the Laird began to fulfil his obligation, that, six days after the signing of the contract, he obtained a writ of lawburrows against Angus McCoull VcRannald in Morar, Donald Grant McVcAllaster in Knoidart, and others, who were cutting and destroying these woods, to find caution not to molest him in the possession and working of the woods.

Meanwhile a tardy vengeance had overtaken the Laird of Lundie for what has been known as the "Raid of Cilliechriost," in which he had been a principal actor, in the year 1603. This exploit has hitherto been considered one of the most sanguinary instances of Highland revenge, and surprise has been expressed that so terrible an instance of private vengeance should have occurred in the commencement of the seventeenth century without public notice being taken of it.[3] The hitherto received story of the Raid of Cilliechriost is, that in 1603 the Macdonalds, under the leadership of Allan dubh McRanuil of Lundie, pursuing their feud with the Mackenzies,

[1] This debt was contracted under two bonds, dated respectively 23d May and 27th October 1621. Original Discharge thereof, dated 10th November 1625, at Castle Grant.

[2] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 424.

[3] Gregory's Highlands and Islands, p. 303.

made a raid into Brae Ross, plundered the lands of Cilliechriost, and ferociously set fire to the church during divine service, when full of men, women, and children, and when the flames forced the worshippers to seek means of escape, mercilessly hewed them down, or thrust them back into the flames. To drown the dying shrieks and cries of the imprisoned Mackenzies, Glengarry's piper marched round the blazing building playing the tune since known by the name of "Cilliechriost," and forming the family pibroch of the Macdonalds of Glengarry.[1]

Though punishment was long delayed, the raid was not entirely overlooked by the authorities, but the real affray, as represented to the Crown, dwindles into comparative insignificance beside the embellished forms in which tradition has handed it down to posterity. Allan of Lundie was required to find caution that he would compear before the Justice Clerk to answer to the charge laid against him, but as usual when the case was bad, to avert imprisonment, he preferred to remain among his native hills, and allow his friends to arrange afterwards for his extrication, and in consequence of his non-compearance, he was denounced a rebel, put to the horn, and his estates forfeited. The date of the forfeiture was 28th June 1622, and on 7th December following, Sir John Grant procured the gift of the escheat of Allan of Lundie in his own favour. The letter of gift narrates the causes of the forfeiture, which, on account of their importance in regard to the "Raid of Cilliechriost," may be here narrated in full. After the usual preamble in the king's name, mentioning the donator and the nature of the goods and gear escheated, it proceeds:—

Quhilkis pertenit of befoir to Allane M^{c}Ranald of Lundie in Glengarie, and now pertening to ws, fallin and becum in our handis and at our gift and dispositioun be ressoun of escheit throw being of the said Allane M^{c}Ranald, vpone the tuentie aucht day of Junij last bypast, ordourlie denuncit our rebell and put to our horne, be vertew of our vtheris lettres raissit and execute againes the said Allane at the instance of Mr. Johne M^{c}Kenzie Archiedeane of Ros, for himselff, and as maister, with the remanent kin and freindis of vmquhile Alexander M^{c}Caye, John M^{c}Cay, Donald M^{c}Caye his sone, Alexander Gald and tennentis and servandis to the said Mr. Johne, of his toun and landis of Kilchriste, and als at the instance of Sir William Oliphant of Newtoun, knycht, our advocat,

[1] History and Genealogy of the MacKenzies, pp. 156-162, where still fuller details are given of the alleged horrible event and its sequel.

for our entres, for not finding of sufficient cautioun and sovertie to our Justice Clerk and his deputtis actit in our buikis of adjornall that he suld compeir befoir our Justice and his deputtis, and vnderly the lawis for the tressonable and wilfull raissing of fyre, and cruellie and vnmercifullie murdering and slaying of the said vmquhile Alexander M^{c}Caye, vmquhile Johne, and vmquhile Donald M^{c}Cayis, and Alexander Gald, and
tennentes to the said Mr. Jon M^{c}Kenzie of the said toun and lands of Gilchriste, burning and distroying of the number of tuentie sevin duelling houssis within the said toun, with the barnes, byres and killis belanging thairto, and burning and destroying of the said Mr. Johne his haill librarie and buikes, togidder with tuentie scoir bollis aittis, and aucht scoir bollis beir, being in the said Mr. Johne his barne and barnezaird, and thifteouslie stealling and away taking of nyne peace of hors, with the said Mr. Johne his awin best hors, thrie scoir ten oxin and ky, and that in the monethe of September, the zeir of God j^{m}vj^{c} and thrie zeiris, the tyme of the feid than standing betuix vmquhile Kenneth Lord Kintaill and Donald M^{c}Angus of Glengarie.[1]

This narration divests the raid of Cilliechriost of its traditionary horrors, and reduces it to the dimensions of an attack by a party of the Macdonalds, under Allan dubh M'Ranald, upon the Archdean of Ross, who, being a Mackenzie of prominence, would be peculiarly obnoxious to the raiders. The resistance of the Archdean's tenants to the attack on their Laird probably incited the Macdonalds to extend their destructive operations to their dwellings in addition to that of the Archdean, and in the strife several of the tenants were slain. It is impossible to suppose that had any terrible sacrilege and cruelty taken place such as tradition relates, it would have been omitted from the charge against the Laird of Lundie, especially when the Archdean himself was the author of the process.

Considering the debt due by Sir John Grant to the Laird of Lundie, and the fact that the contract making over the woods had been effected after the forfeiture had been declared, the procuring by Sir John of the gift of the escheat was a prudent step. He was not, however, permitted to use his right of intromission with Lundie's estate, as the latter resisted, and a decree of declarator was obtained on 29th July 1623, affirming Sir John's right to the escheat,[2] but apparently with little effect. The Laird, however, appears to have continued to befriend Lundie, who granted a bond of manrent to Sir John Grant on 29th August 1626, in which he declares that the Lairds of Freuchie had been the placers and maintainers of him and

[1] Original Letter of Gift at Castle Grant.

[2] Original Extract Decreet, *ibid.*

his predecessors in their lands, and had also defended them in their lawful affairs heretofore.[1] Sir John shortly afterwards granted an assignation of the escheat, leaving the assignee's name blank,[2] but a letter by Alexander Baillie of Dunean, in subsequent proceedings, to a law-agent in Edinburgh, shows it to have been made in his favour. These later proceedings were occasioned by a second forfeiture incurred by Allan M^cRenalt, when the Laird of Glengarry, who appears to have borne the appellation of Donald Bane, purchased this escheat, although that acquired by the Laird of Grant was not yet discharged. Indeed an information sent with the letters by Alexander Baillie asserts that Allan M^cRenalt "hes the haill guidis and geir in his possessioun, and that the said Laird of Grant nor his assigney was never in possessioun of no pairt thairof." But Baillie was also friendly to the Laird of Lundie, and acted along with Sir John Grant for his benefit. In sending the documents for the process against Glengarry, Baillie says, "Hold Glengarrie off the best you can to our nixt adverteisment quhilk wilbe or Cristmes nixt . . . and I pray you earnestlie be cairfull heirin, and lat not this man (Allan M^cRanald) be wrongit in your power in sua far as reason or moyen can carie him throw."[3]

While thus engaged with affairs at home, Sir John Grant was suddenly called upon to contribute to the public service. When King Charles the First was engaged in his expedition for the relief of the Protestants of Rochelle, he included in it a regiment of Scots under the command of William Earl of Morton. The expedition sailed from the Isle of Wight on 27th June 1627, under the leadership of the Duke of Buckingham, and took possession of the Isle of Ré, near Rochelle, and the little town of St. Martin, but were unable to reduce the fort. While the English fleet lay before Rochelle, the King, evidently desirous to reinforce his Scotch regiment, wrote to Sir John Grant asking him to raise as many men as possible with the assistance of his friends, and send them to Edinburgh against the 15th of September, whence they were to be transported to France for service.[4] Sir John responded to the appeal, and

[1] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 224.

[2] Original Assignation, dated 22d November 1626, at Castle Grant.

[3] Original Letter, dated 28th October 1633, at Castle Grant.

[4] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 7.

raised the men, but was unable to be forward by the time appointed, and latterly he wrote that he could not keep the assignation at Leith until the 20th of November. Viscount Dupplin replied that he would endeavour to accommodate others and the ships for that day, but that no news had been received from the Earl of Morton since he departed.[1]

That the Laird was earnest in this matter, and even strongly desirous that his clan should distinguish themselves in foreign service, the following letter from James Grant of Auchterblair, who was appointed captain of the company to be sent, will show. It is addressed to Lady Lilias Murray, Lady Lethen, who seemed concerned with respect to the effect on her pecuniary resources of the despatch of the men :—

Auchterblair, xvj day of November 1627.

MADAM,—My humble seruice being rememberit to your Ladyschip, I receawit your Ladyschip's lettir, and the caus quhairfoir I wreit not ane answer to your Ladyschip I wes of mynd to haif spokin your Ladyschip, bot now I fear I mey not win in respect of schortnes of tyme. As quhair your Ladyschip wreit that I wes the motionar of the Laird to send away his men in respect I wes so weill willit myselff in spring tym, trew it is, in the beginning of the yeir the Laird wes sorie and lamentit sindrie tymes that thair wes not on of his kine that wald go out of the cuntrie with ane cumpanie of men, althocht he wad furneis the cumpanie. Sua finding him verie ernest in this bissines, I desyrit him to try his freindis in this bissines; giff he wald not find ane vther, that I suld go and furneis ane pairt of the cumpanie my selff, provyding he haid gain or credit be our going. Alwayis, to be schort, eftir he haid insistit ane long tyme vpone this cours, it faillit in him selff. As for this last bissines, on my concience I knaw not how it com one, or quhat credit or gain he hes be it, but it is the moist ernest bissines that ever I saw the Laird vndertak, and will on no conditioun go fra it, althocht he suld wair ane pairt of his estait for to execut the samyn. So I being ever redie to the Laird, althocht I ryppit littill commoditie or gain for the samyn, I haif vndertain to go this weage with his men, becaus he wald on no wayis let me be on gone. Sua, as God salbe my judg, I am blamles of all the Lairdis doingis, except that I wes ever redie to him. And in ane pairt I am glaid to haif ane excuis to be quyt of his fesrie, feiring that no thing gois rycht. Gif I mey oniwayis I will speak your Ladyschip befoir I go. Committis yow to God eternall.

Your Ladyschip's seruand ever to death,

JAMES GRANT.[2]

As for your Ladyschip's lettir ye wreitt for, your Ladyschip is no wayis oblissit to pey money in it, yit nochtwithstanding I be thir presentis, for me, my airis, executouris,

[1] Original Letter, Viscount Dupplin to Sir John Grant of Freuchie, dated Perth, 28th October 1627, at Castle Grant.

[2] Original Letter, *ibid.*

assignayis, discherges your Ladyschipe, youris airis, executouris, or assignayis of all sowmes of money ather restand presentlie, or wes restand be band, messiues or vther wayis preceiding the dait heirof, be this my discharge, wreittin and subscrywit with my hand at Auchtirblair, the sextein day of November j^{m}vj^{c} tuentie sevin yeiris.

JAMES GRANT.[1]

It does not appear that Sir John's men ever left the country, or perhaps Strathspey. If they did get so far as Leith, it would only be to hear of Buckingham's dishonourable retreat, after being repulsed by the French at Rochelle, and his subsequent landing on the west coast of England in November.[2] The company of men, however, were afterwards considered a promising body from which to recruit Colonel Hamilton's Scottish contingent serving in Sweden under Gustavus Adolphus, and the Laird of Grant received urgent requests both from the Earl of Tullibardine[3] and the Marquis of Hamilton[4] to levy as many of them as he possibly could for that service.

Sir John Grant, while he wielded a salutary influence in the pacification of feuds among his neighbours, was greatly harassed in his own country of Strathspey by turbulent spirits of his own name, for whom, under the terms of the general band, the Government considered him in a measure responsible. Sir John had also been appointed convener of the Justices of Peace within the bounds of Inverness and Cromartie,[5] and from time to time he received special and general commissions of justiciary affecting his own and the surrounding districts. Nor was he remiss in his efforts to have his own country in an orderly and settled state, by doing his own duty, and encouraging his Chamberlains in the discharge of theirs. In a letter to his uncle, Robert Grant of Clachaig and Lurg, who was Chamberlain for some time, Sir John Grant writes :—

Leathin, this Moonday the 24 of Januarij 1631 zeires.

RICHT LUIFFING WNCKILL,—Forsaimekill as I wnderstand of your great caire and diligence in holding off courts and purging the countrey off knawerie and pyckerie, I doubt nocht but ye haue found many guiltie and worthye of punishment. As for such as ye haue tacken cawtione, haue a speciall caire that they be presented, and that justice mey strick vpon them

[1] Original Letter at Castle Grant.

[2] Historical Works of Sir James Balfour, vol. ii. pp. 158, 159.

[3] Original Letter, Earl of Tullibardine to Sir John Grant, dated at Theobalds, 27th April 1629, at Castle Grant.

[4] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 14.

[5] *Ibid.* p. 13.

without fead or fawour of any man. I ame werie glaid to heare of yowr willingnes and forwardnes heirin, that ye are so weill sett and affected for mainteining of justice, punishing of vice, and reforming of ewill manners, and wishes yow most earnestly to goe on in that good course, that our countrey be not any longer ewill spocken off by any of our neighboures. . . . Sua thancking yow for yowr great paines, and heartily wishing yow to continow and persevere in doing off justice equally to all, I rest and shall remaine,

Yovr luiffing cusine at pover,

S. J. GRANT.

I hear ther is great shooting with gunns in my woods, therfore sie that they be as weill fyned, and in as great measure as I did myselff before, and bind them vp wnder such a penaltie in tyme cumming.[1]

The most turbulent spirit of Strathspey at this time was James Grant of Carron, or James an Tuim (of the hill), as he was more generally termed, who has come down in tradition as "the Strathspey freebooter." The Grants of Carron were cadets of the Grants of Glenmoriston, through whom they were directly descended from John Grant, second Laird of Freuchie, but by an illegitimate connection. So early as 1559, John Roy Grant, the first of the Grants of Carron, was implicated in the death of John Grant of Ballindalloch, whose descendants, notwithstanding great efforts to repress it, maintained a bitter feud, which displayed itself on every possible occasion. According to one historian of the period, James Grant, at a fair in Elgin about this time, saw his brother Thomas pursued by one of the Grants of Ballindalloch, and lying wounded in the street. He attacked the assailant of his brother and killed him, for which he is said to have been summoned by Ballindalloch, and on non-compearance outlawed.[2] There is, however, preserved among the Grant family muniments, a Commission by King James the Sixth to the Earl of Murray, John Grant of Freuchie, and his son Sir John Grant, in 1619, which refers to and fills up the details of the episode mentioned by Sir Robert Gordon. It relates that on the last day of January 1618, James Grant in Daltalies, and Robert Futhie in Innerowrie, were outlawed at the instance of Thomas Grant of Cardells, and John Grant, apparent of Cardells, as father and brother, and the remanent kin

[1] Original Letter at Castle Grant.

[2] Sir Robert Gordon's History of the Earldom of Sutherland, p. 414.

and friends, for the slaughter of Patrick Grant in Lettoch, and for invading and pursuing Thomas Grant, his wife and son, to the danger of their lives; and the Commissioners were instructed to apprehend the rebels.[1] But no arrest was made; and in 1629, in a complaint made by Patrick Grant of Ballindalloch against Sir John Grant for not producing James Grant as his man, he says, that since his outlawry, "to the forder contempt of justice, he hes associat vnto himselfe a nomber of brokin Hieland men of the Clanrannald, Clangregour, and some others out of Strathspey and Strathdoun, and with thir lawlesse lymmars, armed with vnlawfull weapons he goes athort the cuntrie committing opin stouthes, heirships, sorning, and depredations." Ballindalloch also adds, that James Grant "wes the cheefe instrument of the troubles fallin out betuix the hous of Carroun and the compleaner, and of the slaughters vnhappilie committed hinc inde."[2]

The immediate cause of the complaint by the Laird of Ballindalloch was a raid by James Grant and his followers in November 1628 upon his lands of Inverernan, and the despoiling his tenants there of horses, kine, and sheep. But instead of directing the complaint against the perpetrator of the crime, he charged Sir John Grant before the Lords of Council with being a cognisant resetter of James Grant, or at least that the latter was a tenant and servant of Sir John's, and quite within his power to apprehend and deliver up to justice. In the particular instance he averred that James Grant had spent forty-eight hours upon the Laird's lands, gathering his forces for the raid, and that the Laird had been informed of the fact by two parties, but did not interfere. In connection with the complaint Sir John had to proceed to Edinburgh, but it was dismissed, and Sir John absolved, because, on the matter alleged being referred to the defender's oath, he deponed "that the same wes not of veritie."[3]

In narrating the circumstances respecting the career of James an Tuim, Sir Robert Gordon reflects severely upon the obstinacy with which the Laird of Ballindalloch refused all overtures for satisfaction short of the death of James Grant himself. It was the same in the former case of 1558 when John Grant of Ballindalloch was slain by John Roy Grant of Carron.

[1] Original Commission, dated 4th August 1619, at Castle Grant.

[2] Extract Decreet by Lords of Council, dated 29th January 1629, *ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*

The Laird of Freuchie interposed to pacify his two clansmen, and received the advice of William Lord Forbes and his friends towards obtaining a settlement. In the concluding sentence they say, "And forder, quhare the Lard of Grant informis ws that Johne Grant frendis of Ballanedallacht desyris ane bludy mendis, that is the thing we will nocht nor can nocht grant thareto, be resone it is noder godly, honest, nor frendly."[1] And in this case, though the Laird of Freuchie frequently endeavoured to reconcile them, all was in vain. "Ballendallogh wes obstinat, and wold hearken to no conditions of peace; though banishment of the partie, and satisfaction in goods and money wes offered vnto him, he wold yeild to no reconciliation without James Grant's blood."[2]

The raid by James Grant upon the lands of Inverernan had been preceded by a much more serious affray between the Lairds of Ballindalloch and Carron, and therefore partook of the nature of a reprisal. One day in August 1628,[3] John Grant of Carron, the nephew of James an Tuim, proceeded to the wood of Abernethy, accompanied by several friends, to cut timber. Thither he was followed by the young Laird of Ballindalloch and a number of his friends, who attacked the Laird of Carron and his party. In the struggle John Grant of Carron was slain, and so also were several of Ballindalloch's friends, including Thomas Grant of Dalvey. From this time forward Ballindalloch and James Grant were sworn foes, and by the latter's depredations the former suffered greatly. In these circumstances, Patrick Grant of Ballindalloch persisted in charging Sir John Grant with default in James Grant's being at large; and although at first

[1] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 283.

[2] History of the Earldom of Sutherland, p. 415.

[3] Sir Robert Gordon gives the date as 11th September 1628, and takes occasion to note a very remarkable coincidence which fell out thereby. He says:—"Give me leave heir to remark the providence and secreit jugement of the Almightie God, who now hath mett Carron with the same measure that his forefather, John Roy Grant of Carron, did serve the ancestour of Ballendallogh; for vpon the same day of the moneth that John Roy Grant did kill the great-grandfather of Ballendallogh (being the eleventh day of September), the verie same day of this moneth wes Carron slain by this John Grant of Ballendallogh many yeirs therefter. And besides, as that John Roy Grant of Carron wes left-handed, so is this John Grant of Ballendallogh left-handed also: and moreover, it is to be observed, that Ballendallogh, at the killing of this Carron, had vpon him the same coat-of-armour, or maillie-coat, which John Roy of Carron had vpon him at the slaughter of the great-grandfather of this Ballendallogh; which maillie-coat Ballendallogh had, a little befor this tyme, taken from James Grant, in a skirmish that passed betuixt them."—[History of the Earldom of Sutherland, p. 416.] But the judicial documents referring to the case place the event in August 1628.

the Council acquitted the Laird, this prosecution was the commencement of a period of considerable harassment, annoyance, and expense to him. The attention of the Council was directed to the state of matters in Strathspey, and from this time until his death, they gave Sir John Grant no rest in the pursuit of the disturbers of the district. Young Ballindalloch was afterwards charged, at the instance of the widow of John Grant of Carron, with the murder of her husband,[1] but procured a remission from King Charles the First for himself, his brother Patrick, William Grant of Cardells, and Archibald Grant of Dalvey.[2]

It was probably in connection with this same business that the Laird took journey in the summer of 1631 to London, to have a personal interview with King Charles.[3] John Grant of Glenmoriston was there at the same time respecting the charges laid against him by the Earl of Murray, King's Lieutenant in the north of Scotland.[4] Shortly before this Sir John had received a demand to present before the Privy Council another depredator from Strathspey, Alexander Grant in Tulloch, who was charged with the slaughter of Thomas Grant of Dalvey, but who, instead of complying with the summons to compear before the Earl of Murray, fled to Ireland,[5] and was in consequence outlawed. He had returned, however, and in order to assist the Laird of Freuchie in the arrest, a commission was granted, empowering him to pursue Alexander Grant even outside his own boundaries.[6] The apprehension was successfully made, and the prisoner conveyed to Edinburgh, and committed to the Tolbooth. By this time James an Tuim had also been taken, and was a close prisoner in the Castle of Edinburgh. His raid on Inverernan had been followed by another on the lands of Pitchaish, the residence of young Ballindalloch, where much destruction was done by the barns, etc., being set on fire, and a similar fate befell Tulchan, part of the possession of the Laird of Ballindalloch elder. The owners complained grievously to the Earl of Murray, who, being disposed at the time to make up his quarrel with the Mackintoshes, promised to obtain pardon for the latter if they succeeded

[1] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 225.
[2] Registrum Secreti Sigilli, Lib. ciii. fol. 232, 31st July 1631.
[3] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 55.
[4] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 339.
[5] *Ibid.* p. 225.
[6] *Ibid.* p. 226.

in capturing James an Tuim, dead or alive. The Mackintoshes at once accepted the offer, and succeeded in finding the freebooter, with his illegitimate son George, and ten men, in a house in Strathavon. A desperate encounter ensued, in which four of James an Tuim's men were slain, the rest taken, and himself severely wounded, but his son escaped. Until his wounds were healed, James Grant was warded in Darnaway, and afterwards removed south to the Castle of Edinburgh.[1]

Thus, when the Laird went to London, it seemed as if the country had been effectually cleared of its worst disturbers, and for a short time this was the case. But though the subordinate rebels taken were speedily disposed of, Alaster or Alexander Grant and James Grant were reserved for special trial, and in the case of the former it was repeatedly postponed.[2] At length the trial was fixed to take place on 14th June 1632, and for his compearance thereat Sir John Grant was obliged to find security to the extent of five thousand merks.[3] The trial eventually did not come on till 4th August, when, at the instance of the Laird of Ballindalloch and others, Alaster Grant was charged with the triple crime of participation in the raid of Inverernan, an attack upon Ballindalloch itself in April 1630, when he slew John Dollas, who was with Ballindalloch resisting the invaders, and the slaughter of Thomas Grant of Dalvey and Lachlan Mackintosh in August 1628. Being found guilty on all these counts, he was sentenced to death. But after sentence was pronounced, an Act of Council was produced commanding the execution to be postponed during His Majesty's pleasure.[4]

As a further instance of the lawlessness of the district, and of the share contributed to it by the Grants of Tulloch, it may here be noted that a few years later, in 1637, the father and two brothers of this Alaster Grant, known among their clansmen by the cognomen "McJockie," were condemned to a similar fate. Their names were John Grant, *alias* McJockie in Tulloch, elder, Patrick Grant McJockie, his eldest son, and John Grant McJockie, also his son, and the crimes on account of which they were hanged, were harbouring outlaws of the Macgregor clan, assisting

[1] Spalding's Memorialls of the Trubles, vol. i. pp. 22, 23.

[2] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 338.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 228.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 443.

them when attempts were made for their capture, and slaying two of the king's officers and others.[1]

The reason for the postponement of the execution of Alaster Grant, and also of the trial of James an Tuim, appears to have been a desire on the part of the Privy Council to obtain their evidence in the trial then proceeding, respecting the burning of the Tower of Frendraught, when John Gordon, Viscount of Aboyne, John Gordon of Rothiemay, and several of their attendants, lost their lives in the conflagration. It is unnecessary to relate the circumstances of that well-known event here, save only the fact that James Grant's deposition was taken in the case, he having been asked by Meldrum in Reidhill, who was executed for the deed, to give the assistance of himself and his rebel band in a raid upon the Laird of Frendraught.[2]

This delay in the trial of James an Tuim proved disastrous to the peace of Strathspey, as he found means to escape from his prison in the castle of Edinburgh, and returned to his old haunts. It is said that ropes, conveyed to him by his wife in what ostensibly appeared a kit of butter, provided the means whereby he obtained his liberty. He was met by his son and assisted towards Strathspey, although he is commonly said to have gone to Ireland.[3] A letter from the Privy Council informed Sir John Grant of the fact of the escape, and requested his best services towards his speedy recapture.[4] For a time, however, James an Tuim seems to have lived quietly, his only exploit mentioned being the shooting of one Patrick Ger, the leader of a party of Macgregors, introduced into the district by Ballindalloch to effect his capture. The death of Ger appears to have been a relief to the people of Strathspey, and James Grant rose in their estimation on account of the deed. It appears that at this time negotiations had been progressing towards a pacification. Thomas Grant, brother to James an Tuim, had obtained a pardon from King Charles the First for his share in the death of Patrick Grant of Lettoch in 1618,[5] and Ballindalloch had promised to obtain a remission for his foe, James himself; but

[1] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 451.

[2] Spalding's Memorialls of the Trubles, vol. i. pp. 382-411.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 43.

[4] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 14.

[5] Registrum Secreti Sigilli, vol. cv., fol. 325. 29th March 1634.

instead of implementing this promise, Ballindalloch is said to have hired the Macgregors to capture or kill him. With the intention of obliging Ballindalloch to bind himself more strictly for the fulfilment of this engagement, James Grant, in December 1634, entrapped the young Laird of Ballindalloch into an ambuscade, and conveying him to a disused kiln near Elgin, kept him imprisoned for twenty-two days. At the end of that time, with the connivance of one of his guards, with whom he conversed in Latin and arranged his plans, he effected his escape.[1]

This proceeding had only the effect of embroiling Strathspey in its former lawless condition. Armed with a commission from the Crown, Ballindalloch arrested and procured the death of Thomas Grant, the owner of the kiln in which he had been confined, and the banishment of others who had been accessory to the kidnapping. James an Tuim retaliated with increased violence. In addition to its own outlaws, Strathspey was burdened with a considerable number of outlawed Macgregors, who, on the pretext of seeking James Grant, committed great excesses. Owing also to the breaking out of the Gordons after the affair of Frendraught, with the settlement of which they were not satisfied, their country was in a similar condition of lawlessness, and the Privy Council saw the urgency of taking decided measures for the restoration of order. Sir John Grant and others were summoned to attend a meeting of the Privy Council in January 1635, at Edinburgh, to give information as to the state of matters in the North.[2] The Laird attended the meeting, and, among other things, suggested that the only efficient remedy for the irregularities in the North would be to grant ample commissions to landed gentlemen to take, punish, and suppress malefactors, and that if every landed gentleman were so authorised, such transgressors could not possibly escape. He offered to procure further information desired of him, if their Lordships would give him time to obtain it accurately; and he added his opinion that, if steps were not taken now to secure peace in the Highlands, the present state of affairs would be nothing to what would ensue.[3] The Laird's advice was acted upon, and when he returned home he was

[1] Spalding's Memorialls of the Trubles, vol. i. pp. 53, 54.

[2] Summons, dated 13th November 1634, vol. iii. of this work, p. 447.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 449.

Forasmuch as Sr Jhon Grant of Freuch hath exhibited remissions from the body of his May comissrs for expeding the wherof James grant and his associats, And that it is necessarie for expeding the said business, that he be permitted to treat by him self and his frends as they shall be imployed with suche of that nowmber hereafter as can or may be induced to disclose the plaines of the said James grant his resort; These are to assure the said Sr Jhon grant that neither he him self, nor any of his employment in the matter foresaid, shall be called in question for suche Intercommuning; and that I shall not faill to obtaine his May speciall warrand therefore, and ad the business succeeded a particular reward and thankes for the same; Attested by J. Maitts hags.

Sanctandrous Cancellr.

provided with a commission empowering him to convocate the lieges, and seek and apprehend all thieves and lawless persons, and also "all ydle and maisterlesse men wanting lawfull and sufficient testimonialls of thair birth, residence, and trade of life," not only within his own bounds but anywhere else.[1]

The young Laird of Ballindalloch appeared also at Edinburgh at the same time, summoned probably on the same business. He took occasion to present to the Privy Council a petition, containing a heavy indictment against Sir John Grant and the Laird of Glenmoriston for resetting and favouring James an Tuim. In the petition young Ballindalloch gives an account of his being kidnapped, and of the conditions on which his freedom was offered to him. These are printed elsewhere.[2] The Council agreed to the prayer of the petition, and ordered that the Lairds of Freuchie and Glenmoriston should be "warned to hear the desire of the bill granted." It apparently terminated in an injunction to Sir John Grant to do his utmost to apprehend James Grant. While in Edinburgh, Sir John dealt with the Chancellor, John Spottiswood, Archbishop of St. Andrews, to grant him special powers for this difficult case, as he evidently hoped he might gain over some of the gang to betray the rest. The Chancellor responded by granting him the following warrant, which has also been reproduced in lithograph :—

Forasmuch as Sir Jhon Grant of Freuchy hath resaved commissioun from the Lordis of his Majestie's Councille for apprehending the rebell James Grant and his associats, and that it is necessair for expeding the said service, that he be permitted to treat by him self and his servantis or otheris that he thinks fit to employe, with suche of that wnlaws fellowship as can or may be induced to discover the places of the said James Grant his resort: These are to assure the said Sir Jhon Grant that nether he him self, nor any of his employment in the maner foresaid, shall be called in questioun for suche intercommoning; and that I shall not faill to obtain his Majestie's speciall warrand therefore, and as the service succeidis a particular reward and thankis for the same. At Edinburgh, the 9 March 1635.

SANCTANDREWS, Cancellr.[3]

The Chancellor also encouraged him afterwards by letters, and acknowledged some services rendered by the Laird.[4]

[1] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 339.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 448.
[3] Original Warrant at Castle Grant.
[4] Vol. ii. of this work, pp. 56, 57.

On returning home the Laird put in execution the plan he had conceived for the speedy apprehension of the dreaded freebooter and his gang. He made an engagement with four persons, promising them five thousand merks each if they took James Grant, dead or alive, before the 2d of June following. This is evident from a discharge granted to the Laird by James Grant of Auchterblair for "four bandis in the quhich is conteinit fyv thousand merkis in everie band to be giwin to the four particular persons in the bandis themselffis contenit, for taking and apprehending the rebell James Grant, dead or liueing, betuix the dait heirof and the second day of Junij nix to cum in this instant zeir of God, I^{m} vi^{c} threttie fyw zeiris."[1] But neither was this method successful.

By the advice of friends the breach between the Laird and the house of Ballindalloch was healed by an agreement drawn up at Leith on 9th August 1635, in which they mutually discharged each other of all actions civil and criminal, and renewed their respective obligations of manrent and maintenance with special reference to James an Tuim and his accomplices.[2] In a letter to the Laird, John Hay, Clerk to the Privy Council, takes credit for the accomplishment of this reconciliation, flattering himself that he had done a good work to the Laird, his house and name, and also to the king, for he adds, "be that dissension yow alwayes lost being chieffe to the whole name." Sir John had previously written to John Hay, and the latter in his reply deals sharply with Sir John for not taking more effective measures against James Grant and the Macgregors, and warns him that unless by some notable act he manifested his sincerity, he would certainly incur the displeasure of the Council. He further expressed his surprise that the Laird had not taken united action with Ballindalloch, and advised that they should consult together as to what should be done for the peace of the country, inform the Council of their resolutions, and at once proceed to action.[3]

These remarks were entirely uncalled for, as the Laird had in reality set to work as soon as he returned home in October. He had then a private meeting with young Ballindalloch, at which they discussed their

[1] Original Discharge, dated 14th April 1635, at Castle Grant.

[2] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 450.

[3] Original Letter, dated 2d November 1635, at Castle Grant.

method of procedure. At the latter's request the Laird sent him twelve men, and these, with two furnished by young Ballindalloch, spent fourteen days in an unsuccessful search through Inveravon, Skirdustan, Rothes, Balveny, Murthlach, Auchindoun, and Glenrinnes, and this was all carried on at the sole expense of the Laird. Afterwards, on its being reported that James an Tuim was lurking in Strathavon, the Laird at once despatched thirty-six men with their followers, who returned with two of the gang, but obtained no tidings of their leader. Thus far he had acted with Ballindalloch and by his counsel, but seeing the fruitlessness of these efforts, he made liberal offers of money, lands, and other things to persons living in the neighbourhoods haunted by the rebels if they would produce them, dead or alive. The Laird, however, appears to have been frequently betrayed by his own men, as in a deposition made before the Council it was declared that there were never ten men employed in service against James Grant but five of them sent him information privately of what was going on.[1]

Seeing that the Council were intent on pushing him hardly, Sir John procured certificates from the ministers of Cromdale, Duthil, Abernethy, and Inveravon, of his endeavours to carry out the desires of the Council, and sent them to Edinburgh for their information.[2] They were presented by George Earl of Seaforth, who in a letter told the Laird that it might be necessary for him to come to Edinburgh to avoid "intended prejudice" by justifying his diligence.[3] And Lord Seaforth added, "On thing I will recommend to yow, as on quho affects and loues, if by any meins ye can apprehend James Grant, proue not neglectiue, otheruys greatter hurt will insheue then ye apprehend."

The determined efforts made to effect his capture appear to have rendered James an Tuim more reckless, and, as if to mock his pursuers, he perpetrated a more atrocious deed than any of which he had hitherto been guilty. There are various versions of the story, but in a summons raised against Thomas Grant, Tutor of Carron, for intercommuning with his brother, it is said that while entertained in the

[1] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 61. [2] Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 229, 341.
[3] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 58.

Tutor's dwelling-house, he got information that Thomas Grant of Culquoich and his brother were coming into the fields for some business, whereupon he set an ambush for them, took them captive, and after keeping them for a short time, barbarously murdered them and cut off their heads.[1] Letters received from correspondents in Edinburgh, informed Sir John how seriously this outrage had been taken to heart by the King and Council, and one and all urged him to come to town and clear himself. The Laird's health, however, was failing, and although on that account the time appointed was occasionally prorogued, his advisers repeatedly counselled him to undertake the journey, and not irritate the Council.[2] "I am sorie," wrote David Murray, a merchant in Edinburgh, to Lady Lilias Murray, "that the Laird is so ower charged as he is, and that the Councill is so possessed with the Lardes abeletie that he is able to tak James Grantt quhen he pleases, and will not belleiff ane that sayes in the contrair; and I haive done quhat I canne to speak the treuthe as I know it, in his favors, but still they contenew that confident. Bot their ar none of thaim malliciouslie sett against him, bot I hoipe that God will move their mynds to be his freends, God send him relleiff that he may haive that he desyres—to leive at hoome in peace and quyetnes."[3]

It does not appear that Sir John went to Edinburgh during 1636, but, meanwhile, his troubles with the Council increased. At this very time he was charged with permitting another noted freebooter, Gilderoy, and a number of his Macgregor band to be harboured within his bounds,[4] and it was in connection with this, and in the close of this year, that the Laird's tenants or wadsetters in Tulloch were afterwards tried and condemned to

[1] Original Summons, dated 14th April 1636, at Castle Grant. Amid repeated attempts to effect his capture, James Grant succeeded in prolonging his existence until 1639, when he obtained a remission from King Charles [Spalding, vol. i. p. 141], apparently through the good offices of George Marquis of Huntly, who thereafter employed him to hunt out and bring to justice those very Macgregors introduced into the country to compass his own death [Vol. iii. of this work, p. 231]. This change was very agreeable to the Laird and other prominent members of the family, but it involved them in high risk, as their cautionry was secured in considerable sums. In connection with this, two letters are given [Vol. ii. of this work, pp. 69, 70]. James Grant also assisted the Marquis of Huntly against the Covenanters, but appears to have plundered friend and foe indiscriminately [Spalding, vol. ii. pp. 338, 341]. It has not been ascertained when he died. His illegitimate son, George Grant, was executed at Edinburgh, in June 1636.

[2] Vol. ii. of this work, pp. 58-63.

[3] Original Letter, dated 19th July 1636, at Castle Grant.

[4] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 63.

death. He had, indeed, presented several of the rebels to justice, the expense of maintaining some of whom for months in the Tolbooth at Edinburgh was thrown upon him, and another was produced in October, which the Laird's law-agent in Edinburgh adverting to, said it would have been better had the Laird personally presented the rebel, and received his own thanks therefor. But he urged the Laird to come up to Edinburgh, as his presence was necessary for his affairs.[1] The Laird, however, spent the winter at home, and probably on some urgent requisition from the Council only proceeded to Edinburgh about March 1637. On his arrival, or shortly afterwards, he was placed in ward on the charge of not pursuing the Clan Gregor, but, apparently on account of the state of his health, was set at liberty.[2] He made his last will and testament on 31st March 1637, in which he mentions several of the principal debts owing by him, and in consideration of his sickness appoints Mary Ogilvie, his wife, and his eldest son James, his executors, to make up an inventory of his debts and pay them.[3] The deed indicates that Sir John was in a weak state of health, and his signature is affixed in a tremulous hand, very different from his usually bold and dashing signature. About the same time Sir John also revoked all grants made by him at any time to his wife, whereto he was not obliged by the terms of their contract of marriage. To this course he was apparently advised by his legal agents in Edinburgh for the good of the estate, as the document was drawn up there, and contains their names as witnesses. He was empowered so to act by a law referred to in the deed, but it was probably done with reluctance. Sir John Grant died on the day after making his testament, the 1st of April 1637, and was buried in the Abbey chapel at Holyrood.

As already stated, Sir John Grant of Freuchie married Mary, daughter of Sir Walter Ogilvie of Findlater, knight, afterwards Lord Ogilvie of Deskford. She survived her husband, and was still alive in 1646, but appears to have died shortly thereafter. She resigned her right of co-executry in her husband's estate in favour of her eldest son, and at a later period wished to sequestrate part of her marriage portion to provide for her

[1] Original Letter, James Gibson to Sir John Grant, dated 28th October 1636, at Castle Grant.

[2] Spalding's Memorialls of the Trubles, vol. i. p. 76.

[3] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 230.

younger children. This was objected to by her eldest son, but a reconciliation was effected by the interposition of George Earl of Seaforth. Several letters written by Mary Ogilvie to her son during the wars of Montrose are still preserved. By this lady Sir John left seven sons and three daughters.

1. James, who succeeded his father as seventh Laird of Freuchie.
2. Patrick, called of Cluniemoir and of Cluniebeg, but better known as Tutor of Grant, which he became on the death of his brother James in 1663. He held a commission in the army for some time as Lieutenant-Colonel. He married Sibilla, daughter of Kenneth Mackenzie of Kintail, already successively the relict of John Macleod of Harris and Alexander Fraser, Tutor of Lovat. Patrick Grant had issue three daughters, one of whom, named Mary, married Patrick Grant, or Macalpine, of Rothiemurchus. From this marriage is descended the present Sir John Peter Grant of Rothiemurchus. Patrick Grant had also a natural son Robert.
3. Alexander, who carried on a litigation with his eldest brother about the distribution of their father's effects. He is said to have married Isabel, daughter of Nairn of Morenge, by whom he left issue two daughters.[1] He was alive in 1665.
4. Major George Grant. In 1675 he received a commission to suppress robberies in the Highlands, in connection with which he is mentioned as having arbitrarily comprised a large amount of farm stock on Borlum-more, in Urquhart, without the authority of his brother Thomas, who was then Bailie of Urquhart. He is said to have been for some time Governor of Dumbarton Castle. He died *s.p.*
5. Robert, who is said to have married a daughter of Dunbar of Bennagefield, by whom he had a son, who was father of Robert Ogg of Milton of Muckrach.[2] He died before 22d August 1653.[3]
6. Mungo, called of Kinchirdie, but sometimes also of Duthil and of Gellovie. He was for some time chamberlain and factor to his nephew, Ludovick Grant of Freuchie. He was twice married, first to Margaret Gordon, and secondly to Elizabeth, daughter of John Grant of Gartenmore, by both of whom he had issue,

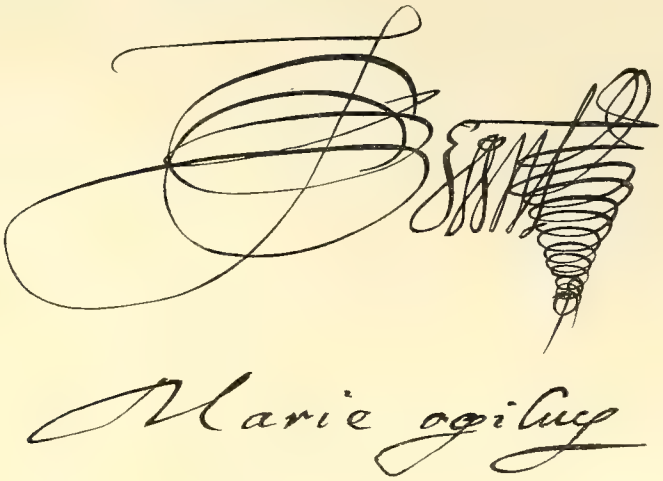
[1] Shaw's Moray, vol. i. p. 102. [2] *Ibid.* [3] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 343.

and was the ancestor of the Grants of Kinchirdie, Gellovie, Knockando, and the later Grants of Gartenbeg. Of his descendants a pedigree is given in this work.

7. Thomas, called of Balmacaan, who was born in 1637, and was for some time Chamberlain of Urquhart to his nephew Ludovick. He is said to have married, in 1682, Mary, daughter of Colin Campbell of Clunes, by whom he had two sons, Ludovick of Achnastank and Patrick of Culvullin, and a daughter, who married Mungo Grant of Mullochard.[1] In 1683 he is stated to have been forty-six years of age.

The daughters were :—

1. Mary, who married, first, Lord Lewis Gordon, afterwards third Marquis of Huntly, and had issue, George, created first Duke of Gordon, and several daughters; and secondly, James Ogilvie, second Earl of Airlie, as his second wife, without issue.
2. Anne, who married, as his second wife, Kenneth Mackenzie of Gairloch. Their contract of marriage is dated 17th October 1640. She had issue.
3. Lilias. She married John Byres of Coittis, who was afterwards knighted. Their post-nuptial contract of marriage is dated at Cupar-Fife, 26th May 1666.



[1] Shaw's Moray, vol. i. p. 102.

XIV.—JAMES GRANT, Seventh of Freuchie.
LADY MARY STEWART (MURRAY), his Wife.

1637–1663.

James Grant, eldest son and heir of Sir John Grant of Freuchie, succeeded his father in the Grant estates just when events were ushering in the struggle between King Charles the First and the Covenanters. He lived through that king's reign, during the closing years of which Strathspey, as one of the main outlets from the Highlands into the south, became the scene of much warfare. He also lived through the domination of Cromwell's protectorate, and saw the opening years of the restoration. During this troublous time it was not to be expected that the Grant estates should increase in prosperity, especially considering the encumbered condition in which they were bequeathed to this Laird, yet, in very difficult and trying circumstances, they were maintained with little diminution, although they narrowly escaped the dangers of a forfeiture. This Laird, it will be seen, took an active part in the affairs of his country, and for his services King Charles the Second intended to create him Earl of Strathspey. While the patent was in progress the Laird died suddenly, and the dignity was not confirmed to his son, then a minor, who afterwards, from his position, was commonly called the Highland King.

When Lady Lilias Murray, Lady Grant, the grandmother of this Laird, wrote the memorandum of her children's ages in 1622, she made a note of the fact that James Grant, son to her son, would be six years old at the ensuing term of Midsummer in that year.[1] This makes the date of his birth 24th June 1616, and corroboration is found in the statement of age on his portrait, which implies that he was forty-two in 1658, when it was painted. When in his eighteenth year, James and some of his brothers were at Aberdeen for their education under the care of J. Leslie, who, in a letter to Sir John Grant respecting his charges, informs him of

[1] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 221.

JAMES GRANT OF FREUCHIE,
B. 1616. D. 1663.

their good health and diligence in employing their time towards "proficiencye in learning,"[1] and in a letter to his grandmother, Lady Lilias, from Aberdeen, James Grant himself acknowledges the receipt of certain necessaries which had been craved for him in his guardian's missive.[2] In the beginning of the following year Sir John Grant took one of his sons with him to Edinburgh, and left him in the care of Mr. John Hay, Clerk of the Privy Council, who promised to treat him as his own son.[3] This, however, does not appear to have been James, as, in a letter to Sir John, David Murray, writing from Edinburgh under the same date as Mr. John Hay, informs him that his son had departed for London in company with the Clerk Register, with whom he had made an appointment to meet at Tranent for the journey.[4] This son, there can be no doubt, was James, who, after going to London, appears to have gone abroad under the charge of Colonel Henry Bruce, and to have been in the camp of Field-Marshal Leslie when it was threatened with an attack. It is not improbable that he held a minor commission in the army. In a letter to his father, James Grant acquaints him with his "good acceptance heir with yovr cosine Colonel Hary. He esteimes of me as his oven soon, and thanks yovr worship in recommending me to him. Yovr worship most think thus a greait curtesie that he heth doone to me. I have werie good quarters of him, and my intertinement besydes in his oven hoose. As for yovr worship's cosing Colonel Ruthven, I have resaved many words boot fev curtesies. The Failt Marciall Lesly hes entertained me werie kyndly, and hes promised to be my good freind. Sir, we have good days heir, and as for my self, I can maik a fiftie dolovrs a mounth to bey boowts and shovn withall. But I feare our quarturs shall be short heir, the enimie is covming doon heir werie strong one ws."[5]

James Grant had returned to Scotland before the end of 1636, as on 15th November of that year he wrote to his grandmother, Lady Lilias Murray, that he had unexpectedly been forced to pass south to

[1] Original Letter, J. Leslie to Sir John Grant, 10th February 1634, at Castle Grant.

[2] Original Letter, James Grant to Lady Lilias Murray, 3d March 1634, *ibid.*

[3] Original Letter, John Hay to Sir John Grant, dated 4th April 1635, at Castle Grant.

[4] Original Letter, dated 4th April 1635, *ibid.*

[5] Original Letter, undated, *ibid.*

Edinburgh, and there wait upon good shipping.[1] But, whether James Grant had gone from home for travels or military service, he was recalled, by the death of his father on 1st April of the following year, to assume the management and responsibilities of the Grant estates.

By his father's testament, which was drawn up hurriedly on his deathbed, James Grant was appointed co-executor with his mother in the settlement of the affairs of the deceased. One of his first acts was to arrange with his mother, who was seriously affected by the deed of revocation executed by Sir John, of all grants made to his wife, except those secured to her by their contract of marriage. Mary Ogilvie renounced in her son's favour her right of executry, giving as her reason for so doing her desire to avoid "the great troubill, trawellis, and chargis," in which she would be involved by accepting the office of executrix, and "the great fascherie" which would ensue upon her intromission with her late husband's moveable goods. For her liferent settlement, it was agreed that she should have the lands secured to her by the contract of excambion of 1634, which included the barony and castle of Urquhart, Lethindie, the kirktoun of Cromdale, and some adjacent lands in the barony of Cromdale, Glenlochy in the barony of Freuchie, and Wester Tulloch, with the lands of Mulben and others in the barony of Rothes. The result of this arrangement was that James Grant obtained the sole management of the estates. But, at his entry upon them, they were encumbered with large debts, and also with the provisions to the two dowagers, for Lady Lilias Murray was still alive.[2]

The witnesses to the arrangement between James Grant and his mother were George Earl of Seaforth, James Lord Deskford, Thomas M'Kenzie of Pluscardine, Sir Robert Innes of Balveny, James Sutherland, Tutor of Duffus, and John Grant of Moyness, and these appear to have appended their signatures not merely as formal witnesses to the due execution of the deed of arrangement, but to have been present as the young Laird's council of advice. To their names may also be added that of John Grant, younger of Ballindalloch. There is no record of the

[1] Original Letter at Castle Grant.

[2] Extract Discharge and Renunciation, dated at Freuchie, 11th May 1637, *ibid.*

LADY MARY STEWART,
DAUGHTER OF JAMES SECOND EARL OF MORAY,
AND WIFE OF JAMES GRANT OF FREUCHIE.

expression of any desire on the part of the late Sir John Grant that these noblemen and gentlemen should act the part of curators to his son, but it may have been a deathbed wish. If not, it was a prudent step on the part of the young Laird himself, to enter upon his first engagements by the advice of sage and influential neighbours.

They had at this time, however, not only the Laird's estate to look after, but to deal with the Laird himself in a matter of grave concern. While in the south, James Grant appears to have fallen in love with a young lady of noble birth, Lady Jane Fleming, youngest daughter of John, first Earl of Wigton. She sincerely returned his affection, and they had gone so far as either to contract a form of private marriage, or, at least, to pledge themselves by oath to one another. Several of the letters which passed between the young Laird and Lady Jane Fleming have been preserved, and show that, after the death of his father, he either repented of his attachment to the lady, or permitted himself to be prevailed upon by his friends to break off the engagement. They evidently thought that in the Laird's circumstances the match was not likely to be sufficiently advantageous, and so gave their verdict against it. To them, however, it is due to say that the Laird did not at first reveal the full extent of his intercourse with Lady Jane until matters had proceeded too far for recall, and when they became aware of this they were much concerned for the Laird's honour and credit. His law-agent in Edinburgh, James Gibson, was consulted, and, after personal interviews with the lady, was so impressed with her love for the Laird, and her suitableness in every way for him, that he joined his entreaties to those of the lady herself, that the Laird would celebrate their marriage. At a later date the agent had to perform the duty of conveying a formal discharge to the lady. He wrote the Laird with details of the interview. "I will protest," he says, "befoir God, I neuer knew ane moir modest, sober, wysse, nobell woman euir all my dayes, and I think, and am sorie to say it, that by want of hir ye ar depryweit of ane great blissing; and yit, I know this muche, hir lowe is so great that scho wald stay sum vpon. Be wysse, and remember of your great aith given, for it is moir nor certane the giveing thairof. And remember scho hes werie guid freinds, and, if it desert absolutlie, ye

will find deadlie hatred heir of Wigtowne, Roxburghe, and Johnstowne, and your awin name mutche bleameit. Scho onlie stayeis in this towne vpon this answer."[1] Notwithstanding this appeal from the family law-agent, the match was not completed. The lady did not long survive, as appears from a letter from the law-agent to the Laird, intimating that "your maisteres Ladie Jeane Fleyming is departit this lyf in my Lord Jonstounes hous off Newbie, the 21st of this instant."[2]

While James Grant was at Edinburgh for the funeral of his father, he entered into the arrangements with the Crown necessary to enable him to enter upon the estates. As he still was within a few months of being twenty-one years of age, the ward and non-entry of his lands might be gifted by the Crown until the entry of the heir, and to obviate inconvenience from this, James Grant secured the friendly intervention of John Earl of Kinghorn and Mungo Viscount of Stormont. With them as cautioners, on 4th April 1637 he entered into a bond for six thousand merks, which he borrowed from Sir John Hope of Craighall. For his own security the Earl of Kinghorn obtained the gift of the ward and non-entry of the lands of the late Sir John Grant of Freuchie, with the marriage of his heir,[3] but he assigned it to James Grant as soon as the sum in the bond was discharged. In the assignation the Earl of Kinghorn says:—"My name was allenerlie borrowit be the said James Grant, now of Frewquhy, to the foresaid gift to his awin behove," and only inserted therein for the relief of himself and the Viscount of Stormont as cautioners for James Grant in the bond, which he adds, "was maid and grantit for the compositioun of the said gift and no vther causes." James Grant, however, paid the money in November, and received the assignation shortly thereafter.[4]

Sometime previous to the latter date James Grant, being now of lawful age, had been retoured heir to his father,[5] and infeft in the

[1] Original Letter, dated 19th July 1637, at Castle Grant.

[2] Original Letter, James Gibson, Edinburgh, to James Grant of Freuchie, dated 27th December 1638, at Castle Grant. Newbie, near Annan, was one of the mansions of James, first Lord Johnstone. His mother, Sara Maxwell, married, as her second husband, John Earl of Wigton, and that connection accounts for the residence and death of Lady Jean Fleming at Newbie.

[3] Original Gift by King Charles the First, dated 4th April 1637, at Castle Grant.

[4] Original Assignation, dated 1st December 1637, *ibid.*

[5] Extract Retour, dated 28th July 1637, *ibid.*

lands held of the Crown in the counties of Elgin and Inverness.[1] Of the church lands in Strathspey he received infeftment in 1638, on a precept by John Bishop of Moray,[2] and in the following year his right to the possession of all the lands in his own person was completed by his infeftment on a precept from James Earl of Murray in the lands and lordship of Abernethy.[3]

The Covenanting struggle into which the country was at this time drifting, in the earlier stage of its development affected the Highlands more than any other part of the country, inasmuch as warfare and bloodshed were initiated in these regions. After the Lowlands had given in their adhesion to the Covenant, steps were taken to obtain the signatures of the Highland nobility and lairds, and among others James Grant of Freuchie signed the bond, but the Marquis of Huntly and a few others stood aloof. The first public appearance of the Laird in defence of the Covenant was at the conference between the Earls of Argyll and Montrose, Lord Couper, the Master of Forbes, and others, held at Perth on 14th March 1639.[4] From minute accounts of the income and expenditure of the Laird, dating from November 1637 to the end of 1640, or shortly after his marriage, his movements during this period can be traced. On the occasion of the conference he left home on the 11th March, and proceeding by Brechin and Glamis, reached Perth on the 13th. After spending three days in that town, he returned home by the same route. The Laird's departure to this meeting called forth a letter of warning from his brother-in-law, Sir Walter Innes of Balveny, whom he had employed to ask the Marquis of Huntly's assistance in a matter, the nature of which is not stated. Innes adhered to the Marquis, and in the letter indicated both his own and Huntly's regret at the side the Laird had chosen, and in particular that he had set out for this meeting, which had been discharged by the King, while its convener, the Earl of Argyll, was summoned to Court. Innes also informed the Laird that until the Marquis saw how he intended to act, he would not consider the

[1] Original Precepts and Instruments of Sasine, dated 25th October and 11th November 1637, at Castle Grant.

[2] Original Instrument of Sasine, dated 26th April 1638, *ibid.*

[3] Original Precept and Instrument of Sasine, dated 28th June and 31st July 1639, at Castle Grant.

[4] Spalding's Memorialls of the Trubles, vol. i. p. 143.

particular subject referred to, but that if, in returning home, he would come to Aberdeen and abandon his present line of conduct, he would find the Marquis unchanged in his friendship, and ready to act with him in the matter, in which case he was sure it would be "happilie effectuated."[1]

The Laird, however, did not see cause to withdraw his assistance from the Covenanting movement, and though he does not appear to have called at Aberdeen on the return journey, he paid a visit to it shortly afterwards, when it was occupied by the Covenanting army, and Huntly and his eldest son made prisoners. Spalding, recounting the entry of the Covenanting army into Aberdeen, mentions that almost every man had a blue ribbon hung about his neck, which was called the Covenanter's ribbon, and was worn by them in opposition to the red or "royall ribbin" worn by the Marquis of Huntly's followers on their hats. It is significant of the Laird's zeal in the cause he had adopted, that when in Aberdeen on this occasion he expended £7, 12s. 6d. in the purchase of "blew ribbans." He left Aberdeen and returned home on the 13th of April, when the army under Montrose, who was then an active Covenanter, after reducing the town to subjection to his party, vacated it.

A meeting of the Covenanting leaders to determine their future conduct was appointed to be held at Turriff on the 26th of April, and a considerable number of Highland magnates assembled, the Lairds of Innes and Freuchie coming out of Moray to be present. But as several of the more important leaders were absent, including the Earl Marischal, the Earl of Seaforth, Lord Fraser, and the Master of Forbes, the meeting adjourned to reassemble at the same place on the 20th of May following. This meeting, however, was prevented.

Montrose had placed the Marquis of Huntly and his eldest son under arrest and sent them to Edinburgh, but Lord Aboyne, Huntly's second son, at once took steps to carry forward the opposition begun by his father to the progress of the Covenanters. Having obtained intelligence of the intended meeting, and that some of the Covenanting lairds, with their men, were beginning to assemble at the rendezvous at Turriff a week before the day appointed, he resolved to strike a blow before the gathering had attained

[1] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 67.

To my worshipfull lord
and most loving Nurse

My Lord Earle
of Smolaton

My verie noble Lord

I wonder that I neither receaved answer nor advertisement from you since my last parting from you at Stirling: but nocht withstanding I directit this bearer to the Earle of Montrose I wold not omit to write to you by him that you may be informed how all things goeis: for all this North hyeris I haldin hym at Dalkeith and the Lowlandis and the most pairt of all the inhabitantis of the Landis ar weill affectionat to the Quenis Majestie: and I traist to God all sall be weill: I am adverteist that the Erle of Huntlie is cumin to Edinburgh to speik with the Quenis Majestie and my Lord Regent anent his cuming to court: I traist he sall find favour: I intend to be at Edinburgh the xv day of Junij instant: quhair I intend to remane

Yours assuredly
Patrick Lord Lindsay

5 of Junij
1593

its full strength. By a night march he succeeded in reaching Turriff, just as the dawn was breaking on the 14th of the month, and immediately set his forces in array for battle. The Covenanters, hastily aroused, did the same, but unable to stand before the fire of Aboyne's men, they turned and fled; and this, the first exchange of arms between the contending parties, obtained the derisive title of the "Trot of Turriff."[1] Aboyne took several prisoners, but did not follow up his success further than by plundering several of the Covenanting lairds' houses, and occupying Aberdeen.

The Laird of Freuchie was not present, and had no share in this engagement, but it threw the Covenanting lairds generally into some consternation, not knowing what steps Aboyne might take next. In his MS. History of Rose of Kilravock, Shaw says that on the 14th of May, after the Trot of Turriff, four thousand men met at Elgin under the Earl of Seaforth, the Master of Lovat, the Master of Reay, George, brother to the Earl of Sutherland, Sir James Sinclair of Murkle, the Laird of Grant, young Kilravock, the Sheriff of Moray, the Laird of Innes, the Tutor of Duffus, and others, who encamped at Speyside to keep the Gordons from entering Moray, and remained in their encampment until the pacification of Berwick was intimated to them, about the 22d of June.[2] In this position they lay for some time without instructions from the Covenanting leaders. Rumours of preparations by the Gordons for still more serious work, and of King Charles's approach to Berwick reached them, and in the perplexity of inactive suspense, the Laird addressed the following letter to his uncle, James Earl of Findlater, requesting any information, and his advice as to what should be done :—

Pitchaise, the 5 of Junij 1639.

MY WERIE NOBLE LORD,—I wonder that I newer receawit ane adwertisement from your Lordship since my last parting from yow at Glenshee: bot now hawing directit the bearer to the Earle of Montroise, I would not omit to wryt to your Lordship that yow may let me know how all things gois; for all this weik bygan, I hawe bein lyen at Balvenie, betwix the Lowlands and the Hielands, quhilk is the most dangerous place in all the countrey, if the feares wer as men apprehends, quhair I receiwit no adwertisment how to carie myself, nor quhat to doe. Quherfore I intreat your Lordship to let me hawe your best adwyse, and

[1] Spalding's Memorialls of the Trubles, vol. i. p. 186.
[2] Rose of Kilravock, p. 323.

informe me particularlie how all our effaires, both southe and northe, gois. Quhat farder I would say I remit it to the bearer. In the mean tyme I remain,

Your Lordship's affectionat nephew and humble serwand,

JAMES GRANT of Freuquhye.[1]

The Covenanting leaders were, however, by this time moving to action. Aboyne, still active against the Covenant, had betaken himself to Court, and at his request the King instructed the Marquis of Hamilton to give him reinforcements, but he only obtained some ships, with which he returned to Aberdeen. In his absence the Earl Marischal had been joined by Montrose at Dunnottar, and Aberdeen had been again restored to the possession of the Covenanting leaders, who thereafter made preparations for raising as great an army as possible. The following letter, signed by both Marischal and Montrose at Dunnottar, was at this time despatched to the anxious Laird :—

From Dunnottar, the 6 of June 1639.

HONORABLE AND LOUING COUSIN,—Wee exspected to haue seene yow, together with others of your countrey men, conveened there before your people had so summarily dissolued. Alwayes wee acknowledge it to be none of your fault (knowing your affection to the good of this cause), which yow haue euidenced now at this tyme, to ours and all good men's contentment. Howsoeuer, seeing wee haue ane meitting appoynted on Thursday and Fredday next, the thretteent and fourteent of this instant, on this syd of Spay, towards the bounds of Strabogge, for the recouerye of quhat has beene miserably miscarryed—these are to intreat yow earnestly to keep that dyett with such company as yow can make, that be your aduyse and concurrence such courses may be taken as shall tend to the preseruation of this cause, to the good and well of the countrey, and to our owne safetyes; which being confident yow will doe, we are,

Your most affectionat freinds,

MARISCHALL. MONTROSE.[2]

Immediately after this summons, the Laird received a letter from his granduncle, Patrick Earl of Tullibardine, who had declared for the King against the Covenanters. The Earl enclosed in his letter the King's last proclamation, and earnestly counselled the Laird yet to repent, though late, and submit himself to the King, with whom he was sure he would find favour, if he delayed not too long.[3] It is probable, however, that the Laird was not induced to alter his profession, and that he attended the conference at Strathbogie, though he does not appear to have supplied any

[1] Original Letter at Castle Grant. [2] Original Letter *ibid.* [3] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 68.

part of the forces under Montrose, or to have been present at the engagement between the latter and Aboyne at Stonehaven. This last encounter proved more disastrous for Aboyne than the Trot of Turriff did for the Covenanters, but the arrival of King Charles at Berwick, and the pacification which followed, restored harmony to the Highlands for a brief space.

The national troubles being thus allayed for the moment, the Laird turned his attention to domestic matters, and especially to the celebration of his marriage with Lady Mary Stewart, only daughter of James Earl of Murray, and his Countess, Lady Anne Gordon, eldest daughter of George, first Marquis of Huntly. From the letters written by Lady Mary Stewart before her marriage, it is evident that the courtship which preceded the marriage had extended over a considerable period, certainly from a time prior to the death of the Earl of Murray in August 1638, if not prior to Sir John Grant's death in the previous year. But the letters, being both undated and unsubscribed, give no clue to the precise time. The proposed marriage was opposed by the Earl of Murray, and after his death the lady's brother was of the same mind as his father, and refused his sanction. Lady Mary refers to her cousin, George Lord Gordon, as being in their confidence to further the marriage, and it is thus rendered probable that the letter written by the Laird to the Marquis of Huntly, after the outbreak of the civil contention, had reference to this matter, although, for the reason assigned, the Marquis refused to take it in hand. The ardent affection of Lady Mary surmounted all opposition. Her constancy to her lover is well expressed in the following letters:—

"Tho I be bared by absence from the confort of your wished sight, yit am I so confident of your constancie, that the only houp therof is a soueing meadisine to my greif. I haue writin to our cusine Master Georg to heastin his repaer hither, not doubting but the Lady my mother will lay doun ane present way to him quhou our bisines shall be motioned. I kno ther will be no let if our fatheris think us not to neir of kinread, bot many thowsandis haue beine mached that war in the sam degrie. For my aun part, let all the impedimentis hapin that fortun can dewyss, thay shall not all be abell to cheang me from yow or ty me to any uther, and sinc I last saw yow, I haue bein hardly seat upon, bot be the assistance of God and strenth of my unchangabell loue to yow, I haue giuin ane absolut repulss, asuring my father that I will quyt all that I cane cleam in this worlde befor I mach with any saue your self.

So that now the Lady haeth mead him content that it be spokin to my Lord, and if his Lordship be als weill pleased to deall kyndli and nobillie as he, I houp the bargaene shall not be tedius in making; bot let them part ther aun particullaris amongest them, I only crave your hart in excheang of myn, of which the quholl world, nor anything that can happine thairin, shall neuer be abell to beraue you, if yow do not, by infreinging your fath, forss me to break it in sunder, and so seperating my self from the loue of you and all the world; bot I will newer expect such sour froutes quhar I haue fond so sueit blossumes: and so will uphold my lyf with the assurence that yow will be as I haue awoued to continow, quhich is,

Unchangabilly yours.

"I troust this boldnes will not ofend yow, since it doth proseid from a most sinceir afection, nather can I imagine that your uther wertewis can lack so fit a companion as gratitud to mak up a perfect hermonie of all perfectionis. Do not, I beseich yow, ather doubt of my loyaltie, nor think that I haue rashly interprysed to win your favor, for as it is long since yow was the first in my hart, so haue I purcheased ther lyking to the bisines quho ar heir, and if your self betray not the confidence quhich I haue to find a reciprocall afection, I troust your parantis will, and may be als weill pleased as myn. I louk for sum houpfull answer, that I may the mor boldly atemp to win ther lyking; till quhan, and euer, I will unchangabillie remaen,

Absolutlie and only youris.

"Houbeit, in your ansuer to my last letter, I receaued no such satisfactione to my earnest demand as I expected, yett being werie confident of yowr wnchangable affectione and constant fawowr, I haue this oonce adwentured to plead at yowr hands for a better then the former. I perswad myself what did flou from yow was by constraint, quhilk macks me far from impuiting the least aspersion of ingratitude to zow, ore being any way suspicious of that sinceir loyaltie I know to be in you. I repose werie much in the bearers taciturnitie in keiping silence and his fidelitie in presenting these of myne to zow, and reporting yowrs againe to me, so that I hope ther shall be greatter secrecie then heirtofor heath bein. I expect for the best, and hops zow will not frustrat my long and patient expectation, but will returne me that quherin I may acqwiesce and rest content. In doing quherof yow will tye me now as formerlie to continow,

Absolutly and only yowrs.[1]

Having occasion, in April 1640, to go to England, James Earl of Murray, before leaving, established his sister Lady Mary in a house at Elgin. He "gave order," says Spalding, "for keiping of hir houss in honorabill maner. He gaue to hir the haill jewellis and goldsmith work belonging to hir defunct mother. He keipit her poiss[2] himself."[3] This was

[1] Original Letters at Castle Grant. [2] Treasure. [3] Memorialls of the Trubles, vol. i. p. 262.

an opportunity not to be neglected, and the Laird and Lady Mary went quietly about the preparations for their wedding. The household accounts record that the Laird, with servants and horses, was for several days together at Elgin, and that purchases were made of material for apparel to the Laird, among which are two payments of £14, 7s. 6d. and £8, 13s. 8d. for ribbons, the latter being expressly stated as having reference to the Laird's marriage. Then a payment of £13, 10s. to Pluscardine's servants at the "brydele," with disbursements for carcases of beef, mutton, and other viands, while some days afterwards Lady Pluscardine was repaid £43, 8s. 4d., which she had "depursit for sweit meattis, spyces, and ane karkaise of beef, the tyme of the Laird's mariage."[1]

The marriage appears to have been celebrated on the 24th or 25th of April 1640, neither the lady's brother nor any of her friends being present.[2] Previous to the marriage Lady Mary executed a deed, by which she conveyed to her "very honourable and trusty friend James Grant of Freuchie," who, she says, "hes wndertaken to doe and performe certane bussines and affaires tending to my honour," her right to the lands of Overlarust and Dalnazeild provided to her by her deceased father, James Earl of Murray. All the witnesses to this deed were Grants and servants to the Laird.[3] On the following day, the 24th April, and still before the marriage, the Laird granted a bond to Lady Mary Stewart with regard to her liferent portion. The marriage was celebrated by Mr. Gilbert Marshall, minister of Abernethy, who, for having performed the ceremony without proclamation, was suspended by the Synod of Moray "from his chairge for the space of three Sabbottis."[4]

Lady Mary's brother, James Earl of Murray, does not appear to have resented his sister's marriage without his consent, or if he did so at first, his displeasure soon gave place to a steady friendship towards the Laird, his brother-in-law. The marriage relations, so far as property was concerned, between the Laird and Lady Mary, his wife, were amicably adjusted with the Earl in a contract made between them at Forres on 19th

[1] Household Accounts at Castle Grant.

[2] Spalding's Memorialls of the Trubles, vol. i. p. 263.

[3] Original Assignation, dated 23d April 1640, at Castle Grant.

[4] Records of the Synod of Moray.

May 1643, in terms of an earlier minute of contract relative to the same subject. By this contract, both the bond granted at the marriage by the Laird and the minute referred to were implemented, and James Grant obliged himself to infeft his wife in liferent in certain of his lands able to yield an annual rent of sixty chalders, or, in money, three thousand merks: also to provide his estate to the eldest heir-male of the marriage, and make suitable provision for any daughters to be born. On the other hand, the Earl of Murray paid with his sister a tocher of twenty-two thousand pounds Scots, getting from the Laird a renunciation of the lands assigned to him at the marriage by Lady Mary Stewart.[1] The charter of Lady Mary's liferent lands was granted by the Laird the same day.[2]

This did not yet complete the marriage settlement, as in the obligation made by the Laird to his wife before their marriage, he had promised to give her twenty chalders of victual over and above the sixty now bestowed. To secure that this would be done, he granted formal letters of obligation a few days after the making of the contract,[3] and in 1648 he implemented it by granting to Lady Mary Stewart the lands of Lethindie and tower thereof, with other lands in Cromdale, the lands of Glenlochy, and the manor-place, tower, and fortalice of Freuchie or Ballachastell, all to be possessed by her if she survived her husband. In this charter, which is dated 30th November 1648, Freuchie is designated a palace (palatium).[4] These two charters were afterwards confirmed at Edinburgh in 1653, by the "keeperis of the libertie of England, by authoritie of Parliament."[5]

Towards the end of the year 1640, in which James Grant of Freuchie married Lady Mary Stewart, another marriage was celebrated in the family. This was the union of Kenneth Mackenzie of Gareloch with Annas, second daughter of Sir John Grant, and sister to the Laird. By his father's marriage-contract he was obliged to pay a tocher of five thousand pounds Scots with his sister.[6]

The Laird continued to maintain a steady adherence to the cove-

[1] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 456.

[2] Original Charter, dated 19th May 1643, at Castle Grant.

[3] 22d May 1643.

[4] Original Charter at Castle Grant.

[5] Charter of Confirmation, dated 13th December 1653, at Castle Grant.

[6] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 415; also Receipt and Discharge for full payment of the dowry of five thousand merks, dated 3d June 1643, *ibid.*

nanting cause, although, in doing so, he acted against the wishes of several of his relatives, including his own mother, who was at that time living on her liferent lands of Urquhart. In the month of July 1640, the Earl of Argyll had written to the Laird, requesting him to come to Edinburgh in the following month, as the Council meditated taking action with "the Braes," and would value his advice and assistance.[1] It does not appear that the Laird complied with the Earl's request, as there is no reference to such a journey in the Chamberlain's Accounts of expenditure for that period; but he was none the less zealous to have the Covenant subscribed in every part of his estates. He approached his mother to have the cause furthered in Urquhart, but she put him off with a mere verbal permission, and refused to give her written authority.[2] To a request also proffered by him, that she would permit the lands of Urquhart to be stented for men to be sent south, or give the Laird her written authority to do it himself, she also gave a refusal, as she had already given such authority to Major-General Monro, but she added, that if the Laird came to Urquhart, with the authority of the General or of the Tables, he might do what he pleased, without contradiction from her. Lady Grant also refused concurrence with her son's request, on the plea that she was not able, "in respect of many gryte harmes, iniureis, and oppressionis that my said sone hes done to me his mother vnnaturallie."[3]

Indeed, the relations between the Laird and his mother were somewhat strained, and had gone the length of mutual recrimination. The latter had complained of her son to one of the principal noblemen of the Covenanting party, and he had written admonishing the Laird, who replied in the following terms:—

My Lord,—I receavit your Lordship's letter, the contents quheirof sould be verie wnplesant to any Christiane, mutche lese to me, wpone whome it is conferrit verie wndeservitlie, for I think that all Covenanteris sould amend thair lyves, iff justlie we tak the contentis of the Covenant, and oath thairin contenit, to hart. And iff theis calumnies and wnjust aspertiones wer deservit by me, spokkine of by my mother to your Lordship against me, I think I sould not be worthie to be thocht participant to have the name of ane Covenanter. Bot all that I crave is that your Lordship wald direct ane warrand to sume nobilman or

[1] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 15. [2] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 231. [3] *Ibid.* p. 332.

gentilman in this countrey to convein ws befor thame, that I may be vindicat efter tryall fra sutche wnjust aspertiones. Remeid I crave non, in respect of the partie; but that your Lordship salbe spaireing in tyme coming to suffer your eares to be possest with wnwarrantable reportis but tryall, and iff wther wayes I be fund geiltie, I am content to be examplarlie punishit. I will intreat your Lordship to obey me in this reasonable suite, to the effect that I mey be the mor incuragit to goe one with yow in this warrantable and religious course for the preservatioune of our religioune, liberties, and estait, quhilk sall never till death be deficient in my part. I have obeyit your Lordship's last demands in taking service for the preservatioune of the gentrie of Morray fra the incursiounes of limmeris and vagabounds, and this part of my letter I remitt to the gentries owne letter. Soe, expecking your Lordship's answer, I rest, and ever sall approve myself to be,

Your Lordship's affectionat servant and freend.[1]

James Grant of Freuchie held several judicial appointments at this time. He was one of several justices commissioned for the suppression of broken men in the shire of Inverness, among the others appointed being James Earl of Murray, and Sir Robert Innes of that Ilk. Their duties included the trial of thieves, sorners, and robbers. The commission was remitted by the Estates to the Secret Council, with the declaration that whatever they enacted therein should have the validity of an Act of Parliament. This was one of the measures passed during the presence of King Charles the First in the Scottish Parliament, and is dated 16th November 1641.[2]

A meeting of this Commission is recorded by Spalding as being held at Elgin from the 10th to the 12th of August 1642. The sederunt was composed of the Marquis of Huntly, the Earl of Murray, the Lairds of Innes and Grant, the King's advocate, and others, and their principal object was to take order with the Clan Gregor, John Du Gar (one of the Macgregor leaders), and other "Hieland lymmaris," and their receivers. The robbers themselves did not assist in carrying out the programme, as they could not be laid hold of, but the commissioners cited the receivers of the "lawless lymmeris," and accused them of giving them meat, drink, and entertainment. They answered that the charge was true, because they durst not deny them entertainment for fear of their lives and spoiling of their goods. But, says Spalding, there was "no respect had to the good

[1] Original Draft Letter, undated, at Castle Grant.

[2] Acts of the Parliament of Scotland, vol. v. p. 714.

ressone of thir poor bodies, bot wes seveirlie fynit and pvnishit for thair recept, and thir rascall robberis them selffis left onpvnishit or onsocht for." [1]

The Laird was also appointed, on 15th August 1643, by the Estates of Parliament, one of the commissioners for the county of Elgin, in connection with the loan and tax raised to defray the expense of the Scots army sent to Ireland,[2] and he was twice placed by the same authority, in August 1643 and July 1644, on the Committees of War for the counties of Elgin and Nairn, a portion of Inverness-shire and Strathspey.[3] Of the commission over which Lord Balfour of Burghly presided, for the suppression of rebellion in the north, he was likewise a member,[4] as well as of the commission appointed in February 1645, for Inverness-shire, of which the duty was to furnish meal and other necessaries to the army, levied or to be levied for the public service.[5]

During the wars of Montrose, the Grant country was frequently the scene of contention, and suffered considerably in consequence. When the Estates of Scotland resolved to send an army south to assist the Parliament of England against King Charles, Montrose, who by this time had forsaken the Covenanters, and declared for the King, formed the scheme of raising an army of Highlanders, with which he proposed to reduce Scotland, or at least to compel the Estates to withdraw their army from England.

After the King had appointed Montrose his Viceroy and Lieutenant-Governor in Scotland, the latter brought down to Scotland a number of commissions, among which was one addressed to James Grant of Freuchie, appointing him Commissioner and Lieutenant within Moray, to preserve that district under the King's obedience, and commanding him to concur with the King's general or lieutenant-general of that kingdom. His actions were to be guided by the directions of the King's generals, or in their absence by that of George, Marquis of Huntly, his lieutenant-general, and he was prohibited from obeying or acknowledging any Privy Council, Committee, or pretended Convention of Estates or Parliament, without the King's authority.[6]

[1] Memorialls of the Trubles in Scotland, vol. ii. p. 176.

[2] Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. vi. part i. p. 28.

[3] Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. vi. part i. pp. 55, 203.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 175.

[5] *Ibid.* p. 344.

[6] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 7.

The Laird, however, was not yet disposed to forsake his adopted cause to serve the King, and about this time James Earl of Murray, as Colonel of the Moray regiment of horse and foot, appointed him his Lieutenant-Colonel,[1] at the same time making him a gift of the whole benefit, profit, and pay of his place as Colonel, except only the expense necessarily incurred for supporting the regiment.[2] The Earl of Murray is said to have been a Royalist at heart, but forbore to take any active part in the civil contention. On this occasion he had only returned on a short visit from the south. But before his departure, he left directions with the Laird to raise the whole of the men of his division, for, according to Spalding, Moray and Elgin were at this time in fear of a rising of the Gordons.[3] The Laird, at all events, called out the vassals of his brother-in-law, and they assembled at Elgin to the number of about one thousand horse and foot.

An important meeting of the covenanting leaders was held at Turriff on the 16th of May 1644, at which the Laird of Freuchie was present. The Estates were at this time supreme, and as at this meeting it was resolved to take order with those who were still recusant to the Covenant, the Marquis of Huntly betook himself for safety to Caithness. Montrose, however, was now commencing his campaign for the King. Having obtained reinforcements from Ireland, and been joined by the men of Athole, he obtained his first victory at Tippermoor, after which he took possession of Perth. Thence, proceeding by Dundee and the Mearns, he paid his third visit to Aberdeen, which, already twice taken by him for the Covenant, was now taken a third time in his new capacity as the great antagonist of the Covenant. After the capture of Aberdeen, he directed his progress to Strathbogie and Strathspey. Finding on his arrival at the Spey that the boats had all been withdrawn to the opposite bank, and that the men of Moray were prepared to dispute his crossing, Montrose encamped on the 18th of September, in the wood of Abernethy, and obtained shelter there from the Earl of Argyll, who was following in his rear. Seeing the position which Montrose had taken up, Argyll desisted from the pursuit, and returned to Aberdeen, whereupon Montrose removed

[1] Commission dated at Freuchie, 1st April 1644. Vol. iii. of this work, p. 236.

[2] Original Letter of Gift at Castle Grant.

[3] Memorialls of the Trubles, vol. ii. p. 323.

higher up the Spey to the woods of Rothiemurchus. Here, Spalding relates, he remained a while, and then proceeded still further up the Spey, and southwards into Athole, whence he returned again into the Mearns. No sooner, however, did Montrose leave Rothiemurchus than Argyll marched also upon the Spey, but the Moray men were not more disposed to give the army of the Estates a passage than that of the King, so the boats on the Spey were again removed, and the fords guarded. Argyll and some troopers crossed, but the foot-soldiers were sent up the Spey in the wake of Montrose.

From both armies the Grant country suffered severely, and for a time a second infliction seemed imminent, as the two armies, circling round by Aberdeen, passed up the Dee, and northwards again into Strathbogie. At last the two armies came into conflict, but Montrose, having entrenched himself in a wood, kept Argyll at bay until, after severe losses in skirmishes, the latter was obliged to retire again towards Aberdeen, in order to get support for his men. Apparently in consequence of this retreat, Colonel Lumsden and Sir James Campbell of Lawers, two of Argyll's commanders who had been stationed at Inverness, wrote to the Laird imputing blame to him that they had not been kept informed of the movements of Montrose; to which he replied that he was not to blame, as he had sent all the intelligence of the enemy's movements he could obtain to his cousin, the Laird of Moyness, as he had been desired to do. He added that he would be glad to hear from them respecting the movements of Alexander Macdonald, who was at the head of Montrose's Irish contingent. As for his own district, he states that the Highlanders were continually passing and repassing from Montrose's army to their homes, and that his people were in constant fear of being plundered.[1]

Indeed the Laird's country suffered as much from friend as from foe, for on Argyll, shortly after this, departing south, he sent a thousand of his men home into Argyllshire, who, says Spalding, in their passage through Strathspey and other districts, "plunderit pitifullie." Montrose, too, relieved for the time from Argyll's presence, towards the end of November again crossed the Grampians into Athole, and there recruited himself and his army.[2]

[1] Vol. ii. of this work, pp. 72, 73.

[2] Spalding's Memorialls of the Trubles, vol. ii. pp. 402-433.

In the midst of these civil tumults Lord Lewis Gordon, third son of the Marquis of Huntly, was married to the Laird of Freuchie's eldest sister, Mary Grant.[1] Under the date of November 1644, Spalding writes :— "About this tyme Lues Gordone, sone to the Lord Marques, is mareit to Mary Grant, dochter to vmquhill Schir Johne Grant of Freuchie, vtherwayes callit the Laird of Grant, by whome he gat 20,000 merks, as wes said."[2]

This marriage at first does not appear to have had the approbation of the Laird, who was for the time estranged from his cousins of the house of Gordon. His mother, at this juncture, made an effort to bring matters to a more conciliatory bearing, and perhaps she was partly successful. The following letter, which is undated, evidently has reference to this :—

HONORABELL AND BELOUED SONE,—The inclosed will sho yow the Markquiss of Huntly his respect to his sone, and his to yow as a brother. I beseich yow to mak good uss of both, and I troust in God yow shall find both honnor and content therby, for I will assur yow he doth so much resent your injurie that he resoluis, if your aun cariadg do not disoblidg him, to giue his best assistance to haue it repaered to the full. He wald gladly meit with yow ather in this place, or any uther that he can conueniantly com to. Bot your sister and I doth desyr that it should be heir, that our eieis may be witnesis to sie yow joyn lyk britherin in so just and nobill a causs, and euery on of yow to giue your best adwyss to uther as becomis yow, quhich shall be ane exseiding joy to

Your afectionat mother in all I may,

MARIE OGILUY.

Let thes present my best wishes to your lady and my baern.[3]

Of Lord Lewis Gordon it is told that, though only a young boy at school, under the care of his grandmother at the Bog of Geich (judging from the time of his marriage, he could scarcely be so young as has been supposed), on hearing of the dispersion of the Covenanters at the Trot of Turriff in 1639, he ran away from school and his guardian to the mountains, and returned at the head of a horde of Highlanders, which he had gathered in Strathdee, Braemar, Glenlivet, and Strathdon.[4] At a later period, after

[1] According to tradition, Lord Lewis Gordon was concealed for some time in a cave in a rocky glen about two miles from Castle Grant. To that hiding-place the Laird of Grant's sister Mary carried supplies for the fugitive, and her attentions led to their marriage. The cave is still called "Huntly's Cave."

[2] Spalding's Memorialls of the Trubles, vol. ii. p. 428.

[3] Original Letter at Castle Grant.

[4] Gordon's Scots Affairs, vol. ii. pp. 238, 261.

conveying money and jewels to his father at London, where he was attending Court,[1] Lord Lewis, on some disagreement, left his father and went to Holland, taking with him his father's valuables and jewels.[2] He returned about 1644, before Montrose had begun his campaign, and obtained a commission from his brother, Lord Gordon, as colonel in his regiment of infantry, serving under him at first against Montrose, but latterly both joined the Royalist cause when many of the barons in the north were submitting.[3] Lord Lewis Gordon succeeded his father as third Marquis of Huntly. His son, by Mary Grant, was George, fourth Marquis of Huntly, created Duke of Gordon, progenitor of the successive Dukes of Gordon.

By his father's contract of marriage the Laird of Freuchie was obliged to pay to the eldest daughter of that marriage the sum of ten thousand pounds Scots, or fifteen thousand merks, and this was all the tocher given by him with his sister, although Spalding states the current report that the tocher was twenty thousand merks. By a contract made in 1643, the Laird ratified to his sister the terms agreed to in their father's contract, at the same time borrowing from her the sum of five thousand merks, which, being added to the ten thousand pounds of tocher, made the twenty thousand merks erroneously reputed as the sum of the dowry. Neither of these sums was paid by the Laird at the time, and both the debts were, a few years later, assigned by Mary Grant and her husband, Lord Lewis Gordon, to Mr. Robert Gordon of Straloch, to whom the Laird occasionally paid the interest on the *cumulo* sum of twenty thousand merks.[4]

From this pleasing nuptial episode the Laird's attention was soon directed to matters of wider interest. After obtaining reinforcements, Montrose made a successful descent into the heart of Argyllshire, where he maintained himself for nearly three months. His crowning victory at Inverlochy, on 2d February 1645, virtually placed the Highlands at his mercy, and as refusals to submit were followed by Montrose with the remorseless execution of his commission of fire and sword, many of the barons and lairds judged it discreet to lay down their arms. The Laird

[1] Spalding's Memorialls of the Trubles, vol. i. p. 252.

[2] *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 6.

[3] *Ibid.* pp. 335-448.

[4] Original Contract between James Grant of Freuchie and Mary Grant, 13th June 1643; Extract Discharge by Mr. Robert Gordon of Straloch to James Grant of Freuchie, 31st July 1647, and other Discharges, at Castle Grant.

of Ballindalloch's three houses of Ballindalloch, Pitchaish, and Foyness, with the houses of Brodie, Innes, and Grangehill, had already been given to the flames, when, says Spalding, as Montrose was on his way to Elgin, the Laird of Grant, with some others, met him, and offered their service upon their parole, and great oath sworn to serve the king and him, his lieutenant, loyally. Montrose, he adds, received them graciously, and the Laird of Grant sent him three hundred men.[1]

It was at this time that Lord Gordon and his brother, Lord Lewis, attached themselves to Montrose, and they were speedily followed by the Earl of Seaforth, the Laird of Pluscardine, his brother, and others. Montrose remained a short time in the vicinity of Elgin, and was prevailed upon to spare that town from burning, but could not save it from being pillaged. His soldiers, says Spalding, especially the Laird of Grant's soldiers, plundered the town pitifully, and left nothing portable (tursabill) uncarried away, and "brak doun bedis, burdis, insicht, and plenishing." Montrose, he adds, left them at this work, and proceeded in the beginning of March towards the Bog of Gight with the main body of his army, taking with him the Earl of Seaforth, the Laird of Grant, and some of the other lairds who had submitted. Fearing, however, that after his absence the Covenanting garrison at Inverness would retaliate on those who had come in to him, he sent the Earl, the Laird of Grant, and the others, back to guard their own estates, after taking their oath to serve the King against his rebel subjects, and never to take up arms against His Majesty or his loyal subjects. They also gave their parole to come to the assistance of Montrose, with all their forces, on being summoned to do so.[2]

The Laird of Freuchie had represented to Montrose the losses which he and his clan had sustained by the passage of the armies through their country, and he obtained a promise of indemnity, and also an assurance that any lands taken from him by the Covenanting party would be restored if he continued faithful and loyal to the King's service.[3]

The fears entertained as to the course likely to be taken by the Covenanting troops at Inverness were not belied, for no sooner was Montrose at a safe distance than, says Spalding, there came parties from the regi-

[1] Memorialls of the Trubles, vol. ii. p. 447. [2] *Ibid.* pp. 449, 450. [3] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 237.

ments lying at Inverness to the place of Elchies, where the Laird of Grant was then dwelling, and pitifully plundered the same, sparing neither the lady's apparel nor jewellery, of which she had store. Other places were not spared, and the Laird of Pluscardine, with his brother the Laird of Lochslyne, were carried prisoners to Inverness.[1]

On this occasion the Laird received the following letter of encouragement from his mother, who, herself a considerable sufferer, as the letter shows, took a lively interest in the progress of events :—

Lesmor, the 2d of Apryl 1645.

HONORABILL AND DEIR SONE,— . . . Our piepill heir ar drawing to ane head, prepearing themselfis to follow your brother-in-law, quhom thay ar ordeaned to follow and obay by the Marquiss of Huntly as Liftenant of the North. We head word from him on Munday last, and loukis for him with ane troup of horss onis in the weik. Beylie with his gryt forsis reteired back on Fryday, and, as we ar informed, the Marquiss of Montross merched to Cortochie, quhar he incamped, and from thence your brother-in-law was to march north on Munday or Tysday.

I am sorie that nobill men should not be real, bot quhat lenitie heath spilt it may be ane inshewing storm will yit mortifie.

The Forbasis are prunsing up and doun in ther aun cuntri, and under troust heath takin the Laerd of Fetterneir, bot I troust ther neidis non to fear that standis upon ther geard, for a littill tym by Godis asistance will disperss all thes cloudis.

We ar not serten if the Marquiss of Muntross will return north, bot most thinkis he will.

Dispence with your goodis by way of caer for the loss of them, as I haue doon with myn, for in contience ther is not left me worth ane serwit to eat my meat on, yit think with me upon a way of repearation, and, er long, yow joyning with him quho is coming of purpus to aed yow, I beleiue in God that the Cristmas py quhich we haue unwillingly suallowed shall be payed houm at Easter. Quhow soon I ather sie my son-in-law, or heiris any serten word from the camp, I shall not feall to adwertiss yow. Meanquhyll be curagius, and remember still quhow both your mother and your self heath sufered, and be quhat part as you wald wish me to remaen,

Your louing mother in all I may,

MARIE OGILUY.[2]

The ill-treatment he received from his former friends influenced the Laird to continue in the new position he had assumed, and he took various ways to testify his earnestness. On a proclamation by Montrose to those inhabitants of Badenoch, Strathavon, Glenlivet, Glenrinnes, and Moray

[1] Memorialls of the Trubles, vol. ii. p. 450.

[2] Original Letter at Castle Grant.

generally, who had declared their attachment to the King's service, but had not yet risen in arms, desiring them to concur with the Laird of Grant upon all occasions of the appearance of an enemy,[1] the latter entered into a bond of combination with the principal of these, and all bound themselves by oath mutually to rise and defend each other against their enemies, distinct reference being made unto "theis, our enemies, now joned against His Majestie, our dread Soverane."[2] The Laird also assisted Montrose with men, of whom, however, it must be said that not only did they not maintain their chief's credit, but exposed him to the reflections of Montrose at different times during the campaign.[3] Writing to the Laird from Kintore, on 14th March 1645, Montrose complained that not only were the Laird's men "bade and feu . . . lyke to Jacob's dayes," but they had also all played the runaway. None of them appear to have been with him in the following April when he stormed the town of Dundee, for immediately after that event, he wrote requesting the Laird to send all the men he possibly could to him, as a party of the Covenanting army, under Colonels Hurry and Baillie, were pressing him. He adds confidently this post-script, "Remember my service to your lady, and show her that in few days we shall repair her wrong," with evident allusion to the spoiling of Elchies.

Strathspey was frequently the resort of Montrose after his defeat at Philiphaugh, near Selkirk, at the hands of General David Leslie, when he returned to the Highlands, and acted in concert with Huntly. On the last day of 1645 he wrote from Ballachastell, presumably to that nobleman, with reference to the renewed submission of the Earl of Seaforth, who had broken his engagement to Montrose, but was now again suing for acceptance.[4] The Laird, however, appears to have been losing heart in the Royalist cause, the best proof of which is Montrose's repeated expressions of disappointment and dissatisfaction at not receiving any adequate support, and the conduct of the Strathspey men added to this, as they were again playing the runaway. So wrote Montrose from Castle Stewart in April 1646, pressing the Laird personally to appear and manifest his

[1] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 15.
[2] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 238.
[3] Vol. ii. of this work, pp. 16-18, 80.
[4] Napier's Memoirs of Montrose, vol. ii. pp. 621, 622.

loyalty, while Huntly urged upon him the same cause. The Laird of Pluscardine also at this time became a pleader of the King's claims with the Laird of Freuchie, and so did George Earl of Seaforth in the following month when the entreaties and commands of Montrose, now in camp at Inverness, were resumed.[1] Perhaps the Laird's unwillingness was not even then overcome, as by a commission from the Marquis of Huntly, Lord Lewis Gordon was afterwards empowered to levy all the fencible men between the ages of sixteen and sixty on the lands of Cromdale, Tulloch, Riemore, and Glenlochy, pertaining to Dame Mary Ogilvie, Dowager Lady Grant.[2]

While matters thus stood in the north, Charles the First had placed himself, after the battle of Naseby, in the hands of the Covenanters at Southwell, and, at their request, instructed Montrose to cease all hostile measures, disband his forces, and retire at once abroad. Montrose received the unwelcome missive, and wrote his answer thereto from Strathspey, on 2d June 1646.[3] Subsequently, however, the Laird appears to have sent renewed testimonies of loyalty and offers of service, by the Earl of Crawford, to Queen Henrietta Maria and Prince Charles, both of whom were then at St. Germains, and he received grateful letters from both Queen and Prince.[4]

From Major-General Middleton, who was then military commander for the Estates in the north of Scotland, the Laird of Freuchie, with his friends and tenants, among many others, in the beginning of 1647, received a remission for the part they had taken with Montrose.[5] With General Middleton the Laird appears to have been on friendly terms, and, in a letter, he craved pardon for any offence given at their last parting, and offers his service, to the hazard of life and fortune. He also requested that when the Major-General spoke to the Lieutenant-General (probably Leslie) he would remember his cannon.[6]

The Laird had also to deal with the Kirk about the part he had taken with Montrose. In October 1647 he was reported to the Synod of Moray "for his compliance with the enemie;" but he did not appear at the

[1] Vol. ii. of this work, pp. 77, 80.

[2] Original Warrant and Commission, dated 9th and 17th May 1646, at Castle Grant.

[3] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 81.

[4] *Ibid.* pp. 8, 9.

[5] Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. vi. part i. p. 670.

[6] Copy Letter, dated 6th February 1648, at Castle Grant.

meeting of Synod to which he was cited, having to be at Inverness on "great affaires." His satisfaction was "to be enquired at the Commissione of the Kirk." Two years later, in October 1649, the Moderator of Synod was "to write effectuallie to the Laird of Grant that he may pay the ministers in his bounds tymouslie."[1]

The Laird of Freuchie took no part in the engagement for the deliverance of King Charles the First. A letter from George Stirling at Tullibardine, dated 20th December 1648, seems to imply that the Laird was suspected of sympathy with the movement. The writer informs the Laird that the Parliament was to meet on the 4th of January, and would cite all "greatt men" to find caution for their good behaviour, instancing Lord Home and others. He adds, "and I doe nott think but ye wilbe ane also; for Seaforth, Sir James Makdonald, and M'Leud, wilbe all citted." But this evidently refers to the means taken to secure unanimity in Parliament and peace to the country, which were expressed in the bond of caution drawn up on 26th January 1649. The writer of the letter further advises the Laird to put out his men and pay the maintenance according to the order by the Committee of Estates; as all things were ruled by Argyll, the Chancellor, Lothian, Warriston, and others.[2]

This refers to the fact that the Laird of Freuchie had been appointed by the Committee of war for his county to furnish a levy of twenty-three men to the Marquis of Argyll's regiment. Aggrieved at the imposition, especially after his district had suffered so much during the recent struggles, the Laird wrote to Argyll, but in the meantime, having refused to pay more than he considered ought to be his share, troops had been quartered upon his lands of Knockando.[3] In his reply Argyll complimented him on having kept himself so free in the late unlawful engagement, and offered to purchase a discharge from the commander of the regiment if the Laird would send him forty pounds for each man.[4] The Laird preferred to pay the money, and a discharge was granted by Argyll for nine hundred and twenty pounds Scots.[5]

[1] Records of the Synod of Moray.

[2] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 83.

[3] Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 242, 243.

[4] Letter, dated 1st February 1649, vol. ii. of this work, p. 17.

[5] Original Discharge, dated 18th June 1649, at Castle Grant.

The last attempt made by Montrose to restore the Royalist cause by arms, and to avenge the death of King Charles the First, led to yet another Highland insurrection beside those which had already so perplexed the peace-loving Lairds in the north. Evidently to co-operate with the Royalist General, a party was formed in Moray, composed of Thomas Mackenzie of Pluscardine, Sir Thomas Urquhart of Cromartie, Colonel John Munro of Lumlair, and Colonel Hugh Fraser, who, in the latter end of February 1649, took possession of the town of Inverness, expelled the garrison, and razed the walls and fortifications.[1] The Laird was in no way concerned in the rising, although it would appear one of his brothers was implicated, which gave occasion to General David Leslie, then in Huntly's territory, to write to the Laird to persuade his brother to withdraw from the rash enterprise.[2] Rumour, however, connected the Laird with the plot, as one correspondent, John Cumming of Relugas, informed him of a report in the low country (of Moray) that the Earl of Murray had arrived at Ballachastell to join the insurgents, and that Montrose was lurking in the country to raise the Highlanders. He deplores the stir at a time when there was hope of agreement with King Charles the Second, and when there was a fair call for all to go and "revenge the violent death of our late king, nobles, and commanderis, one those perfidius sectaries in England," and desires counsel from the Laird.[3] In his reply the Laird says of the insurgents, "Truly I know not their intentiones, naither am I priwie to them, and I am sorie of their raishnes, being ignorand of their wayes. For my owin pairt, I resolue (God willing) to keip Kirk, King, and Stait be the hand, to quhom I wishe a suddent happie agreement."[4] The rising, however, was speedily suppressed by Generals Leslie and Middleton before Montrose's expedition reached Scotland.[5]

Amidst these national disorders local interests, although they could not but suffer much, were not overlooked by the Laird. In consideration of the "great abuse and disorder of the country," steps were taken to appoint committees or courts of order in each parish, and at a meeting held

[1] Dr. Browne's History of the Highlands, vol. ii. p. 26.

[2] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 18.

[3] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 85.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 86.

[5] Dr. Browne's History of the Highlands, vol. ii. p. 29.

at Freuchie on 23d June 1649 a court of eight justices of the peace was formed for the parish of Inverallan, and with its convener, Patrick Grant of Tullochgorm, was empowered by the Laird to create officers and servants, and preserve, by the enforcement of the laws, the peace of the district.[1] No doubt the other parishes were similarly dealt with.

When King Charles the Second, at the request of the Scottish nation, arrived from Holland, he landed at Speymouth, in Moray, whither there can be little doubt the Laird of Freuchie, with the neighbouring barons, would hasten to pay his respects to royalty. Sometime after the King's arrival in Scotland, the Laird was appointed colonel of infantry to be levied in Moray and Nairn, and the Laird's own lands. These levies were made in January 1651, to raise an army which might oppose the progress of Cromwell into Scotland, the rendezvous for the Laird's "haill name and freinds" being at Ballintome, on the 28th of that month. Another levy was ordered, apparently in connection with the ill-fated expedition of King Charles the Second to Worcester, in July 1651, when the Laird, being required "to bring furth his kinsmen and freinds for the present expeditione, with 40 dayes loan," received, on 20th March 1651, a warrant from the Earl of Middleton discharging all commissaries and collectors from uplifting from the Laird's lands any victual of the "eight months mantinance appoynted to be raisit since Febrwar preceiding the deit of the said warrand."[2] In these cases the Laird appears to have handed over the command of the levies, of which he had been appointed colonel, to his brother Patrick, appointing him lieutenant-colonel, and by the latter a discharge was granted on 2d June of the same year to the Laird for £1260, as forty days' loan for seven score soldiers delivered to him.[3]

During the occupation of Scotland by the troops of the English Commonwealth, under General Monck, the country enjoyed a greater measure of tranquillity. For a portion of the time, at least, there was a garrison stationed in Ballachastell,[4] but the Laird and his tenants were permitted by Monck to retain their arms for defensive purposes, and he

[1] Note of Proceedings at Castle Grant.

[2] Information for the Laird of Grant, dated 1663, *ibid.*

[3] Original Discharge, at Castle Grant.

[4] Diary of the Laird of Brodie, p. 122.

was also allowed to have six horses and his breeding mares above the value prescribed by law—privileges only secured by the Laird's entering into bonds for large sums for the peaceable behaviour of himself and tenants.[1]

During this period of quiet, the Laird had opportunity of settling his own private affairs and nursing the Grant estates, which were considerably burdened when he succeeded in 1637. Lady Lilias Murray survived until 1643, apparently residing with her grandson in the Castle of Freuchie, while the Laird's own mother enjoyed a considerable jointure, and had her residence for a time in the Castle of Urquhart, but appears to have been obliged to leave it during the civil war. In addition to this, Sir John Grant had left behind him several personal debts which became a burden to his executry, and there was also entailed upon the estate the providing of the marriage-portions of three daughters. The maintenance and education of the six younger brothers of the Laird likewise devolved upon him, or at least was shared by him with his mother; and this duty he faithfully discharged, according to entries in his household accounts during the period for which they are extant. The troubles of the times, too, with all the losses and harassment consequent on the passing and repassing of troops, who, in point of fact, were mere bands of raiders, as they freely helped themselves to what they required, with the taxations imposed from time to time by those in power for the moment, all tended to make the Laird's task of maintaining his position one of unusual difficulty. From the very nature of the case his rents and revenue could not be secure, and yet, as will afterwards be seen, he endeavoured to retrieve the fortunes of the estates. In these circumstances, it can scarcely be attributed as a fault to the Laird if on account of his inability to make adequate provisions for his brothers and sisters, misunderstandings should have arisen in the family.

It was so even between the Laird and his mother respecting the estates. In 1644, in return for a sum of money paid to her by the Laird, Dame Marie Ogilvie renounced in his favour her liferent interest in the lands provided to her in the barony of Mulben,[2] but a few days later the

[1] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 244.

[2] Extract Instrument of Resignation dated at Forres, 7th June 1644, at Castle Grant.

Earl of Seaforth was engaged in endeavouring to make a reconciliation between the Laird and his mother, and from the terms of a letter by the Earl to the Laird, it might be inferred that the renunciation had been pressed upon her sorely against her inclination. Lord Seaforth tells the Laird that he found her ladyship very ill-pleased with their determination. On urging to know her reasons, she stated many, but he would only repeat one, that "shoe intended to haw prouyded some of hir vnprouyded childrene by sequestrating that proportione of hir conjunctfie to their behoues," and that she found it necessary to look after her own interest, since her son neglected taking steps against those who wronged her. Lord Seaforth adds that it was only after prolonged debate that he persuaded her to receive the money, and that on his own persuasion of the Laird's affection to behave himself as "ane respectous sonne," he promised on his behalf that he (the Laird) would "studdie by all means to prouyde the children according to your power," and also would take measures against those who wronged her, as the Tutor of Glenmoriston and young Struie, and concluded by expressing his confidence that the Laird would disappoint neither his promises nor his expectations.[1] To this the Laird replied that although his mother was first complainer, she was also the first to injure, by causing an inhibition to be served against him, greatly to his detriment, which was only prevented by the help of "God and good friends." But he adds that, by the grace of God, he would not frustrate the Earl's expectations of him.[2]

Marie Ogilvie, Lady Grant, appears, indeed, to have been driven out of Urquhart by those who oppressed her, and there was no improvement in her condition two years later, when she wrote from Rothes, gently chiding her son for his tardiness in revenging her quarrel. She expressed her concern for her castle in this letter,[3] and also in another written from the same place four days later, informing the Laird that one of his men was a prisoner in Rothes, in which she says, "I allwayis knew the men of Urquhart to be knauis, and houpis er long to mak them sufer for it, bot I beseich yow to have caer of the houss till yow ather meit with me, or kno

[1] Original Letter, dated 17th June 1644, at Castle Grant.

[2] Draft Letter at Castle Grant.

[3] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 81.

my farder intention."[1] In these times it could be no easy matter to obtain redress, and, so far as the Laird's mother was concerned, there appears to have been none, for a year later, when Marie Ogilvie, Lady Grant, was dead, and the lands and castle of Urquhart had reverted to the Laird, he sent several of his friends from Strathspey with a notary to take an exact inventory of the actual contents of the castle. The report to the Laird was that the "haill plenisching" in the castle and houses belonging to it, did not exceed the value of twenty pounds Scots.[2] This step was taken to secure the Laird, as the natural intromitter with his deceased mother's effects, from any claim being made upon him for what had never come into his possession, and it was prudent, as an action was afterwards raised against the Laird, for payment of certain debts, by Alexander Innes of Borlum, formerly of Oldmills, who had in 1652 obtained himself confirmed as executor *qua* creditor to the deceased Marie Ogilvie. But this evidence of the condition of Urquhart bears out what, in a letter already printed, the Laird's mother says had befallen her, that not so much as a table-napkin had been left her on which to eat her meat.[3]

To implement his engagements made in regard to provisions for his younger brothers, the Laird made arrangements with them separately. With the brother next to himself in age, Patrick, commonly known as Lieutenant-Colonel Patrick Grant, he made an agreement on the 20th March 1651, shortly before the departure of King Charles the Second's expedition to Worcester. After narrating that no provision had been made for his brother by their deceased parents, and that no portion fell to him by their death, the Laird promised to grant a bond for eight thousand merks in favour of his brother and his lawful heirs, male or female. At the making of the bond, Patrick Grant was to grant a discharge for three thousand merks, and the remaining five thousand were to be paid before Whitsunday 1656. In the event of Patrick's death without lawful heirs, the money was to revert to the Laird. It was further agreed that if Patrick returned safe from the present expedition, on which

[1] Original Letter, dated Rothes, 12th June 1646, at Castle Grant.

[2] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 341.

[3] Original Summons, Alexander Innes *v.* Laird of Grant, with answers for the Laird, 12th December 1654, at Castle Grant.

he was going as his brother's Lieutenant-Colonel, and took up his abode at home, and the Laird appointed him bailie of his lands of Urquhart and Corriemony, then he would receive such reward and fee for his services therein as was formerly allowed the Tutor of Glenmoriston or James Grant of Auchterblair.[1] Lieutenant-Colonel Patrick Grant some years afterwards obtained a lease from the Laird of the lands of Auchahangen for seven years, without payment of the usual grassum, but obliged himself, under a penalty of five hundred merks, to remove at the expiry of the seven years without any legal process, unless the Laird pleased to grant him a renewal of the lease.[2] Ere the expiry of that period, however, the Lieutenant-Colonel had become Tutor of Grant.

To a still younger brother, Robert, who died before August 1653, the Laird, on the testimony of several of the members of the family, acted a liberal part,[3] the particulars of which have not been ascertained.

Mungo Grant, who, in 1654, is called fifth lawful son surviving to the deceased Sir John Grant of Freuchie, received in that year from his brother the Laird a five years' lease of the lands of Lettoch, which he thankfully acknowledges, in a formal discharge, as complete satisfaction for any natural portion or "bairnes pairt of guids" he might claim, "although," he adds, "I had no legall tytill or clame against him."[4]

George Grant apparently elected to go into the army, and was probably provided with a commission by the Laird. He held the rank of major. Thomas, the youngest brother, does not appear as having been provided for, but, after his brother's death, he was appointed chamberlain of Urquhart, and lived at Balmacaan.

The only brother of the Laird who seems to have felt dissatisfied with the provision assigned to him was Alexander. He had been placed by the Laird in the Mains of Mulben and other lands, but notwithstanding strong opposition by the other members of the family, who, in a testificate to the liberality shown in their settlements,[5] called their brother Alex-

[1] Original Minute of Agreement at Castle Grant.

[2] Original Bond by Lieutenant-Colonel Patrick Grant, dated 12th April 1659, *ibid.*

[3] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 343.

[4] Original Discharge, dated [15th] March 1654, at Castle Grant.

[5] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 342.

ander's conduct unnatural and unkind, he instituted legal proceedings before Cromwell's Commissioners against the Laird.

In his libel Alexander Grant set forth that by the sudden death of Sir John Grant at Edinburgh, without making provision for his younger children, "ane great hudge estait of aboone twentie thousand pounds be zeir," besides moveables, and woods "worth a great deall of money," had fallen into the sole possession of James Grant, his eldest brother, who refused to settle any portion thereof upon the pursuer. The latter was therefore, "throw extream indigence . . . redacted to the extreamest ebbe of necessitie (that word necessitie, male sucida fames et turpis egestas, being on of the creuelest thingis that can fall upon mankynd in this life)." He pleaded that by reason of primogeniture, the eldest son was by the law, both of God and man, entitled to no more than a double portion of the parent's estate, and petitioned the Commissioners to ordain the Laird to bestow a portion of his means on the pursuer suitable to his birth and quality. The Commissioners appointed the cause to be heard on 10th June 1653.[1]

The Laird's defence consisted of a correct representation of facts concerning the estate, and his relations with his brother, and a review of the principles on which his brother sought to establish his right to share the estate with the Laird. As to the former, the Commissioners were assured that at the time of Sir John Grant's death the rental of his estate did not amount to half of what had been alleged, while the estates themselves were not only affected with the liferents of the Laird's mother and grandmother, but were so overwhelmed with debt that after the public burdens and the annual interest on these debts were paid, the Laird had not a competency to live upon, and was only assisted through by money which he had received with his wife. The woods on the estate, as the whole country and the pursuer himself knew, had been sold by their father, and the value of the moveables was insufficient to meet the interest of the debts. Towards the pursuer and his other brothers and sisters he had acted in an affectionate manner, entertaining them since their father's death. The pursuer had been supplied with farms and lands at a

[1] Copy Summons, dated 10th February 1653, at Castle Grant.

nominal rent, and so far was he from being in necessitous circumstances, that it was known "he doth leive weill and plentifulie, . . . being so full of substance he hes risin vp to play pranks of opressioun and violence." As instances of this, it was stated that on the Laird being compelled, in discharge of a debt for which he was pressed, to sell the lands of Kinminitie to James Sutherland, Tutor of Duffus, Alexander Grant shot at the Tutor with a pistol, with intent to deter him from the bargain. For this act Alexander Grant was summoned by the Tutor of Duffus before the Commissioners, but through the interposition of friends the process was departed from.[1] Besides this a number of widows who had been continued by the Laird in the possession of farms formerly held by their husbands in the vicinity of Mulben, complained to the Laird of his brother's exactions of herezelds and daily service to which he had not the slightest title of right,[2] on account of which the Laird had obtained a writ of law-burrows against his brother.

But these statements were made only for the information of the commissioners. The Laird's counsel based his case rather on the principles of law and equity involved, and after hearing the pleadings *hinc inde*, the commissioners advised parties to endeavour a settlement of the case through friends. They agreed to this, and Alexander Grant nominated Alexander Lord Duffus and Alexander Ogilvie of Kempcairne, the Laird choosing James Earl of Findlater and John Grant of Ballindalloch. To these four friends, the commissioners gave authority to meet on a certain day at Elgin, hear the case, and report their decision, unless they succeeded in making an agreement between the parties. The decision of the four arbiters was adverse to Alexander Grant, but refusing to be satisfied, he addressed a supplication to the commissioners impugning their award. The commissioners, however, sustained the award of the arbiters, and assoilzied the Laird.[3]

The Laird was not present in Edinburgh when the decision was given, but was informed of it by his law-agent, who intimated that the judgment

[1] Copy Apology and Obligation by Alexander Grant to James Sutherland of Kinminitie, at Castle Grant.

[2] Copy Petition by four widows in Mulben to the Laird, at Castle Grant.

[3] Extract Decreet, dated 6th December 1653, *ibid.*

had not only affected the Laird, but other families. He wrote, "The Marquis of Huntlies brother, callit Lord Charles, come heir that same verie day ye got your decreit, fraughtit with imploymentis from ye Boige to ye lyk purpos, bot he or vtheris that intends that way hes ane cold comfort."[1]

As Alexander Grant continued to possess the Mains of Mulben, it may be inferred that the Laird was not disposed to resent this action of his brother, yet the latter did not cease from troubling. The Laird lent him one thousand four hundred and eighty merks in 1657,[2] but appears to have been glad, in 1662, to cancel not only this debt but also several feu-duties, and every other claim he had upon his brother, on condition that Alexander would remove from the lands which he held in Mulben. The agreement was made at Forres on 8th January 1662. Alexander thereby became bound to remove before the 24th of that month, or forfeit the benefit of the cancellation.[3] A notarial instrument, dated the 25th January 1662, narrates that on that day John Gregorie in Kyntra appeared at Mulben as the Laird's procurator, bearing in his hands this condescendence, and requiring its fulfilment. Whereupon Alexander Grant immediately passed to the mill, turned out the millers, and gave the Laird's procurator possession of the mill. The tenants' houses were then successively visited, the tenants ejected, and informed by Alexander Grant that they were no longer his servants, and had nothing more to do with him, save to pay him what they owed to him, and that now they were the tenants of the Laird of Grant. A visit to the barn-yards followed, where the horses and cattle were turned out, such doors as were fitted with locks were locked, others fastened with pins, and the keys delivered up; and finally, the dwelling-house, with outhouses, were cleared of their inhabitants, leaving only some furniture therein which could not be so readily removed, and the keys made over to the procurator. Alexander Grant then took instruments in the notary's hands that he had fulfilled his part of the condescendence, and the procurator lit a fire in the hall in the name of the Laird of Grant, and intimated that Alexander

[1] Original Letter, George Stewart to James Grant of Freuchie, dated 6th December 1653, at Castle Grant.

[2] Extract Bond by Alexander Grant to James Grant of Freuchie, dated 20th May 1657, registered 2d August 1661, at Castle Grant.

[3] Copy of Condescendence, *ibid.*

Grant had denuded himself of the property. A separate notarial statement appended shows that, at the same time, the Laird's procurator required Alexander to subscribe two papers sent from the Laird, and also to hand over to the Laird a bond by the deceased John Grant of Dandaleith, all which were refused, as forming no part of the requirements of the condescendence.[1]

Alexander Grant, it is to be feared, only complied with the terms of the condescendence for the moment to obtain the benefit of the discharge thereby conferred, for no sooner had the Laird's procurator departed than he reinstated himself in possession. This alone can explain the statement in the Laird's will, that if his brother Alexander paid the last two years' ordinary duty of the lands he had violently taken possession of, namely, for 1662 and 1663, and also for 1664, he should be discharged of any further claim the Laird could make against him, provided he removed peaceably without further process, before the ensuing term of Whitsunday; if not, he was to be "pursued to the riggor as accordis."[2]

That the lands referred to were those of Mulben is manifest from another notarial document, which narrates that the Laird instructed William Moir, his chamberlain in the lands of Mulben and others, to assemble the tenants of these lands, with their ploughs and horses, to labour, sow, and harrow as much of the town and mains of Mulben as could be done without their own loss, and also to go immediately and sow such red land as was already laboured. Taking a notary and witnesses with him, the chamberlain proceeded to a field of red land on the mains of Mulben, with a sowing sheet about his neck and a supply of corn. As he was entering and beginning to sow, Alexander Grant in Mulben demanded his authority and warrant for coming prepared to sow that land. The chamberlain produced his warrant, and requested the notary to read it, when Alexander Grant declared he would not permit him or any man, in the Laird of Grant's name, to sow that land until all things "in the condition" were performed, both by word and writ, and especially till every one of the papers against him in the Laird of Grant's hands were delivered up to him to be cancelled,

[1] Notarial Instrument at Castle Grant.

[2] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 353.

or otherwise disposed of at his pleasure. On the chamberlain attempting to proceed with the sowing, Alexander Grant "pluckit the forsaid saveing sheit from his neck, and comandit him to pass and sawe no mor till that he don quhich is aforsaid." The chamberlain therefore desisted, and protested that the discharge and condescendence made between the Laird and Alexander Grant should be null. Alexander answered in reply that he was most willing to perform whatever of the condescendence was not yet performed, and that nothing ought to be null till their friends had considered the matter, and till the servants were satisfied for their services.[1]

As opposed to the discontent displayed by Alexander Grant, the Laird received from his other brothers and unmarried sister a testimony of his kindness towards them. It was evoked by the conduct of their brother Alexander, whose views of his own ill-treatment they not only did not share, but strongly reprobated. As for his sisters, they said, he had matched two,[2] and their marriages have been already adverted to. The third, Lilias, was not married until after her brother's death, but he bequeathed her portion of five thousand pounds in his will.[3]

In this Laird's time, much was done to consolidate the Grant estates, and to establish them more firmly in the possession of the family. His increase of the system of wadsetting, introduced by his grandfather and father, was very limited indeed in the circumstances in which he was placed. He redeemed a number of previous wadsets, and let the lands afterwards on lease. Other wadsets he renewed on receiving payment of an additional sum of money which might be taken to represent the increased value of these lands. Among his new wadsets were those of Gartenmore in 1647, and Easter and Wester Daltulies or Balintomb in 1656, the latter being granted for fifteen thousand merks to Archibald Grant, great-grandson of Archibald, youngest son of James Grant, third Laird of Freuchie, who had obtained the lands from his father as a residence. A portion of Ballintomb had been wadset by the Laird to Archibald Grant for one thousand pounds in 1639.[4]

[1] Notarial Instrument dated at Delmaine, 13th March 1662, at Castle Grant.

[2] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 342.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 352.

[4] Household Account, 1639, at Castle Grant.

One of the replies made by Alexander Grant to the defences of the Laird in the law-plea between them was that he sold lands lying on the outskirts of the estates, or at a distance from Strathspey, and bought others in Strathspey. This was all done in pursuance of a purpose of the Laird in regard to his lands, as, from memoranda prepared by law-agents for his use, it is evident he intended preparing a new entail of the estates. Allusion is made to such a purpose in the Laird's marriage-contract, but in his time it was never carried into effect. Before he could carry out his intention he was obliged to establish himself in all the parts of the Grant possessions, and this was not wholly overtaken before his death, as unexpected difficulties arose in regard to some of the lands. The Inverallan dispute, which had raged so long and keenly in previous generations, but had been settled in an honourable and equitable manner by the Laird's grandfather, was reopened through an unjust claim by James Hay in Auchroisk, the representative of the Hays of Mayne. It was now, however, effectually closed by the Laird's paying to him the sum of over £1000 Scots to denude himself of all title he had to these lands. Wester Tulloch proved even a greater trouble. That davoch of land in Badenoch had been wadset by John Grant of Freuchie in 1593, but redeemed again, although, through some informality, the redemption had proved ineffective. After the Laird had disponed the land to a member of the Glenbeg family, Allan Grant, son of the tenant of Wester Tulloch, whose execution was noticed in the preceding memoir, made a claim to be infeft in the lands. The Laird refused, but Allan Grant obtained precept for his infeftment from Chancery, and could not be dispossessed. Ultimately the Laird compounded with Allan Grant for his right, by granting a bond for £666, 13s. 4d., but the amount was not paid until after the Laird's death.[1]

After some protracted dispute with the Grants of Glenmoriston, the Laird also acquired the lands of Wester Elchies and Kinchirdie, which had been granted by the Bishop of Moray to the Grants of Carron. For a time Wester Elchies was disponed in wadset by the Laird, and so was Kinchirdie. But afterwards the former was left by James Grant to his

[1] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 350.

younger son Patrick, who founded the second family of Grant of Wester Elchies, and the latter became the inheritance of Mungo Grant, the Laird's brother, who founded the family of the Grants of Kinchirdie, with its branches of Knockando, Gartinbeg, and Gellovie.

It was a considerable time after his marriage before a son was born to the Laird, and the references to the settlement of the estates on heirs-female, form the chief theme of the memoranda respecting the proposed entail. In the event of Lady Mary Stewart, Lady Grant, predeceasing her husband without leaving sons, and should the like result arise from a possible second, third, or fourth marriage which the Laird might contract, the daughters of Lady Mary Stewart were to succeed to the estates to the exclusion of daughters by subsequent marriages, portions only being provided to the latter. Precautions, however, were to be taken that the name of Grant alone should succeed to the estates, and provisions were to be devised regulating the marriage of the daughters, the solution pointed to being, that they should not marry at all without the consent of certain friends, or forfeit their right of succession. The friends suggested for this purpose were the Earls of Murray and Wemyss, and the Lairds of Innes, Ballindalloch, and Moyness.

The improvement of his Castle was also attended to by the Laird, who, in 1649, instructed masons and slaters to put it in repair.[1] The woods sold by the late Laird to Captain John Mason, were now being wrought on behalf of the Earls of Tullibardine and Portland, to whom Captain Mason had transferred his property therein. The woods appear, however, to have been much abused, and the abuses were the occasion of several letters between the Earl of Tullibardine and the Laird. The latter was also unwilling to permit a person of the name of M^{c}Gregor to act as the Earl's supervisor in the woods on his lands.

Having also the intellectual welfare of his people at heart, the Laird, with the ministers, heritors, and wadsetters of Strathspey, during the time of the Commonwealth, approached the authorities with a petition that the byrun stipends of the vacant parishes of Abernethy and Kincardine, with Glencarnie and Rothiemurchus, might be granted for the

[1] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 459.

erection of a school in the district.[1] The Council so far entertained the proposal that a commissioner was appointed to examine into the matter,[2] but it is not probable that the scheme was carried into effect, as the authorities had then matters of more serious import to engage their attention, and the Commonwealth shortly afterwards ceased to exist. In a lease of a portion of land to Mr. Gilbert Marshall, minister of Cromdale, for the term of his stay in that parish, the Laird states, as one of the inciting motives to the transaction, "the lowe I carie towards the propagatioun of the gospell."[3]

In an old manuscript of "Anecdotes anent the Family of Grant,"[4] several are told of this Laird. James Grant, it is related, was remarkable for his excessive good nature, and also for his great attachment to the Covenanters and their party. This brought upon the Laird the displeasure of his clan, and they went so far as to imprison him for a time in the Castle of Muckrach. Nothing corroborative of such a statement has been found among the authentic papers of the family.

The same may be said of another episode in this Laird's life for which the same manuscript is the sole authority. During the time of the Commonwealth, James Grant of Glenbeg raised a party in the Clan against the Laird. They drew up what was called "the Black Band of Clancheran," in which the Laird was charged with committing several irregularities, contrary to all law and government. Glenbeg and some of his associates took this band to Captain Hill, Governor of Badenoch and Ruthven, with a request that it should be forwarded to Cromwell. From the charges made, there was reason to fear that if the band reached the Protector, it would go ill with the Laird, but happily when the band was placed in the hands of Captain Hill, Duncan Macpherson, Laird of Cluny, was present, and, on learning the nature of the band, persuaded the Captain not to transmit it. The Laird was sent for and informed of the circumstances, and also of the danger he incurred if the charges should be proved. But on a promise being given by the Laird

[1] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 343.

[2] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 19.

[3] Original Lease, dated 25th February 1656, at Castle Grant.

[4] MS. at Castle Grant. The MS. bears no name, and the writer has not been ascertained. The handwriting is of the eighteenth century.

that he would not remove any of the Clan Cheran out of the country on account of this band during his lifetime, the Captain burnt the band and ended the matter. The same authority states that the son of James Grant, Laird Ludovick, afterwards banished all the Clan Cheran out of Strathspey, save one house, that of Dellachaple.[1]

The only document which indicates that the Laird stood at any time in fear of any of his people is a writ of lawburrows, issued in the name of Oliver Cromwell against Alexander Grant in Auchnarrows, Allan Grant his son, William Grant of Newtoun, Donald Grant his son, and John Grant of Gorton, with fifteen of other names in the same districts. It states that they daily molested the Laird's tenants, and his woods, destroyed his policies generally, and continually threatened and pursued the Laird himself, "awoing oppinlie to bereawe him of his lyiff."[2]

The Commonwealth was superseded in 1660, and in 1662 the inhabitants in the vicinity of Inverness were required to contribute to the demolition of the Sconce erected there by Cromwell's soldiers out of the materials of several religious houses, and called Oliver's Fort. The Laird and his wadsetters contributed a number of men to the work.[3]

After the Restoration, the Laird considered it prudent to have a friend at Court, and he accordingly addressed himself to the Earl of Rothes, with whom he hoped, as being feudally connected, he would be successful. The Earl replied, not only courteously, but warmly, promising his services in any emergency, and requesting the Laird to have a regard to Rothes in respect of the robbers abroad in the Highlands. The letters are here subjoined.

Bellintoum, 2 Maij 1660.

My Lord,—Your Lordship's laudable fame and deportment in theas tymes, togidder with the interest wherwith I am honoured in your Lordship, doth invite me singularlie to mak my addresse to your Lordship, entreating that I may hawe the favour of acceptance manifested by a corespondencie, quherby I may boldlie walk wnder your Lordshipis patronage. [I intended to haw gon south to haw made more particulare applicatioun, but being by werie pressing reasones restrained][4] I haw signified my mynd to the bearer, Bailzie Lechey, to quhom also I haw entrusted the returne off your Lordships commandis to me. In discharge quheroff, I sall not offerre to lenthen your Lordships trouble forder then to

[1] Original MS. at Castle Grant.

[2] Original Writ of Lawburrows, dated 9th July 1658, *ibid.*

[3] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 344.

[4] This sentence within brackets is scored through in the letter.

declare, that non salbe more willing nor readie and obedient then I, vho am, my Lord, your Lordships affectionat cousine and most humble servaunt, J. G.[1]

For the Richt Honorabill my noble Lord, the Earle of Rothes.

To which the Earl replied as follows :—

Bruntiland, May 12th, 1660.

I receaved the honor of your noble and civill expressiones in yours dated the 2d of this instant, which hes so deep ane impresion wpon me, as that I am not able by expression to hold out the dew sence I have theroff. But, I hoop, when opertunities of doeing yow service shall offer, that yee shall find aboundance off zeall in me, to hold out by my actions, the evedences of the great esteem I have off yow, both [illegible]our loyall affectioun to the publick interest, and for the wndeserved esteeme yow are pleased to have off me. I have so fully comunicated my thoghts to this bearer (my trustie frind), that I shall forbeare to multiplie lynns, to increase your trovbll, hoopeing that he will fathfully discharge that trust I have put wpon him. I have receaved a call to goe to his Majestie, and is this day on my jorney: And iff at any tyme ye haue ocation to lay your commands wpon me, ye may ashure your selff that none alive shall be mor readie in ther station to give cheirffull obedience then I shall bee, which I hoop ye will give so much creeditt to, as to doe me the justice and right off beliveinge me to be, that which my oun inclynations holdeth fwrth wnto me (which is) that I am, to the wtmost extent off my capasitie, your most fathffull humbell servantt,

ROTHES.

I hear ther is some broken men in the Highlands. I hoop ye will doe me the favor as to prevent quhat prejudice yow can to my interest in Rothes.

For the Right Honorable the Laird of Grantt—thes.[2]

Among these broken men in the Highlands was one called the "Halkit Stirk," who, in a letter addressed to the Laird by the Committee of Estates in August 1660, is expressly denounced. After enjoining the Laird generally to take steps to insure the preservation of the peace in his country, as he would be held responsible for any illegality perpetrated by his men and clan, the Committee add the following postscript:—"Sir, be pleased to take spetiall notice of Gavine Cuin, *alias* Halket Stirk, and vse all possible means to apprehend his person, and send him to the Comittee."[3]

The Laird succeeded in making the apprehension desired, and at once despatched his Chamberlain, James Grant of Auchernach, to Edinburgh, with the intelligence in a letter addressed to the Chancellor,[4] and a paper of instructions was given to him as to what he should demand on the

[1] Draft Letter at Castle Grant.
[2] Original Letter, *ibid.*
[3] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 20.
[4] Draft Letter at Castle Grant.

Laird's behalf from the Committee of Estates. He was to ask a warrant for the Laird's handing over the "Haukit Stirk" to the Sheriff of Banff at the kirk of Inveravon or Skirdustan, and to represent the danger in which the Laird and his country now stood on account of the apprehension from M°Ranald and all the tacksmen of the name of Macdonald in Lochaber. He was to request the Committee to take surety of M°Ranald and all the branches of his house, with the rest of the people of Lochaber, Glengarry, Badenoch, Rannoch, Glencoe, Glenlyon, Glengaule in Strathearn, and Strathnairn, that the Laird and all his kin and tenants should be skaithless, and in the meantime to direct letters to Glengarry and the Heritor of Glencoe, because the Haukit Stirk had many friends in these two places.

Other things embraced in the Laird's instructions to the Chamberlain were the case of certain refractory tenants who had refused their assistance in the apprehension of the Haukit Stirk; the obtaining of an order from the Committee to restrain the principal collectors of cess and excise from employing any sub-collectors who had been "enimies to the Laird and his cuntrey in tyme of the Inglishes;" inquiry as to what course should be taken with poachers and destroyers of woods; the renewal of the former commission; to ascertain the Laird's powers with regard to thieves taken in their first fault, and to obtain a general commission in the Laird's favour against sorners and broken men.

Besides these politic commissions, several of a domestic kind were also intrusted to the Chamberlain, as to agree with a baker, brewer, and cook, to "try for ane house" in Edinburgh, having five or six rooms, of which one should command a view of the street, and two or three go "ewen of without staires," with a cellar and a coalhouse. If this could not be had in the town, the chamberlain was to "try for it in the Canongat," and to see if two or three rooms could be had with "hingings." He was also to inquire if all sort of plenishing and bedding could be got on hire with the house, or otherwise if such could be hired in the town; to obtain the prices of sugar, "spyceries, and sweit meatts for ane house," with those of wine, vinegar, soap, candle, and starch (stiffine), and to bring home some flint stones and white Flanders pease.[1]

[1] Copy Instructions to James Grant of Auchernach, dated 30th September 1660, at Castle Grant.

In reply to his letter, the Committee of Estates thanked the Laird for his service in the apprehension of the Haukit Stirk and renewed his commission, while the Chancellor himself wrote in terms of encouragement, and also ordered the Macdonalds to make restitution of certain goods stolen by them from the Laird's territory.[1]

At a later date in the same year, another commissioner was despatched by the Laird to Edinburgh to make inquiry about the vacant stipends, whether they fell to the Treasurer, or were in the power of the Church. If they were in the control of the Treasurer, he was to secure them for the Laird to be employed "ad pios wsus." He was to discuss various local matters with the Lord Advocate, and "to speak for the Hailkit Stirk to sie if he wilbe releasit wpon good securitie." He was furnished with a list of names to give to the Chancellor, who was to be asked to require surety for the preservation of the peace from the people of Findhornside, Nairnside, and Stratherrick, the names of whose "masters" are supplied. The wrong suffered in respect of over-valuation for cess was not to be forgotten, and the clerks of Parliament were to be secured, so that nothing should proceed against the Laird unknown to his commissioner.[2] A letter from his law-agent in Edinburgh informed the Laird that the vacant stipends had been appropriated by the King for "the deposit faithfull ministrie of this kingdome,"[3] and an Act of Parliament was passed to this effect.[4]

The state of matters between King Charles the Second and his subjects in Scotland was one of gravity, and occasioned great uneasiness, as no treaty of indemnity for the period of the Commonwealth had yet been secured for Scotland, and very many landed proprietors were in consequence virtually at the mercy of the Government. This accounts for the Laird's apprehension expressed in the instructions to William Grant of Cardells, and they soon proved to be well founded. On that gentleman's return from Edinburgh in February 1661, he was the bearer of a letter from Lord Duffus and the Laird of Pluscardine, with the intelligence that

[1] Vol. ii. of this work, pp. 20-22.

[2] Instructions for William Grant of Cardells, at Castle Grant.

[3] Original Letter, George Stewart to James Grant of Freuchie, dated 4th February 1661, at Castle Grant.

[4] Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. vii. p. 18.

the Laird had been indicted by the Lord Advocate on no less a charge than that of high treason, and that the summons was already issued, and about to be served upon him by a herald. On learning this fact, they, with the Laird of Moyness, had waited upon the Lord Advocate, and tried to reason him out of the charge, but only incurred his displeasure. He had indicated what the grounds of the charge were—That the Laird had given intelligence to the English, and had also received a warrant from them to have arms to keep his house against the rebels—which he would prove under the Laird's own hand. The latter's friends persisted in their belief of his innocence, and succeeded in getting the serving of the summons delayed for ten days, during which they promised to inform the Laird of the charge against him, and get him to come to Edinburgh and clear himself. The rest of the letter is occupied with suggestions as to the Laird's procedure, consisting of prudential reasons for the Laird's not going to Edinburgh, if he could do otherwise, with advice that he should employ the services of his brother George, who, they say, was both willing and able to undertake such a work, and to terminate it successfully.[1]

In a letter of reply the Laird thanks his correspondents for their kindness, and declares his intention, seeing his credit and loyalty to his Majesty was questioned, of going south in the following week, though, he adds, the time of the year and the weather were not agreeable to the constitution of his body.[2]

William Grant of Cardells, a day or two before the date of the preceding letter, had written to the Laird of what was transpiring, and distinctly charged the Laird's brother George with being at the bottom of the accusation. "Know," he says, "that be your brother, his meanis and agitation, yow ar to be sittit befoir the Parliment . . . the citatione is giffin out be the Lord Aduocat this day. I wiss your mother had born ane gray ston quhen scho did bring foorth Georg."[3] The writer also refers to a letter enclosed from his brother George, and cautions the Laird not to trust a word of it. The following is probably the letter referred to, but it is without date :—

[1] Original Letter, dated 2d February 1661, at Castle Grant.

[2] Draft Letter at Castle Grant.

[3] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 87.

RIGHT HONORABLE,—The obligation your kynd letter puts uppon me hath so confirmed the resoulition I hadd to doe my deuty, that I am nou in a consuption with disyrs to doe you seruis, and if I feall in the actuall part, it is your own falt, for I shall be pasiue in nothing that concerns your interest. Put me to a tryall and leet your experienc of me giue you a mor faithfull acount then my expressions can. I dar be proud to say that it is in my puer to serue you at this present; if ye dar trust me ye shall know it, prouyded I kneu uhat ye will imploy me first about. Consult uith your self and your oun affairs, and as ye fynd it requesit to admit of my pur endeauour, comand me to my deuty, for on my honor I acknouledg my self to be by just titell,

Ryght Honorabl,

Your most obsequius brother and most obedient seruant,

GEORG GRANTT.[1]

Referring to the same subject, another correspondent, who neither dates nor subscribes his missive, says:—

RICHT HONORABILL SIR,—This day I haiff found out your brother Georg his pulss be seuerall intelligence I haiff haid. His oath nor his hand can not be trustit. He doeth not fear God. I haid als muche off him by oath as I belive could haiff tyitt any Cristian, but I persuad my selff he is non. He is doing and acting all against yow he can, and hes the commissioners in his hand. He doeth calumniat yow in ane strang way wnjustly. They haiff spokin Rothes to disowin yow, quho will not do it, but hes said iff ther be any just thing to lay to your charg, lat yow be sittit befoir the Parliment; but he knowes your wayes to be so honest to your king and countrey that you will defy the world. . . . Georg Stewartt, quhosoewer he hes his owin imperfectiones, I will assuir yow he is your kynd reall freind. His aduyce and myn is to your honour to send tuall dollors to the Clark Register, and tu to his serwandis, and als many to the Lord Aduocat. This I will assuir yow will do good iff they cum in tym. They will hinder any present sitations. . . . I will assuir yow to send money to the Clark Register and Lord Aduocat will do good, so it be doin in hast.[2]

Some arrangement appears to have been made by which the necessity of the Laird's going to Edinburgh was obviated for the time, but the journey was undertaken in the latter half of the year. The Laird was in Edinburgh during the month of September, and among the first things he did there, was to drive to the Lord Advocate and Sir John Nisbet. To the former fifteen rex dollars, equal to £43, 10s. Scots, were presented, and his clerk received three; to the latter ten rex dollars were given, while his clerk received two.[3] The only effect, however, produced by this intervention, was to relieve the Laird of special action being taken in his case, as the charge was not withdrawn, and he was afterwards classed among those

[1] Original Letter at Castle Grant.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Account of Expenditure on visit to Edinburgh, 1661, *sub dato* 21st September, at Castle Grant.

excluded from the benefit of the Act of Indemnity, until they paid a certain penalty in money, the Laird's fine amounting to no less than eighteen thousand pounds.[1]

Lady Grant, with the children, accompanied the Laird to Edinburgh, where a stay of a month was made. The account of the Chamberlain gives some interesting details of what transpired during that period. On two successive days the Laird and Lady Grant drove together to the "Penter's hous," and before they left the city packing-cases were made for "the pictures," which, with various other purchases of furniture, were sent home by ship from Leith. The Laird had various consultations with Sir Peter Wedderburn respecting a petition to be presented to Council "be ane bill, anent the witches," and there is a payment of £23, 4s. Scots, on 7th October, to "James Wright, clerk to the Counsell for the Commission against the witches, and accepting of the Laird's band of cautionrie," with other payments a week later of £13, 7s. 4d. to Mr. Alexander Hamilton for "diligence against the witches," and £1, 10s. "to the prickker of the witches." The Laird's brother, Alexander, is also mentioned as being in the city with the Laird, and as taking part in consultations with the law-agent. A visit was paid to the Parliament House, and an evening was spent by the Laird in the company of "my Lord Annendeall and Drumlanrick."

On Friday, the 18th October, the Laird and Lady Grant set out on their journey homeward, travelling in a "chariot" by Corstorphine to South Queensferry, whence they crossed to Inverkeithing and drove to Donibristle, making a stay there with the Countess of Murray till Monday. Next day found the party in Burntisland, Wednesday at Kenna [Kennoway?], Thursday at Cupar, Friday at "Lues Thorntownes," and Dundee was reached on Saturday night. The horses to be transported across the Tay were sixteen in number, and it appears that a sedan chair formed part of the equipage, as there are frequent entries of payments of repairs done to the "cedan," such as covering the hands with green cloth, glazing, putting "tuo cleeks" on the doors, etc.

[1] Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, 9th September 1662, vol. vii. p. 424. On 21st March 1663 a correspondent in Edinburgh wrote to the Laird—"There was a proclamation here yesterday, suspending the fines during His Majesty's pleasure, which is *bonum omen*."

The "young ladyes" attended "the kirk of Dundie" next day, and were provided by the Chamberlain with three shillings "to the offering," and some necessaries had to be procured that day "out of an apothacrie choip for my Ladyes vse." From Dundee progress was made by Barry to Arbroath, and thence by Montrose (where a bridle had to be repaired for one of the young lady's horses) and Stonehaven to Aberdeen, which was reached on the 2d of November. Here the men who had come from Edin- with the "cedan" were discharged, and the homeward journey towards Strathspey was resumed on the 9th by Kintore, Gairnsmill, and Raws of Strathbogie to Mulben, which was reached on the 12th November.

The sedan chair was evidently for the use of Lady Grant, who, it may be inferred from other entries in the accounts, was at the time of the journey not in robust health. A Dr. Hay was in attendance upon the party at Donibristle, and one of the attendants was despatched thence to Aberdeen for Dr. Leslie, who appears also to have accompanied the Laird to Mulben. This may be the reason why the journey was made in such easy stages, the whole occupying nearly a month.[1]

Lady Grant died in the following year, on Thursday, the 18th of December 1662, and was buried upon the 30th of the same month at Duthil. There was considerable pomp and ceremony at her funeral, and a service in church, while the carrying of a crucifix upon the body occasioned some debate.[2] She had lived and died a Roman Catholic, and this fact occasioned the Laird some trouble with the Presbytery and Synod of the bounds. On the 5th of November, Mr. William Falconar and Mr. Joseph Brodie were appointed by the Presbytery of Forres to confer with "the Lady Grant to bring hir to subscryve the covenant, and to evidence a forsaking of hir idolatrie and superstitione in opinion and practise, and make reporte of their diligence to the next meeting." At the next meeting no progress was reported, as Lady Grant had been unwell, and another gentleman, Mr. Patrick Glasse, was added to the deputation, who were instructed "to speake with hir on Moonday come eight dayes." They did not succeed in persuading Lady Grant to change her "opinion and practise," and the case being referred

[1] Original Account of Expenditure, at Castle Grant. [2] Diary of the Laird of Brodie, p. 285.

to the Synod of Moray, who appear to have had it before them even prior to 1651, they decided to impose the sentence of excommunication upon her.[1] In a letter from her Ladyship, dated at Freuchie, 14th June 1653, she asks the "Provinciall Assemblie of Murray" to delay proceedings against her until they should answer her doubts; and at one meeting of the Synod the Laird himself appeared and told the reverend body that if they carried their threats into execution, he must either abandon his wife, or live with an excommunicated person.[2]

Lady Grant's sister-in-law, Mary Grant, Marchioness of Huntly, was subjected to similar treatment, and sentence of excommunication "for obstinacie in Poperie" was pronounced against her in the parish church of Duffus on 17th October 1658,[3] and on 15th December following the sentence was appointed by the Presbytery of Forres to be intimated throughout their bounds.[4] The Laird's brother, Mungo, was afterwards, in 1670, also admonished to beware of popish leanings; his intention of sending two of his sons to France to be educated there by "one Father Grant, a seminarie priest," having been reported. The Synod of Moray warned him not to do so, as he would be answerable to the Lords of Council if he did.[5]

The old manuscript of "Anecdotes" already referred to says that Lady Mary Stewart was extremely bold and peculiar in her way. In the beginning of her married life she lost several of her children, and was so credulous as to imagine they were bewitched, which made her listen to advice given her about sending for an Italian pricker, that is, a man who, by pricking the body with iron spikes, pretended to distinguish witches from those who had no pretensions to a knowledge of the black art. This man's experiments were fatal to many, as numbers died in the operation.[6] The Laird of Brodie has a passage in his diary which confirms this trait in Lady Grant's character. Under the 13th of February 1655, he wrote that, after he returned from Darnaway late at night Lady Grant wrote for him, but that he "was feard to goe because she was a papist." Next day, however, he discovered that "Ladi Grant's errand was anent the witch which wes

[1] Records of the Presbytery of Forres.
[2] Records of the Synod of Moray.
[3] Session Records of Duffus.
[4] Records of the Presbytery of Forres.
[5] Records of the Synod of Moray.
[6] Original MS. at Castle Grant.

letten loos and her hous: she prest me to goe with her husband to fitch."[1] In her domestic arrangements Lady Grant was precise, and one of her written agreements with merchants in Forres for the supply of flour and aquavite is described elsewhere.[2] Supplies of game for the household were agreed for by the Laird after a similar fashion, an experienced fowler being employed in the service.[3]

As was noted in the Laird's instructions to one of his chamberlains sent to Edinburgh, he considered that his lands and those of his kin and tenants generally were over-valued, involving them in the payment of a higher cess than was due, but redress was not obtained. The collector, however, went back upon the tax of eight months' maintenance imposed upon the Laird by General Middleton in 1651, already referred to, which had been remitted, and obliged the Laird, under threat of horning and quartering, to grant a bond for £1000 Scots, against which he petitioned Parliament,[4] but although he obtained a hearing, and the tax-collector was instructed to defer his claims, the money had afterwards to be paid.

Difficulties, too, arose about this time with the Laird of Ballindalloch, owing to the latter desiring a renewal of the feudal titles by which he held Ballindalloch. The discussion had advanced to litigation, when the Earl of Rothes interposed with a recommendation to a more friendly mode of settlement,[5] and in June 1663 a submission was agreed upon, to be carried into effect when the Laird returned home from Edinburgh.[6]

It was the intention of King Charles the Second at this time to confer the title of Earl of Strathspey, and Lord Grant of Freuchie and Urquhart, upon James Grant of Freuchie. This appears from a copy of the warrant by the King, which narrates that the peerages, as the warrant bears, were to be conferred in recognition of the many good and faithful services rendered by the Laird and his predecessors to the King and his progenitors. Special mention is made of the Laird's fidelity in following with his friends and vassals the Royal standard under Montrose, and his readiness to give obedience to His Majesty's commands, while the fact is recognised

[1] Diary of the Laird of Brodie, pp. 122, 123.
[2] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 461.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] Original Petition at Castle Grant.
[5] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 88.
[6] Original Condescendence, dated 26th June 1663, at Castle Grant.

that he was chief of the Family of Grant, and descended of a very ancient and honourable race. For his encouragement in a course of loyalty, the King purposed to bestow on him and his heirs-male the titles of Earl and Lord.[1] But before the warrant was signed, the death of the Laird at Edinburgh in September 1663, prevented the King's intention being carried out.

The Laird, feeling his end approaching, made his testament and latter will on the 21st September, and nominated his eldest son, still considerably under age, as his sole executor, whom failing by death, his second son Patrick. To his daughters he left considerable tochers in terms of their respective bonds of provision. He nominated John Earl of Rothes High Commissioner and Treasurer, James (Sharp) Archbishop of St. Andrews, Alexander Earl of Murray, Kenneth Earl of Seaforth, Alexander Lord Duffus, Alexander Ogilvie of Kempcairn his uncle, Patrick and Mungo Grant his brothers, and others, tutors and administrators to his children; his eldest son to be educated and brought up with John Earl of Rothes as his Lordship should direct.[2]

The Laird's body was interred on the 10th of October in the Chapel of Holyrood, where his father Sir John had been buried, and where also his own son and grandson successively found resting-places. An entry in the household accounts during that year states the expenses of the Laird's funeral in Edinburgh, and the returning home therefrom, to have been £767, 8s. Scots.[3]

During the minority of the Laird's eldest son, his uncle, Lieutenant-Colonel Patrick Grant became Tutor of Grant. Among his first duties was the making of an inventory of the effects left by James Grant, and of his liabilities. The inventory was afterwards added to, and the whole amount of his effects and debts due to him was only about eighteen thousand pounds Scots, while the amount of the debts due by him was over seventy-two thousand pounds Scots.[4]

By his wife Lady Mary Stewart the Laird had, besides several children who are said to have died young,[5] two sons and three daughters.

[1] Copy Warrant, indorsed 1663; vol. iii. of this work, p. 345.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 352.

[3] Account at Castle Grant.

[4] Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 346-354.

[5] One daughter, whose name is unknown, died in 1650. There is in the Grant Charter-chest a document giving the names of the tenants who were each fined five pounds Scots "for byding from the Laird's doghter, hir buriall." They were appointed to pay their fines within fifteen days after the 23d December 1650.

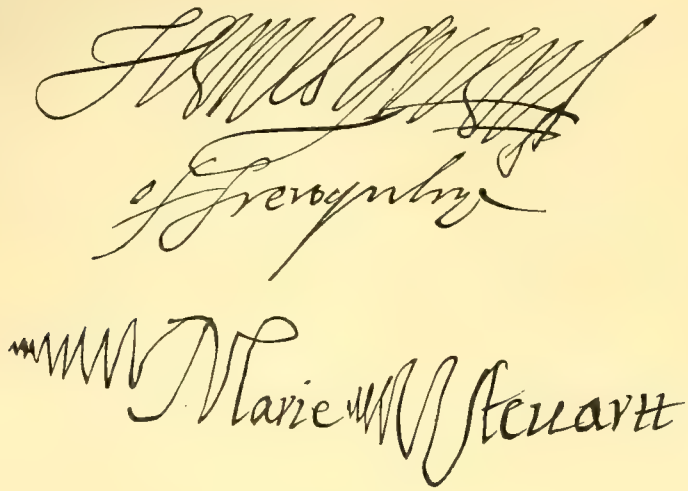
1. Ludovick, who succeeded his father as eighth Laird of Freuchie.
2. Patrick, who was provided to the lands of Wester Elchies, and became progenitor of the second family of Grants of Wester Elchies. A separate pedigree of this family is given in this work.

The daughters were—

1. Anna, who married, in 1664, Sir Patrick Ogilvie of Boyne, in the county of Banff,[1] and had issue. An armorial stone, originally at Boyne, now at Cullen House, bears the arms of Ogilvie and Grant impaled, with the date of 1668.[2]
2. Mary, who married, before 1669, Sir Alexander Hamilton of Haggs, in the county of Lanark. In that year Mary Grant, in conjunction with her husband, pursued her brother Ludovick before the Lords of Council and Session for her tocher of twelve thousand merks, and obtained decreet in her favour.[3] They had issue.
3. Margaret, who married Roderick Mackenzie of Redcastle, and had issue.

The Laird had also a natural daughter, who was married to Sweyn Grant in Ballintome, to whom a legacy of £200 Scots was paid on the death of her father.[5]

[1] Household Accounts for 1664, at Castle Grant.
[2] Information by the Earl of Seafield.
[3] Original Decreet, dated 6th February 1669, at Castle Grant.
[4] History of the Mackenzies, by Alexander Mackenzie, p. 400.
[5] Household Accounts for 1663, at Castle Grant.



LUDOVICK GRANT,
OF FREUCHIE AND GRANT.
DIED 1717

JANET BRODIE,
FIRST WIFE OF LUDOVICK GRANT OF FREUCHIE AND GRANT,
M. 1671. D. 1697.

XV.—LUDOVICK GRANT, Eighth of Freuchie and of Grant.
JANET BRODIE, his first wife.
JEAN HOUSTOUN, his second wife.

1663–1716.

Ludovick Grant was a minor at the date of his father's death, and as Lady Mary Stewart, his mother, died in 1662, the care of his education and estate devolved upon the curators nominated by the deceased Laird. These included among them, as narrated in the preceding memoir, men of the highest rank in the kingdom, the Earl of Rothes, High Treasurer of Scotland, and James Sharp, Archbishop of St. Andrews, being two of the principal. The chief burden of administration of the young Laird's estates fell upon his uncle, Patrick Grant, who held a Lieutenant-Colonel's commission in the army, but who devoted himself to paying off the burdens on his nephew's patrimony, and otherwise acted the part of a careful guardian. He was known as the Tutor of Grant. Ludovick Grant and his brother Patrick were first sent to school at Elgin. The two boys were accompanied to Elgin by the Tutor, and two days were occupied in the journey, the intervening night being spent at Forres. In an account by the Tutor, beginning in 1663, and continuing for several years, there are frequent entries referring to this period of their education. They are such as the following:—

"Item, payit to George Cuming, provest of Elgin, for the Laird, his brother Patrick and their attenders, during the tyme they wer in Elgin, conforme to his discharge therevpoun, £270.

"Item, payit at the Laird's away cuming from Elgin, to the schoolmaister, and wther thingis belonging to the Laird and his brother, £33, 3s. 4d."

Other entries are of interest as indicating the expense of a young lady's education:—

"Item, payit for Margaret, the Laird's daughter, hir intertainment in meat, cloathe, and learneing," from Martinmas 1663 to Whitsunday 1665, £360.[1]

[1] Original Account at Castle Grant.

From Elgin the Laird and his brother went to the University of St. Andrews. There they were under the supervision of one of their curators, James Sharp, the Archbishop, and by choosing St. Andrews as the place of Ludovick Grant's education he would also be near the Earl of Rothes, to whom the deceased Laird of Freuchie had specially commended his sons "to be educat and broght up with his Lordship, and as he shall please to dispose."[1] From the Tutor of Grant's accounts it would appear that he and his nephews started on their journey southward on 20th July 1664, and travelled to St. Andrews by Dundee, sending a messenger in advance to inform the Primate and the Earl of Rothes of their coming. They reached St. Andrews some time before the 12th of August, stopping at Dundee to receive the latest touch of fashion before presenting themselves at the University, as among other references to dress, there was a sum of 12s. (Scots) paid for "cutting and puldering their hair in Dundee."

It may be that after making arrangements for their stay in St. Andrews the Laird and his brother accompanied their uncle to Edinburgh. But this is not certain, though he passed to that place, thence back to St. Andrews, and then returned home, reaching Castle Grant on 29th August 1664. The Laird and his brother were lodged in the house of one "Widow Englishe" in St. Andrews. Their board and other expenses were paid in advance to her, £156 quarterly; for "chalmer mail (rent) for same time, £4; for bedding the said tyme, £8; item, to the ladinster (laundress?) the said tyme, £5, 10s.; item, to the Regent of Humanitie (Latin) the said tyme, £50; item, to the janitor the same tyme, £3." Also there was left with "ther pedagoge (or 'governour') to buy fyr and candle" for the same period, the sum of £16, and the sum of £12 was given to the boys themselves, for "the poor on the Sabbathe day, and to buy wther litle necessars." Similar payments were made each quarter until 12th May 1666, the only apparent break in the residence of the young Laird at St. Andrews being a visit of a fortnight's duration to Edinburgh in February 1666, for the purpose of choosing curators.[2]

[1] Latter Will, vol. iii. of this work, p. 352.

[2] Tutor's Accounts at Castle Grant. One entry having reference to the young Laird's dress, of date 29th June 1666, may be of interest. "Item, given for three elnes half elne of tartane to be the Lard and his man trewes, 2 lib. 6s. 8d."

How long Ludovick Grant remained at St. Andrews is not clearly ascertainable, but he was still there on 25th February 1667, when he writes to his uncle in expectation of a visit from him and Archbishop Sharp.[1] In the autumn of 1666 the Laird had been at Elgin on 15th September to "choose his curators," from which it appears that several of his curators resided in Edinburgh, and others in Morayshire. At the same time the young Laird paid several visits, among others to the Marquis of Huntly, and the Laird of Boyne, who, in 1664, had married Anna Grant, the Laird's eldest sister. An earlier visit to Elgin on the 29th August, under the guardianship of his "regents," is also recorded, while the younger brother, Patrick, was "left at the schooll." Ludovick returned to St. Andrews in October, and, as stated, was still there in the following February. On his journey south, the young Laird was preceded by eight cows, which, at his desire, were sent to St. Andrews, but whether as presents, or for the table of the University, does not appear. In or about July 1667, a payment of £133, 6s. 8d. was made to Mr. Allan Grant, Regent at St. Andrews, for fees due, and this is the last recorded payment for education on the Laird's behalf. He was in Edinburgh in that month, and wrote from the city on the 18th, begging the Tutor to send him more money.[2] In reply he received 200 merks, which Ludovick acknowledged by writing that he wondered his uncle had not sent him more, adding, "I cannot goe out of the town till I get mor." As upwards of 400 merks had been sent only the month previous, it would seem as if Ludovick had been set free from College, and was now amusing himself in the capital. The Tutor's accounts show that up to November 1667, several considerable sums were sent "south" to the Laird, but his place of residence is not named.[3]

A gift of Ludovick Grant's ward and marriage had, very shortly after his father's death, been bestowed on William Scott of Ardross,[4] but on 23d May 1665, the young Laird was retoured heir to his father in all his lands of Freuchie, Glencarnie, Mulben, Urquhart, and others, in terms of a royal precept, of date 8th December 1664, in which he is declared to be of lawful

[1] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 89.
[2] Original Letter at Castle Grant.
[3] Tutor's Account at Castle Grant.
[4] Original Gift, of date 9th October 1663, *ibid.*

age by virtue of the King's dispensation.[1] Ludovick, however, as stated, remained in the south until the end of 1667, or beginning of 1668, and did not immediately enter upon the duties of his position. In 1666, Lieutenant-Colonel Patrick Grant gave up an account of charge and discharge of his intromissions with the estates of Grant, which was examined and reported on at the desire of Archbishop Sharp and the Earl of Rothes. Probably on the faith of the report, a discharge in favour of the Tutor was signed by the Laird and three of his curators, in which the Tutor was exonered of the sum of £43,730 Scots paid by him in liquidation of debts, etc.[2] This discharge, however, seems to have been limited to the debts paid in terms of the vouchers, and the Tutor's general management of the estate appears to have been unsatisfactory. This is shown by a letter addressed by the Earl of Rothes and Archbishop Sharp to the Earl of Murray and other curators in the north, referring to reports as to the neglect and disorder of the Laird's affairs, and urging that steps be taken to rectify such abuses. The complaints may have come from Ludovick Grant himself, who was at this time in Strathspey,[3] and who from certain indications in his letters, had, although a youth, a sharp eye for his own affairs. The letter suggests that the curators in the north should meet with the Laird, inspect the Tutor's accounts, take an effectual course for uplifting rents, and appoint fit persons to intromit with the estate and levy the rents. The curators are also directed to attend to the woods, to prevent their further destruction, and otherwise to provide for the better condition of their ward, by securing a proper sum for his aliment and education,[4] and to report their proceedings before the middle of June. Acting on these instructions, the curators, at a meeting at Darnaway on 28th October 1668, appointed two commissioners for receiving the rents of the estates, and it is worthy of notice that Ludovick Grant himself was one, the other being John Grant of Auchroisk, who had acted as factor

[1] Precept and Retours at Castle Grant.

[2] Extract discharge, signed 1667, and recorded in the Books of Council and Session, 12th February 1668, at Castle Grant.

[3] An entry in the Tutor's accounts of a sum of £53, 7s. expended for necessaries to the Laird's house in April 1668, seems to indicate that he then had taken up formal residence at Castle Grant.

[4] Letter, 25th April 1668, vol. ii. of this work, p. 22.

[5] Original Commission at Castle Grant.

under the Laird's father. That the Laird himself was thus empowered by his curators to intromit with his own estate implies considerable confidence in his general shrewdness and business capacity.

From this time, receipts and discharges were granted by the Laird himself, who gradually assumed the full management of his estate. He afterwards made a formal challenge of Lieutenant-Colonel Patrick Grant's tutory, and raised an action of count and reckoning, setting aside the discharge already referred to, on the ground of minority, and that it was not signed by a quorum of curators. The accounting between the Laird and his uncle was afterwards submitted to arbitration, and it was found, upon examination of a formal account of charge and discharge drawn by the Tutor in 1682, that the balance due by him was £7305, 10s. 9d.[1] Following upon this award, matters were settled in an amicable manner, and two months later, mutual discharges were executed both by the Laird and the Tutor on the same day at Ballachastell.[2]

There is little to relate regarding Ludovick Grant during the next few years, or previous to his marriage. He probably employed himself in settling his estate. Like other Highland landlords, he was much troubled with the depredations of loose plunderers and broken men, as they were called, who, roaming from district to district, pilfered everything on which they could lay their hands. These were distinct from the *Cearnachs*, who may be described as a higher class of freebooters, who made occasional raids in the way of cattle-lifting. Their profession was considered so honourable, that they were frequently joined by sons of the "tacksmen, or second order of gentry," who considered their exploits as good training for the life of a soldier.[3] Ludovick Grant's treatment of one of these gentlemen freebooters will be afterwards related.

The depredations committed during the Laird's minority were of a petty description. It was customary for the Lairds of Freuchie to receive commissions to act as sheriffs or justiciars within their own bounds, and such a commission or Act of Council in favour of the Laird had been obtained shortly after his father's death. This appears from a letter to the Tutor of

[1] Original Account and Memorandum of Award, 12th September 1684, at Castle Grant.

[2] Discharges dated 7th November 1684, *ibid.*

[3] Stewart's Sketches of the Highlanders, vol. i. p. 39.

Grant dated 29th April 1665, in which the writer expresses a hope that the Act will be carried out against "suspect persones or robbers," with special reference to goods taken from him and his tenants, and he promises that faithfulness on this head will be duly reported to the Privy Council.[1]

In pursuance, no doubt, of this or a similar commission, the Tutor of Grant had, in 1667, seized three members of the sept of the Macmartins, and incarcerated them in Ballachastell. The Macmartins were also known as Camerons of Letter Finlay, and the head of their branch of the Camerons was foster-father to the famous Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiel.[2] But from the locality of their lands, and constant intermarriages with the Macdonalds of Keppoch, they were under the jurisdiction of the chief of Glengarry, then Angus or Æneas Lord Macdonell. Hence the letter addressed by his Lordship to Lieutenant-Colonel Grant on behalf of the captive Macmartins.[3] Lord Macdonell admits that the prisoners may have justly deserved their confinement, but that he had received information of extenuating circumstances, and he therefore begs that the men may be liberated on security, promising to contribute to their correction. The Tutor of Grant gave effect to Lord Macdonell's request, and on 19th July 1667, two of the clan Macmartin, at Ballachastell, entered into a bond on behalf of their clansmen, that the latter would be forthcoming when required by justice, on a month's warning. They also came under obligation to make good whatever loss the Laird of Grant had suffered from the men in custody.[4] What the offence was is not stated, but it would appear to have been some petty depredation.

The Laird, on 26th December 1671,[5] married Janet Brodie, only daughter and heiress of Alexander Brodie of Lethen. A letter from the young lover to his future bride is printed in the second volume of this work,[6] and is also reproduced in lithograph. This union brought the Laird into intimate relations with the family of Brodie, one of whom acted as his legal adviser, along with James Grant, advocate, afterwards Sir James Grant of Dalvey. From the correspondence of these two gentlemen it

[1] Original Letter at Castle Grant. It is dated from Mortlich, and signed, "J. Lyone."

[2] Memoirs of Lochiel, p. 67.

[3] Letter, 29th June 1667, vol. ii. of this work, p. 89.

[4] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 245.

[5] Diaries of the Laird of Brodie, p. 323.

[6] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 90.

would appear that for some years after reaching his majority, which was probably about the date of his marriage, the Laird was engaged in a long and troublesome litigation as to the teinds of his lands. The merits of the affair cannot now be clearly understood, but the Laird's chief opponents at first were the Marquis of Huntly, and Lachlan Mackintosh of Torcastle. The Marquis opposed the Laird's claims, but the process against Mackintosh seems to have dropped.

This last result was probably owing to a remonstrance addressed by Mackintosh not to the Laird himself, but to his father-in-law, Mr. Brodie of Lethen, in the following terms : " Your son-in-law, the Laird of Grant, hes delt a litle unfreindly and vnnighbourlie with me in entering in law against me, and puting me to unseasonable spending, till first he tryed whither I hade any lawful defences," etc. Mackintosh sends documents to prove his case, in the hope that the Laird of Freuchie may be persuaded to abandon his process.[1] Mr. Brodie sent this letter to his son-in-law, with an intimation that he had seen a bond by Sir John Grant, Ludovick's grandfather, to the grandfather of Mackintosh, binding himself to dispone to the latter the teinds of his lands in Badenoch, also a decreet-arbitral in which Sir John discharged all claims on Mackintosh. Mr. Brodie therefore advised the Laird to desist from further proceedings, and this advice seems to have been taken.

On the other hand, the dispute with Huntly continued for some time. It seems to have related to the lands of Curr, Clurie, Kincardine and others, but was complicated by the fact that more than one person was concerned. It would appear, however, that as regards the Marquis himself, matters tended, in the year 1678, to a compromise. On the 24th January of that year he wrote to the Laird in reply to a communication as to Kincardine, by which he is hopeful that the affair may be " putt to a close," adding, " Iff yow do me any pleasure in this I will not be unmyndfull of it, and as I have allwayes distinguished my freinds from those that are not, so I still intend to continew after that manner."[2]

Besides the processes against Huntly and Mackintosh, the Laird of Grant had a number of minor litigations on his hands, as to non-

[1] Original Letter, 18th December 1675, at Castle Grant.

[2] Original Letter, *ibid.*

payment of feu-duties, spuilzies of teinds, etc., which, though troublesome to him, have no interest for this history. He had also some difficulty with the proprietors of Pluscardine, apparently as to the titles of that property, which was purchased by him in 1677, his father-in-law, however, paying the purchase-money, the estate being provided to the Laird's second son, and it was afterwards possessed by his second surviving son, James.[1] The Laird at this time also became obnoxious to the Government, as a charge was made against him that he was the instigator of a "ryot" or quarrel between Mr. Alexander Grant of Kirdells and Dunbar of Newton,[2] so that his affairs between 1671 and 1678 must have been a source of considerable vexation.

It was probably, therefore, somewhat of a relief that in the latter year, the Laird was called upon to give proof of his loyalty by contributing men to the public service. He had previously received from the Marquis of Huntly, on 22d December 1677, a request to have his men in readiness on twenty-four hours' notice to march to Stirling or elsewhere,[3] which, four days later, seems to have been partly countermanded. An order from the Privy Council informed the Laird that it had been resolved, for the suppression of conventicles and "other insolencies," to call out the Highlanders, under the command of the Marquis of Athole and the Earls of Mar, Murray, Perth, and Caithness, and he was required to take an effectual course to secure the peace of the Highlands under his command, and also within the bounds of those employed upon the special service referred to, that no violence or injury should be done to their country, or any thefts of their goods by those under the Laird's jurisdiction.[4] The expedition on which the Highlanders were to be employed was that known to history as the "Highland Host." The muster of the clans did not, however, take place until 1678, when, on 24th June, about 8000 men assembled at Stirling, whence they over-ran the western shires of the Lowlands, effectually overawing the Covenanters of that district. No man, however, lost his life at their hands, and after remaining about eight months in the south, the Highlanders were

[1] Shaw's Moray, p. 301.

[2] Original Letter from law-agents, 11th December 1677, at Castle Grant.

[3] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 23.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 24.

disbanded, and returned northward laden with spoil. A quaint writer says, "When they passed Stirling bridge every man drew his sword to show the world they hade returned conquerors from their enemies land; but they might as well have showen the pots, pans, girdles, shoes taken off country men's feet, and other bodily and household furniture with which they were burdened," etc.[1]

From such an inglorious campaign Ludovick Grant and his men were exempted, the duty assigned to them being that of guarding the peace of the country, but towards the end of 1678 he was, it is said, ordered to send men to Inverlochy. The authority for this statement[2] does not indicate the purpose in view, but seems to imply that the Grants were to be used to interfere in the dispute betwixt Lord Macdonell and the Earl of Argyll. This, however, is doubtful, for though the purpose for which the Laird was to send men to Inverlochy is not clearly known, it is certain that he himself was summoned south at that period, under a special proclamation directed to landlords and chiefs of clans. The state of the Highlands, always a trouble, was then specially engaging attention, and it was ordained that chiefs of clans and others should compear before the Privy Council upon the last Thursday of February 1679, and yearly thereafter upon the second Thursday of July. They were to give security for their clans, and receive instructions as to preserving the peace. In this proclamation, which is dated on 10th October 1678,[3] the "Laird of Grant" is specially mentioned, along with a number of the principal barons and heads of clans in the Highlands. Another clause of the proclamation directs that certain persons named, heads of branches of clans, who, "by reason of their mean condition, are not able to come into Edinburgh and find caution," should come to Inverlochy before the 20th November following (1678), and at that place give proper security for good behaviour.[4] Several Grants, as Balmacaan, Rothiemurchus,

[1] Kirkton's History, by Sharpe, p. 390. A "girdle" is a flat circular iron plate used for baking oat cakes, etc., over the fire.

[2] Diaries of the Lairds of Brodie, p. 405. Under date 2d November 1678, the diarist writes, "L. Grant cam heir and told me he was cald to send men to Inverlochie. I desir'd that he might ordour his men to doe no harm, and to caus tell his freinds that he sent them in obedienc to the Counsel, but without ani intention of hurt to them."

[3] Proclamation in "Antiquarian Notes," by Mr. Charles Fraser Mackintosh, pp. 183, 184.

[4] "Antiquarian Notes," pp. 185, 188.

Glenmoriston, Corriemony, Auchernach, Tullochgorm, Gartinbeg, and others, are included under this clause, and as the dates correspond, the entry in the Laird of Brodie's diary may refer to these, as their chief might be responsible for their appearance at Inverlochy.

So much oppression had prevailed during the stay of the "Highland Host" in the western counties that immediately on its departure the Covenanters rose in insurrection. A contributory circumstance was the defeat of Graham of Claverhouse and the Royalist troops under his command, by a body of armed Covenanters at Drumclog. The victory thus gained raised the spirits of the people of the west to such a height, that they gathered in large numbers and marched restlessly through the country.[1] The defeat of the Government troops, and the exaggerated reports as to the numbers concerned in the rising, greatly alarmed those in authority, and the Privy Council sent for levies to all parts of the kingdom. Ludovick Grant's neighbour, Lachlan Mackintosh of Torcastle, is known to have been summoned,[2] and the Laird himself appears also to have received the Council's orders and to have responded to them. The decisive conflict of Bothwell Bridge on 22d June 1679, probably rendered active service on the part of the Grants unnecessary, but at a later period the Laird claimed consideration from the Government of King James the Seventh for zeal and forwardness in aiding to suppress the rebellion of 1679.[3]

In the following year the Duke of York came to Scotland on a visit as Lord High Commissioner. He brought with him his wife, Mary of Este, and his daughter the Princess Anne. His administration at a later date was distinguished for its severity, but at this period, according to contemporary testimony, he conducted himself in such a way as contrasted favourably with the intolerance of Lauderdale's ministry, and gained for him the regard of many. That the Duke desired to ingratiate himself with all classes is implied in a letter written by James Grant of Dalvey, advocate, to the Laird of Freuchie, urging the latter to come south and appear at the Court of His Royal Highness. The first sentence of the letter may refer to legal affairs, but the Laird's clansman is evidently anxious that his chief should

[1] History of Scotland, by John Hill Burton, vol. vii. p. 226.

[2] The Mackintoshes and Clan Chattan, p. 391.

[3] Draft Petition in 1685, at Castle Grant.

make a good appearance. The writer says, "I have consulted with all your friends anent your coming south: It is resolved your best conduct in generall, and its the opinion of all your friends, that yow come south again the day peremptorly, since your absence may be misconstructed, and His Royal Highness (be all appeirance) hes a designe to be acquainted with all the chiefs of clannes, and its thought a solecisme in any gentleman of qualitie to neglect the kissing of his hands."[1] Whether the Laird went to Edinburgh at this time cannot be clearly ascertained, though it is not improbable. He certainly travelled south in the following year, when the Duke of York was a second time in Scotland, and he was a member of the Parliament opened by the Duke on 28th July 1681. On that occasion the Laird of Freuchie and Thomas Dunbar of Grange appeared as commissioners for the shire of Elgin.[2] In this important Parliament were discussed the Acts anent the succession to the Crown and "Religion and the Test." The Parliament generally seems to have offered no objection to the passing of these Acts, nor to the imposing of the test upon all classes of men holding offices, either public or private, although the form of oath which bore that the "King's Majesty is the only supream Governour of this realme over all persons and in all causes as weill ecclesiasticall as civill," had a highly important significance, when interpreted by the Act of Succession, which secured the Crown to a Roman Catholic.

The Laird of Freuchie apparently voted in unison with his fellow Members of Parliament on all points of the Test Act, save one, in regard to which the official record, of the date 31st August 1681, runs thus—"That pairt of the Act, If the Test should be put to the electors of commissioners for shires to the Parliament, having been put to the vote by it selfe before the voteing and passing of the whole Act, and the same being caryed in the affirmative, the Laird of Saltoun and the Laird of Grant having voted in the negative, desired their dissent might be marked."[3]

This incident, in which the Laird of Freuchie was associated with Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun, afterwards so famous as a leader of the National party in Scotland, has been embellished by the hand of tradition.

[1] Original Letter, dated 26th January 1680, at Castle Grant.

[2] Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. viii. p. 232.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 245.

It is related that "Laird Lewis was so dissatisfied with the measures of Court, particularly that the King should endeavour by sinister means to attain to absolute and arbitrary power, and for having openly countenanced Popery, notwithstanding of his oath to the contrary, that he did in a particular manner testify his dissatisfaction by openly opposing the Test Act in face of Parliament. The Duke of York, the then Commissioner for the Crown, hearing this, stood up and said, 'Let his Highland Majesty's protest be marked.'" Another version of this story repeats the assertion of this Laird's dislike to Popery, and also relates the incident of the protest, and that he insisted on its being recorded, when the Duke of York from the throne replied, "His Highland Majesty need not be afraid, the protest shall be marked." But in this case the date of the event is said to be 1685, when, though there was a Parliament, the Laird was not a member, and the Duke of York had become King. There is certainly nothing improbable in the detail given by tradition, and the Laird of Brodie writes in his diary that he heard that "Grant was in favour of D. Y." (Duke of York).[1] But the official record is as narrated in the preceding paragraph, and so far from implying that the Laird of Freuchie was in general opposition, it shows that his dissent to the Test Act was on one point alone. His reasons for his negative vote are not apparent; they may have been merely technical, or may have had a wider and deeper foundation. But as to this no further evidence has been obtained.

The traditional account of the foregoing incident further relates that the Duke of York represented the Laird's behaviour to the King, and that the bad effects thereof were soon apparent in the measures taken against the Laird and his lady to punish them for nonconformity. But there is no reason to connect the two things, as the Laird's protest was recorded in 1681, and the commission against nonconformists in the north was not appointed until 30th December 1684. There can be no doubt, however, that the Laird then suffered from the severe character of the Acts against conventicles, and other oppressive measures. On the date above referred to, the Earls of Errol and Kintore, and Sir George Monro of Culrain, were

[1] Diaries of the Lairds of Brodie, p. 458, under date 28th July 1681.

appointed by the Privy Council as a commission "to prosecute all persons guilty of church disorders, and other crimes, in all the bounds betwixt Spey and Ness, including Strathspey and Abernethie, and their first meeting to be at Elgin the 22d of January following." The commissioners are reported by Wodrow to have "caused erect a new gallows *ad terrorem*," as soon as they came to Elgin. Most of the Presbyterians in the district were summoned before the Commission, "tho' they had no crimes to charge them with but absence from the kirk and being at conventicles; none here having been at Bothwel, or in any thing termed rebellion."[1] The authority of the commissioners was further supported by letters under the Signet, dated 13th January 1685, charging all persons guilty of the crimes libelled, that is, sedition, intercommuning with rebels, fugitives, vagrant preachers, etc., refusing to renounce the Solemn League and Covenant, withdrawing from their parish kirks, attending house or field conventicles, and other similar offences of a more or less heinous nature, that they should appear and answer for their share in such practices.[2] Messrs. Fraser of Brea, Alexander Hepburn, James Nimmo, Alexander Dunbar, James Urquhart, James Park, and Thomas Ross are among those named as "outed" persons whom it was treasonable to have dealings with.

The Laird of Freuchie and his lady duly appeared before the commissioners, and were examined as to the charges against them. In his declaration, the Laird stated that Mr. Alexander Fraser frequented his house before the parliament,[3] and prayed in it; that he gave him money upon the account of charity, but not for service; that after the parliament he put him away, and he had been but twice in his house since the parliament; that he had heard Mr. James Urquhart preach once at Lethen, and pray several times when he [the Laird] was there visiting his mother-in-law; that he had heard Mr. Alexander Dunbar pray several times; that he saw James Nimmo at Lethen's house, and that he was free to declare on oath that he did not know him to be a rebel; that his lady did not frequent the parish church since 1679 till September last. He declared on oath that the above was truth, and that he was altogether free of the plot

[1] Diaries of the Lairds of Brodie, preface, p. lxi.
[2] Copy Letters at Castle Grant.
[3] The parliament of 1681, the last parliament of King Charles II.'s reign.

of all treasonable designs, contributing money to Argyll, or favouring him or any rebels, or concealing or hearing high treason, and other articles of the libel.[1]

Janet Brodie, Lady Grant, stated that "she had not kept the kirk till September last," as for nearly a year and a half they wanted a minister; that Mr. Alexander Fraser was Grant's servant before the Act of Indemnity, and prayed in the family; that she had heard Mr. James Urquhart and Mr. Alexander Dunbar pray and preach in Lethen since the Act of Indemnity, and that she saw James Nimmo there; that since the Indemnity, Mr. Alexander Fraser had been in her house and had prayed there; that it was when her mother was bedfast and sick that she heard Mr. Urquhart and Mr. Dunbar at Lethen, and that Mr. Alexander Fraser was a preacher. She further added to the above the statement that she heard sermon on Sabbath at Newtyle, on her journey from Edinburgh; that it was never her principle to abstain from hearing upon account of any disloyalty or disrespect to the Government; that Mr. Alexander Fraser was a preacher under the Bishops, but was put off; that he was not their servant since the Parliament, and that she knew not Nimmo to be a suspected person.[2]

The date of these depositions is not given, but on 11th February 1685, the commissioners pronounced sentence, in which, after a formal preamble in the terms of the criminal letters, they declared that "in respect the Lady Grant confesses two years and ane half's withdrawing from the ordinances, having and keeping ane unlicenced chaplane, hearing outed ministeris preach severall tyms, and that the Laird of Grant confesses the keeping of the said unlicensed minister in his family, and hearing ane outed minister preach once and pray severall tymes: They therefore fyne and amerciat the Laird of Grantt for his own and his Lady's delinquencies, irregularities, and disorders, in the sowm of fowrtie two thousand and fyve hundreth punds Scottis mone, and ordain the said Laird of Grant to make payment of the said fyne to his Majesteis cash keeper, betwixt and the first day of May next to come, under the paine of being lyable in a fyfth part more then the said fyne."[3]

[1] Copy Declaration and Deposition at Castle Grant. [2] *Ibid.* [3] Copy Sentence, etc., at Castle Grant.

A few days after the sentence was pronounced, the Laird was charged to make payment of the fine within fifteen days, on pain of being put to the horn.[1] This he was by no means willing to do, and made efforts to have the fine remitted, or at least diminished. Reasons for the reconsideration and reversal of the sentence were drawn up to be presented to the Privy Council with a petition for review of the decreet. At a later date the Laird forwarded a petition to King James the Seventh, founding on the following facts:—(1.) That the oath of the party was the only means of probation used by the commissioners; (2.) That in the letter written by the late King in relation to husbands being liable for their wives' fines, the husband's loyalty and regularity are appointed to be taken into consideration, and the petitioner therefore pleaded his own zeal and forwardness in 1679, and his recent services in the expedition against Argyll, which had occurred in the interval betwixt the imposition of the fine and the date of the petition.[2] The King took a favourable view of the matter, and in a formal letter, of date 9th January 1686, addressed to the Privy Council, he fully exonered and discharged the Laird of Freuchie of the amount of the fine.[3] The reasons of this discharge are similar to those given in the petition, and need not be repeated, while the discharge itself was supplemented by another royal letter of same date, forbidding any one to trouble the Laird on account of his fine.[4]

As reference has been made to the expedition against the Earl of Argyll, the Laird's share in that campaign may here be related. On the 2d of May 1685, the Earl of Argyll sailed from Holland with a fleet, intending to invade Scotland and raise a rebellion. In the previous month rumours of his purpose had reached the authorities, and preparations had been made for putting the kingdom in a state of defence, though it was not until Argyll had actually landed in Kintyre that the Laird of Freuchie was summoned to the aid of the Government. The terms of the first letters received by the Laird evidently had a veiled reference to his treatment by the Privy Council and his probable reluctance to do them

[1] Messenger's Charge, dated 20th February 1685, at Castle Grant.
[2] Draft Reasons and Petitions, *ibid.*
[3] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 357.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 249.

service. From Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh, then Lord Advocate, he received the following :—

"Deare Coosen,—I conjure yow to shew your loyalty now or never—upon it depends the family, which was very honorable befor your tyme. Tak not the pett lyk a child, nor ill counsell lyk a foole, bot shew you principls to be good and your interest to be considerable. Beleev your Coosen, Geo. Mackenzie."[1]

This pithy letter is undated, but was probably written about the same time as one of nearly similar terms by another George Mackenzie, Lord Tarbat, who wrote on 16th May 1685.[2] Lord Tarbat refers to a letter of the previous day from the Privy Council, giving formal notice of the Earl of Argyll's appearance on the coast, and desiring that the Laird would at once call together and despatch southward a detachment of his clan. Three hundred men well armed, and provisioned for twenty days, were to be at the head of Lochness by the 9th June next, under pain of being held as disaffected.[3] To this requisition Lord Tarbat adds the reminder that "it is not number but vigor and action that will recomend yow to your prince, and speak your vindication aloud."[4] These letters were received on their way north by George, first Duke of Gordon, who sent them on to the Laird on 25th May, with further information as to Argyll's movements.[5] The Duke writes heartily on behalf of Grant, and says significantly, "Your frinds and myn att Edenboro prommis rar things for us now, especially iff vee dooe veell."

The Laird responded readily to the Duke's good opinion of him and the Council's commands. Indeed, so vigorously did he set about raising his men, that one at least of his vassals remonstrated, and while expressing all readiness to answer the call to arms, protested that the proportion required by the Laird (six men out of each davoch) was too much. The vassal in question, John Grant of Ballindalloch, considered the requisition too intolerable a burden upon the tenantry, unless the ground was allowed to bear only grass. But he promised to levy the men competently.[6] This

[1] Original Letter at Castle Grant.
[2] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 90.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 24.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 90.
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] *Ibid.* p. 91.

letter was dated 27th May, and by the 5th June the Laird wrote to the Earl of Perth, then Chancellor, and to the Lord Advocate, that his men were ready, and that he would be at Lochness on the day appointed. He wrote also to Lord Tarbat, in each case expressing his pleasure at receiving the commission, and being thus able to manifest his loyalty.[1] On the 3d of June the Duke of Gordon wrote to the Laird not to leave Strathspey until further orders, but to keep his men in all readiness to march. The Duke of Gordon himself advanced towards the west, and was arranging a junction with the Marquis of Athole, then Lord-Lieutenant of Argyllshire, when the capture of the Earl of Argyll brought the campaign to a sudden close. On the 23d June the Chancellor directed the Laird to march homewards with his men and disband them. The letter also conveyed the thanks of the Council to the chief himself, and those under his command.[2]

Though the campaign against the Earl of Argyll was short and bloodless, the Laird's prompt obedience to the requisition made upon him favourably impressed the Government, and, as already narrated, enabled him to sue successfully for the remission of his fine, although, according to his own statement, he was forced to expend nearly £24,000 Scots ere he could get himself freed. In addition to this sum he also paid £30,000 Scots on behalf of his father-in-law, Alexander Brodie of Lethen, who had been fined to the extent of £40,000 Scots. The old man, deserted by his kinsmen, sent for his son-in-law, and after a pathetic scene, the latter consented to advance the amount of the fine for his father-in-law's relief. The Laird did this, though he considered himself wronged in regard to the disposition of the Lethen estate, which he had reason to expect would be provided to one of his own younger sons, but which had been entailed by Alexander Brodie upon his brother, David Brodie of Pitgaveny, to the prejudice of the Laird of Freuchie.

Upon somewhat doubtful authority the Laird is said to have been concerned in the battle of Mulroy, near Keppoch, known as the last clan battle in Scotland.[3] This battle was fought between the Laird of Mackintosh and Macdonald of Keppoch, the cause being a long-standing dispute betwixt their clans as to the lands of Glenroy and Glenspean.

[1] Vol. ii. of this work, pp. 25, 26. [2] *Ibid.* p. 26. [3] MS. Anecdotes at Castle Grant.

Mackintosh, armed with a commission from the Privy Council, and supported by a company of regular troops under their orders, marched into Keppoch, and arrived there about the end of July 1688.[1] Keppoch and his clan prudently kept out of the way for a day or two until reinforced by their kinsmen of Glengarry and other clans. On the 4th of August, Keppoch, better known at a later date as "Coll of the Cowes," found himself strong enough to offer battle, and the two armies met on the side of the hill called Mulroy, near the river Roy, the result being that after a severe contest, Mackintosh's forces were defeated and himself taken prisoner.

The Laird of Mackintosh, however, was not long a captive. The Council's commission to him had, as usual, required the concurrence of neighbouring clans to execute the Council's will, and among these were the Grants and Macphersons. The last-named clan refused to follow Mackintosh into the Braes of Lochaber, but yet mustered strongly and set out for the scene of operations. They arrived too late for the battle, but as they offered to renew it, Keppoch deemed it best to surrender Mackintosh, who, it is said, was thus doubly humiliated, in being beaten by the Macdonalds and rescued by the Macphersons, both of which clans he despised.[2] Nothing is said of the conduct of the Grants in the affair, but the unknown chronicler of the clan claims the honour of the rescue for his own chief. He says that "Laird Louis espoused Macintosh's cause against Capach, after the battle of Mulroy. Capach defeated Macintosh's clan, and took both Laird and Lady prisoners, but hearing the Laird of Grant was fast approaching to relieve Macintosh, thought it advisable to set both Laird and Lady at liberty."[3] The chronicler adds that Keppoch and his followers then dispersed among the hills, and that "Laird Lewis," after burning, at Mackintosh's desire, the houses of Keppoch and some others, which was actually done by a body of regular troops under the Council's orders, marched homewards with his men, "safe to his own country." But for the truth of this story there is no evidence, while it is more than

[1] The Mackintoshes and Clan Chattan, p. 396.
[2] *Ibid.* pp. 398, 399; Skene's Highlanders, vol. ii. pp. 188, 189.
[3] MS. Anecdotes at Castle Grant.

probable that the Grants remained altogether neutral. No other basis for this tradition can be found than that the Grants were directed by the Privy Council to concur with Mackintosh.

But if the Laird's participation in this tribal feud is doubtful, he was soon called upon to play a part in a wider sphere, and to incur greater responsibilities, from which he did not shrink. Towards the end of the year 1688, in the month of October, while the Prince of Orange was making ready to come over to England, and the mind of the nation was ripe for the Revolution, the Laird of Freuchie was summoned to Edinburgh to receive the commands of the Privy Council.[1] This letter was followed on 2d November by a letter from the Duke of Gordon, then Governor of Edinburgh Castle, desiring the Laird to raise a company of men for the service of King James the Seventh, the men to be sent to Stirling.[2] It is not known whether the Laird at that time responded to either requisition, but he was certainly a member of that Convention of Estates called together by the Prince of Orange, which began its sittings on the 14th March 1689, and in his place among the barons he subscribed the minute which declared the convention to be a "free and lawful meeting of the Estates," and their resolution to "continue undissolved until they settle and secure the Protestant religion, the Government, laws, and liberties of the kingdom." This declaration was made before opening a letter addressed to the Estates by the self-exiled monarch, which was believed to contain instructions likely to impede the Convention.[3]

On the 18th March, John Graham, Viscount of Dundee, made his famous exit from Edinburgh, climbing the Castle rock on his way, to urge the Duke of Gordon to hold the fortress for King James. On the same day the Laird of Freuchie was nominated as one of a committee to consider the condition of the Highlands, and report.[4] At a previous meeting he had been appointed with others to consider what was fit for securing the peace.[5] On the 23d March he signed a congratulatory address to King William,[6] and on the 26th he was one of those chosen by vote to act as a committee for settling the Government.[7] The Laird was therefore one of

[1] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 26. [2] *Ibid.* p. 27. [4] Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ix. p. 12.
[3] Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ix. p. 9. [5] *Ibid.* p. 10. [6] *Ibid.* p. 20. [7] *Ibid.* p. 22.

the framers of that resolution of the Estates which declared that King James had forfeited the right to the Crown, and that the throne had become vacant.[1] The same committee also framed the Claim of Right and the offer of the Crown to the King and Queen of England, in terms of which the Estates proclaimed William and Mary to be King and Queen of Scotland.[2] A list of grievances was likewise drawn up,[3] some of which led to discussion, but all which, with the Claim of Right, were read to and accepted by the new King and Queen before they took the oath.[4]

The fact that the Laird of Freuchie was thus chosen by vote to take part in measures so greatly affecting the welfare of the nation, tends to show the confidence reposed in his loyalty to the State. The work of this Committee of Settlement, of which the Laird of Grant was a member, may have been the cause of his delay in hastening north, at the command of Major-General Mackay, to guard the fords of the Spey against Dundee, who, towards the end of April 1689, began his famous campaign on behalf of King James. It was certainly not from lack of loyalty, as on 19th April, the day preceding Dundee's leaving Glen Ogilvy, the Laird of Freuchie is named among those who offered to levy men for the public service, having volunteered to raise and equip six hundred men, and three days afterwards he was appointed colonel of his own regiment.[5] For these levies he received warrant, on 25th April, to buy and import six hundred stand of arms, and on 7th May orders were given for the payment to him of £35 sterling, for the use of each company in his regiment.[6] On the 24th April the Laird was appointed, during pleasure, Sheriff of Inverness-shire, in room of the Earl of Murray, and on the 30th he, in common with other northern sheriffs, was commissioned to call together the heritors and fencible men within his jurisdiction, as well armed as possible, to dissipate any rebel forces in that neighbourhood.[7]

These commissions did not, however, imply any military capacity in the Laird or others who raised men for the Government; and as the levies were officered by men of their own clan or friends, and not by experienced soldiers, the new regiments with their leaders frequently fell under the

[1] Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ix. p. 33. [2] *Ibid.* p. 38. [3] *Ibid.* p. 45.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 93. [5] *Ibid.* pp. 50, 57. [6] *Ibid.* p. 63, App. p. 10. [7] *Ibid.* App. p. 2.

censure of that somewhat rigid tactician and disciplinarian Major-General Mackay.[1] He bestowed special blame on the Laird of Freuchie for not following directions in regard to the fords of Spey, "which wrong step of his was certainly without any design of prejudice to the service, tho' highly punishable had he been a man of service," that is a military man.[2] The Viscount of Dundee passed to Inverness by the very fords which the Laird should have guarded, but he afterwards gave valuable aid to Mackay. He hastened north after that General, who had followed up Dundee and his small company as hotly as possible, and when he found they had crossed the Spey towards Inverness, had marched to Elgin. He did this because a return southward or even to delay where he was, would give Dundee time to make himself master of Elgin as well as Inverness, and of Moray, Ross, and Caithness. The General also expected succours from Sutherland, and help from the Lairds of Balnagown and Grant. When he reached Elgin he sent messengers to summon these persons to march to his assistance, and here he was joined by the Laird. Here also the General rested until Dundee, who had been joined at Inverness by Macdonald of Keppoch and a large number of his clan, should advance. While Mackay himself went with a body of horse to Inverness, he despatched the Laird back to his own country to prepare his men, giving instructions to him and also to Lord Strathnaver to levy the regiments for which they had commissions, with all speed, and to arm as many men as possible with suitable weapons.[3]

Having in these and other ways secured his position, and put Inverness in a state of defence, Mackay sent orders to the troops in the south to march northwards. These started accordingly, but were delayed in their progress by various causes, among others, ignorance of the country and exaggerated stories as to the strength of the enemy. Ramsay, their commander, had almost reached Ruthven, in Badenoch, when he returned to Perth, owing to Mackay's instructions to him being intercepted. Had he marched on, he would have escaped Dundee, and had he been attacked, he would have found safety in Strathspey, as the Laird of Freuchie, with seven or eight hundred men, was under orders to render assistance. Mackay

[1] Mackay's Memoirs, p. 7. [2] *Ibid.* p. 10. [3] *Ibid.* pp. 14-17.

marched from Inverness to meet Ramsay, but finding that the latter had retired, and that Dundee had made a descent on Badenoch, proceeded towards Strathspey, the Laird being with him in his various movements.

Cut off for a time from his reinforcements, General Mackay made a forced march (part of a day and a whole night) to get between Dundee and his nearest help, the country of the Gordons, for the special purpose of securing "the Laird of Grant's interest," which was threatened, "it being a necessary maxim in the war for such as would gain and keep friends never to abandon them without necessity." This brought him to the "plains of Strathspey," and the General, finding his forces on level ground, made an unsuccessful attempt with his dragoons to surprise the enemy. Provisions and forage becoming scarce, by the Laird's advice the General encamped four miles further down the country. From this place he despatched orders to Forfar and Coupar-Angus for reinforcements, and gave directions how they would best reach his head-quarters, "by the road of Cairnmonth." Besides other messengers, he employed, as a special envoy for the sake of despatch, a trusty Highlander, one of Grant's tenants, who, as he was wont to trade in Strathdee and Braemar, could pass rapidly through these districts without suspicion by the disaffected there.

The General then turned his attention to the safety and comfort of his troops, and amid his somewhat prosaic narrative there is a gleam of the picturesque as he describes the spot selected for the time as his quarters, with due regard to security, food, and forage: "A summer-dwelling of Grant's," he writes, "where there were some meadows and fields of corn,[1] proper for the nature of the party whose strength was most in horse." The situation, too, was well fortified by nature, for as the General's position faced towards the Gordon country, the Spey defended his rear, the stony Nethy guarded his right, and woods and marshes secured his camp in front, while within these limits lay a comparatively spacious plain suitable for the evolutions of his cavalry. But the season was in May and the weather cold, and, notwithstanding the oatmeal and sheep for the men, and forage for the horses, supplied from the Laird of Freuchie's

[1] This "summer dwelling" was Culnakyle, in Abernethy.

stores, in addition to what was brought from Moray, there was much scarcity in the little camp, and many horses died. Yet the officers and men never repined, though several times reduced to great want. They were also kept on the alert by their scouts, trusty men of the Laird's and recommended by him, who went backwards and forwards betwixt the royal troops and those of the enemy posted some miles up the river, and reported his movements.

These men of Grant's in the end became the General's most reliable sources of information, for here, at Culnakyle, it was that he had first notice of the disaffected state of his men. He had been joined by Lieut.-Colonel Sir Thomas Livingstone, with two troops of dragoons, for whose movements the ground, as stated, was suitable. The General kept his whole party under arms, the horses saddled and bridled, in the night, with outposts of dragoons in the woods, and foot-soldiers along the banks of the little river, probably the Nethy, and so believed himself safe against surprise. But two days after Livingstone had joined Mackay, the latter was informed by two deserters that he was betrayed by his men. After hearing their story, the General despatched the fellows to Ballachastell, where a garrison was stationed, there to be kept in ward, and notwithstanding the suspicions thus cast on the loyalty of his men, he determined to remain at his post. In this purpose he was confirmed by the advice of his principal officers, and by the Laird of Freuchie, whose usefulness and activity are specially acknowledged.[1]

That the Laird of Freuchie's men were more or less actively engaged at this time in the royal service, is evident from references in General Mackay's own narrative. In the end of May or beginning of June, about sixty of the clan Grant, under their Captain, John Forbes of Culloden, marched into Mackay's camp, bringing the intelligence that the castle of Ruthven, in Badenoch, which they had lately garrisoned, was now a smoking ruin. On the 29th May, Dundee had summoned the castle to surrender, and a few days later, after a sharp encounter, the defenders, weakened by want of provisions and succours, yielded to Keppoch. The garrison were allowed to march out with the honours of war, but the castle

[1] Mackay's Memoirs, p. 29.

was given to the flames. Captain Forbes also brought other intelligence which only too surely proved that Mackay's men were in league with the enemy, and the General, according to his own statement, now chiefly relied upon the Grants for information regarding the rebel forces.[1]

Captain Forbes also stated that as he and his men marched through Dundee's camp, they saw the horses saddled in readiness for some expedition, and almost while his narrative was being told, news came that the enemy was in motion towards the camp. General Mackay summoned his officers, gave orders for the disposition of the men, and prepared to break up his residence in the Laird's "summer dwelling." But while thus making ready for the march, the General did not forget his host. Calling the Laird to him, he expressed regret that this movement would leave the Grant country exposed to the ravage of the rebels, which yet he hoped would be but for a few days. He urged the Laird to bid his tenants remove their cattle out of the enemy's way. That the General's advice was disinterested, and by no means without foundation, may be shown from his own words in a letter to Lord Melvill a few days later. He writes in view of a journey south, and states that he will do his best to settle matters in the north, even if he should leave it, but, he adds, "Som perticullar men may com to suffer, perticullarly the Laird of Grant, at whom they have a great prejudice, as well as at the rest of our friends, but he lyes the most exposed of all; but if the whole be saved, the perticular breaches may be easily made up."[2] The General records that to his arguments the Laird replied, "Tho' all his interest should be lost thereby, he would not wish the General to make one step to the prejudice of their Majesties' service."

General Mackay waited until the night began to fall, and then, when the enemy were about three miles from him, retreated down the Spey, making a long night march, and did not halt till he reached Balveny. His movements for the next few days do not concern this narrative, but five days later, having in the interim received reinforcement, he was back again at Culnakyle, while Dundee was in retreat. On the evening of his arrival he was threatened by a body of the rebels, and sent out a party of two hundred horse commanded by an English officer. The Laird of Freuchie

[1] Mackay's Memoirs, p. 30.

[2] *Ibid.* Appendix, p. 230.

acted as their guide, and they encountered the enemy, a body of Macleans, on their march to join Dundee. The Highlanders pressed hard upon the Laird's party, but the latter were relieved by a detachment from Mackay's army, who pursued the enemy for some distance, but they retired rapidly with but slight loss; and also, it is asserted, not without making spoil of some of the dragoons' horses.[1]

This was the last appearance of the Laird in active service for some time. His regiment, it would appear, had been levied, but was not properly equipped. Such as they were, however, their colonel and they were left with other forces, under the command of Sir Thomas Livingstone, to guard the north while General Mackay proceeded to the south. The battle of Killiecrankie, on 27th July 1689, and the death of Dundee, made a pause in the campaign for some time, but before that date the Grants, or a portion of them, were involved in a contest which had important consequences, and nearly caused a rupture among Dundee's followers. It would appear, though the point is not certain, that the Laird of Freuchie accompanied Mackay on his retreat from Culnakyle, but whether this was so or not, he captured some stragglers of Dundee's men, members of the clan Cameron, who, either at Edinglassie or elsewhere on the march, were found annexing "the most portable moveables they could fall upon."[2] For this the Laird promptly hanged them.

The Camerons nursed their wrath against the Laird and the Clan Grant for that and other causes, until the first opportunity of retaliating. This soon occurred, though the immediate occasion was prompted by private revenge. Dundee employed the time of Mackay's absence in the south in recruiting his forces, and endeavouring to secure a supply of provisions. To obtain the latter, many of the men were allowed to go home, and while waiting their return, and that of others, to the general rendezvous, a party of the Camerons made use of the delay to avenge their comrades. In doing so without the orders of their chief they expected his approbation, because they had seen his anger at the fate of their clansmen, and they also thought that Dundee would be glad of a drove of cattle from the enemy's country. They therefore sallied forth secretly

[1] Mackay's Memoirs, p. 33; Memoirs of Lochiel, p. 244. [2] Memoirs of Lochiel, p. 244.

in considerable force to Urquhart, thence to drive a prey, but found the Grants ready to receive them.

Among the Grants was, it is said, "one Macdonald, of Glengary's family," who imagined that the simple merit of his name and clan was sufficient to protect himself and the whole name of Grant from the revenge of the Camerons.[1] This worthy came boldly up to the Camerons, and, "acquainting them with his name and genealogy," desired their peaceable departure. This they refused, but so far respected his name as to warn him to separate from the Grants, whom they meant to chastise. This kind advice he declined to take, and "daring them to do their worst, departed in a huff," and the fray began with an onset by the Camerons. Their chronicler asserts that the Grants were defeated and dispersed, and their cattle carried in triumph to Dundee's rendezvous in Lochaber. But the matter did not end there. The Macdonald was killed in the conflict, and his nominal chief, Glengarry, resented his death so highly that he demanded satisfaction from Lochiel. Words ran high, and Glengarry's behaviour at one time threatened a split in the camp, but Dundee succeeded in pacifying the chief, who, it is also said, acted more from policy than from anger.[2]

Evidence from another source corroborates the invasion of Urquhart by a body of rebels. Sir James Leslie, one of the officers left by Mackay in the north, in a letter to that General says: "I am certainely inform'd that 500 of the rebells were come to Urquett; they threatned the castle, but I looke upon it to be in little danger." He names a Captain Grant as commander of that fortress and as taking provisions to the place, and states his intention of sending for three companies of Colonel Grant's regiment and others to strengthen his position, which he believes to be threatened.[3] Some weeks later General Mackay wrote to Lord Melvill, "The Laird of Grant's regement in the north about Indernesse have made lately, out of houses where they are partly posted, som successfull interpryses upon thier neighbouring rebells, because they know the convenience of the ground," which he alleges other troops in Blair Athole and elsewhere were not able to do, being strangers in the district. He

[1] Memoirs of Lochiel, p. 253. [2] *Ibid.* pp. 254, 255.
[3] Mackay's Memoirs, Appendix, pp. 299, 300. 6th December 1689.

OLD GUN AT CASTLE GRANT.

therefore deprecates any interference with his arrangements, or any changing of the troops from place to place.[1] This shows that the Laird's regiment was actively employed.

As to the appearance of the Laird's regiment, it is always favourably spoken of. Referring to it shortly after 1st June 1689, General Mackay in his narrative describes it as levied, but as yet without clothes, arms, or discipline, and therefore not to be wholly depended on.[2] It was left at Inverness and Elgin to defend these places and the country round, being quartered there along with Lord Strathnaver's regiment. At a later date (12th October) General Mackay writes to Lord Melvill his belief that "Strathnaver and Grant have as good men as any of the rest."[3] Ten days later he expresses an opinion that they are the "best and compleetest."[4] This, however, was while they were still without proper equipment. Sir James Leslie, on 6th December, refers to these regiments as still without clothes, and ill armed, "verry good bodies of men, but have neither swords nor bagganetts."[5] An order, however, had been given to Colonel Grant's men to receive their arms and clothing some days before, and, as has been shown, they took some share in the active service of the campaign.

After the close of the year 1689, nothing is known of any further activity on the part of the Laird's regiment until a later date, when the tide of battle once more rolled towards Strathspey. The death of Viscount Dundee threw the conduct of King James's affairs into the hands of officers inferior in talent, but also specially inferior in their knowledge of Highland warfare. These were Colonel Cannon, and after him Major-General Buchan. The former took command immediately after Dundee's death, and for some time carried on the rebellion in a desultory manner. The Highland army received a severe check at Dunkeld, but the approach of winter caused a suspension of hostilities, and in April 1690 Major-General Buchan took the field on behalf of King James. He was not at first joined in great numbers by the clans, as the spring operations were not completed, but a small force of twelve hundred men was placed at his disposal.

[1] Mackay's Memoirs, Appendix, p. 315. 31st December 1689.
[2] Mackay's Memoirs, p. 40.
[3] Mackay's Memoirs, Appendix, p. 286.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 290.
[5] *Ibid.* p. 299.

With a portion of this force, or about eight hundred men, General Buchan marched through Lochaber and Badenoch, on his way to the country of the Gordons, where he hoped to obtain reinforcements. He reached Culnakyle, in Abernethy, where a council of war was held, and the next day (30th April 1690), contrary to the advice of his Highland officers, he marched down the Spey and encamped on the Haughs of Cromdale. His progress had been marked by the garrison then posted in Ballachastell, and the captain in command informed General Sir Thomas Livingstone, then about eight miles off, of the presence of the rebel army. Livingstone's force was composed of three hundred men of his own regiment, three hundred of the Clan Grant,[1] with two troops of horse, and other regiments, in all about twelve hundred men. On receiving news of Buchan's advance, Livingstone hastened forward, until within two miles of Ballachastell, the commander of which caused the gates to be closed, that no intelligence might in any way be conveyed to General Buchan of the vicinity of the royal troops.

Although night fell while he was on his march, Livingstone, yielding to advice, pressed forward and arrived at or near the castle about two o'clock in the morning of the 1st of May. His men were tired; but the captain of the castle (who, it is said, was Captain John Grant of Easter Elchies) showed him the enemy's fires, told him they were ignorant of his approach, advised an immediate attack, and offered himself to guide him. Livingstone called his officers together, and sent them to their several detachments to ask the men if they could bear a little more fatigue. The reply being in the affirmative, they were allowed half an hour to refresh themselves. They then marched down to a ford below Dalchapple, which they found guarded by a hundred of the enemy. A detachment was left to occupy their attention, while Captain Grant, and also, it is said, Alexander Grant of Burnside, guided the main body, consisting of Highlanders and some troops of horse, to another ford a quarter of a mile further down the river, which was unguarded. Here they crossed and took the enemy by surprise, and, according to one account, a consider-

[1] Mackay's Memoirs, p. 95. Mackay says, "Six companies of Grant's regiment, making about 800 men." This, on his own showing, is an error, but it may refer to the full complement of the regiment, while only a select detachment was with Livingstone.

able number were slain, as many as four hundred being killed or taken prisoners, while Sir Thomas Livingstone sustained little or no loss. A fog which rested on the summit of the hills favoured the escape of the fugitives, by causing Livingstone's dragoons to desist from pursuit.[1]

Thus was fought the battle of Cromdale, which, though the force engaged on each side was small, practically brought the civil contention to a close. The event was celebrated in the song, "The Haughs of Cromdale," the first verses of which are—

"As I came in by Auchindoun,
A little wee bit frae the town,
When to the Highlands I was bound,
To view the haughs of Cromdale,
I met a man in tartan trews,
I speer'd at him what was the news;
Quo' he, the Highland army rues
That e'er we came to Cromdale.

We were in bed, Sir, every man,
When th' English host upon us came,
A bloody battle then began
Upon the haughs of Cromdale.
The English horse they were so rude,
They bathed their hoofs in Highland blood,
But our brave clans, they boldly stood,
Upon the haughs of Cromdale.

But, alas! we could no longer stay,
For o'er the hills we came away,
And sore we do lament the day
That e'er we came to Cromdale."[2]

The Laird of Freuchie himself was not present at the battle, having returned to his duties as Member of Parliament, and taken the oath of allegiance on 15th April 1690.[3] But his services and those of his regiment were always gratefully acknowledged by Major-General Mackay, who constantly mentions the Laird in the most favourable manner. Even when

[1] Mackay's Memoirs, p. 95.

[2] Hogg's Jacobite Relics, vol. i. p. 3. Blackwood, 1819. The remaining part of this song erroneously refers to another battle—probably that of Auldearn.

[3] Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ix. p. 109.

Mackay, after many applications, obtained leave from the Government to raise a fort at Inverlochy (now Fort-William), he thought of the Grants and the effect it might have on their interests. The Laird's regiment, at least a large portion of it, between four and five hundred men, were selected to form part of the garrison of the new fort, a position to be shared by the Cameronians, if the latter would consent, being one at that time requiring the utmost loyalty in the troops selected.[1] That his confidence was justified so far, may be gathered from a letter to the Privy Council on 2d September 1690, in which Mackay says, while urging on the Government the care of Fort-William, "He (the commandant there) complains of neither sicknesse nor desertion, and praises much Grant's major, of whom he hath great help."[2] Even previous to the erection of the fort, while still on his way to Inverlochy, the General, writing to the Privy Council from his old camp at Culnakyle, refers to the intended junction of the forces in the following terms :—"I wish also your Grace and Lordships take into your consideration the losses that necessarily the Laird of Grant's countrey shall soustain by this junction of the forces, and to dispach the said Laird to his countrey who can easily keep som of his disaffected nighbours in aw, perticularly Strathdown, Glenlievet, and Strath Don," etc.[3] The General also recommended the Government to deal with the Laird about wood to be supplied to fit up the old castle of Ruthven for a small garrison, one reason for this being, that such a garrison would keep the neighbourhood quiet, and the Laird would benefit thereby.[4]

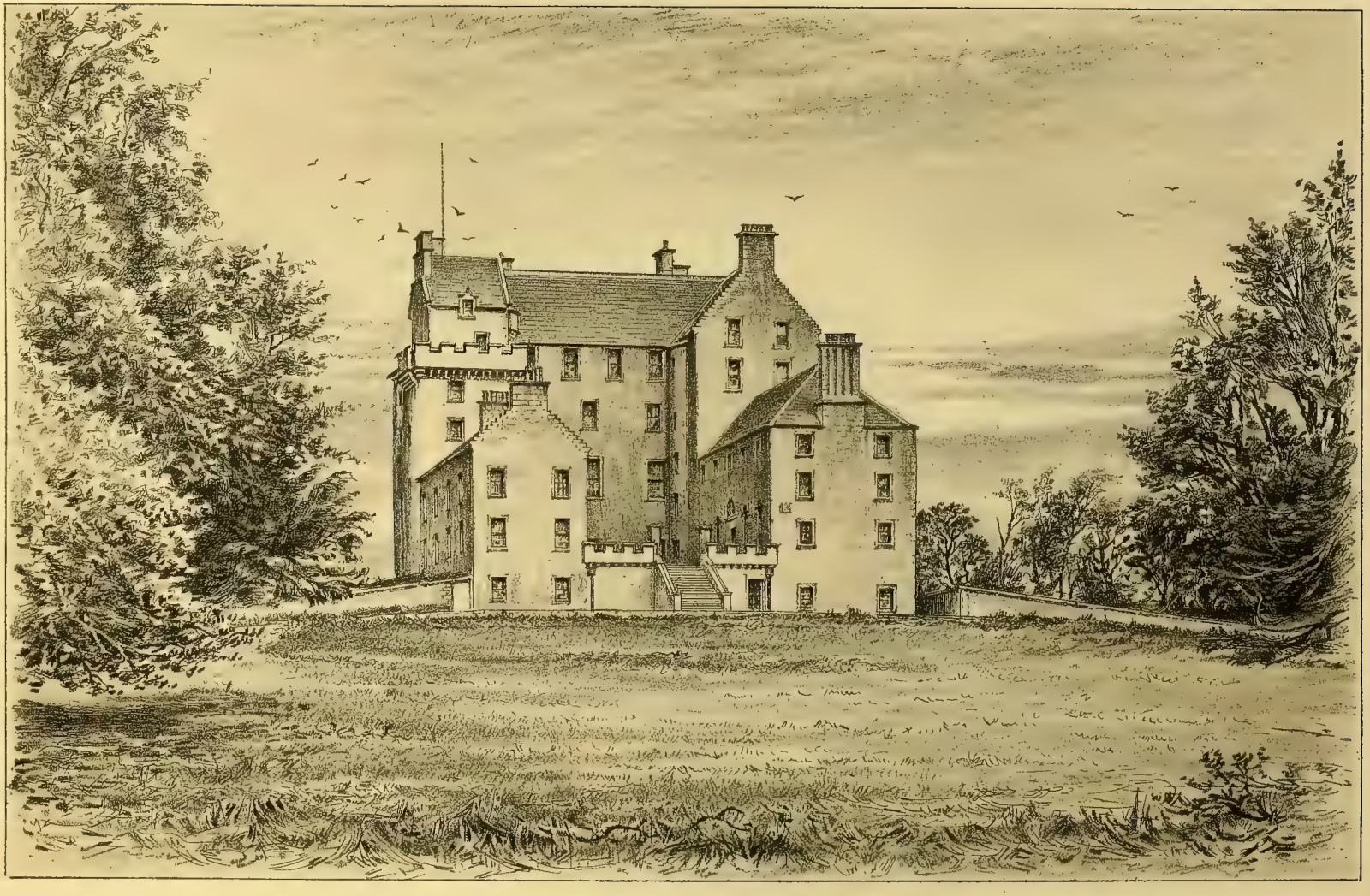
When the war came to an end, and the country gradually became settled, the Laird of Freuchie continued steadily to discharge his duties as a Member of Parliament. After the passing, on 4th July 1690, of the act rescinding all fines and forfeitures inflicted during the two preceding reigns from 1st January 1665 to 5th November 1688, the Laird made some efforts to have his own case considered, in regard to the fine paid by him on behalf of Brodie of Lethen, but what success he had cannot be gathered from the Records of Parliament.

[1] Mackay's Memoirs, Appendix, p. 334. Letter to Duke of Hamilton, 10th July 1690

[2] *Ibid.* p 354.

[3] Mackay's Memoirs, Appendix, p. 330. 28th June 1690.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 339. 26th July 1690.



CASTLE GRANT

The Laird was apportioned a considerable share of work in the public service. On 4th July 1690, he was appointed one of the Commissioners for visiting Universities and Schools,[1] and on the 18th of the same month he was placed on the Commission for Plantation of Kirks,[2] a position in which he is said to have displayed much zeal. So desirous was he to have "legal" ministers in his own neighbourhood, that he removed men from Cromdale, Duthil, and Abernethy parishes respectively, and shut up their churches in 1690 or 1691, till properly qualified ministers were found to occupy them.[3]

The remainder of the Laird's parliamentary career may be shortly stated. He continued to represent the shire of Inverness in Parliament until the Union in 1707, his colleague during part of his term of office being Forbes of Culloden. Besides the measures already referred to, the Laird took part in several others. On the death of Queen Mary in 1695, the Laird was one of the three persons appointed to draw up an address of condolence to King William, and was also nominated to sit on the Committee for Security of the Kingdom.[4] A year later he subscribed the declaration pronouncing King William truly and lawfully King, and binding the subscribers to defend His Majesty.[5] In 1701, the Laird was one of those who dissented from an address to the King on the vexed question of the settlement of Darien, but he voted for an Act declaring that the Colony was a rightful settlement.[6] In 1705 the Laird joined in the protest against the Union of the Kingdoms, unless the Alien Bill was repealed. These, with a few other measures of minor importance, sum up the Laird's appearances in Parliamentary annals, and they show that he took an active interest in national affairs.

On 28th February 1694 he received from William and Mary a charter erecting his whole lands of Freuchie and others into a Regality, to be called the Regality of Grant, and ordaining the castle and manor place of Freuchie to be called in all time coming the Castle of Grant; also the town formerly called Castletown of Freuchie to be called the town and

[1] Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ix. p. 164.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 188.
[3] Shaw's Moray, p. 36.
[4] Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ix. p. 351.
[5] *Ibid.* vol. x. p. 10.
[6] *Ibid.* pp. 246, etc.

burgh of Grant, etc.,[1] as already narrated in the Introduction. From this date the Laird of Freuchie changed his formal designation and became the Laird of Grant. Previous to this the Laird had been formally authorised to have within his bounds various free fairs, where all commodities might be bought and sold. An Act was passed allowing a fair to be held at the kirk of Kyllemoir in Urquhart yearly in August, to be called "Lovis Faire;" another fair there yearly in November, to be named "Lady Fair;" a yearly fair at Ballachastell in April, to be called "Grantowne Fair;" another there in August, to be called "Castle Fair;" a yearly fair at the Kirk of Duthil in June, and a yearly fair at Abernethy in November, to be called respectively "Bettie's Fair" and "Kathrin's Fair;" besides a weekly market at Ballachastell.[2]

The Estates of Parliament, in 1695, took up the question of the losses sustained by the Laird of Grant from the rebels, and by the quarterings of the regular troops, in the years 1689 and 1690. The Committees appointed to examine the matter reported that the losses of the Laird of Grant and his vassals and tenants of the five parishes of Strathspey was £76,152, 18s. 8d. Scots, of which £7190, 2s. 8d. Scots was occasioned by the regular forces; that the losses by tenants and possessors of the barony of Urquhart amounted to £44,333, 5s. 2d. Scots, of which £2000 was for injury done to the house of Urquhart and low buildings by several soldiers of His Majesty's regular forces when they lay in garrison there. Besides these the Laird of Grant declared that he lost his rents of the barony of Urquhart for the years 1689, 1690, 1691, 1692, and 1693, being six thousand pounds yearly, extending to thirty thousand pounds Scots. The whole sum of the loss suffered by the Laird of Grant, his vassals and tenants, amounted to £120,486, 3s. 10d. Scots, besides the £30,000 referred to as five years' rent of the barony of Urquhart. The Parliament accordingly recommended the Laird of Grant to His Majesty's gracious consideration for repayment of this large sum, estimated at about £12,000 sterling.[3] No benefit, however, resulted

[1] Original Charter at Castle Grant; confirmed by Parliament on 12th October 1696, vol. iii. of this work, p. 476.

[2] See dates, etc., in Extract Act, vol. iii. of this work, p. 359.

[3] Acts of the Parliaments of Scotland, vol. ix. pp. 426, 427; vol. iii. of this work, p. 482.

from this recommendation, and although the subject was again brought up in the Scots Parliament in 1707, and by successive Lairds of Grant, for a long time all efforts to obtain indemnity for these losses and other expenditure were fruitless.

Reference has already been made to the appointment, in 1689, of the Laird of Grant, then of Freuchie, to be Sheriff of Inverness-shire, which appointment was duly approved. His commission as Sheriff Principal was continued by Queen Anne,[1] and he probably held the office till his death. His promptitude in doing justice seems to have been much impressed upon those under his jurisdiction, if the traditions regarding his severity be correct. His treatment of the Camerons who were caught plundering has been stated in connection with the war of 1689, but it was probably carried out in his capacity as Sheriff of Inverness. The anonymous writer of anecdotes, already referred to, who devotes his narrative chiefly to "Laird Lewis," states that there were nine Camerons, all of whom were hanged in one day at Tom-na-croich, *i.e.* the place of the gallows, a little hill above Duthil. Two of these were gentlemen, and the Laird was on this occasion so exasperated against these Highland freebooters that he never afterwards missed an opportunity of inflicting the extreme penalty of the law where it was merited.

The same chronicler, however, tells another story which shows that "law" did not always limit the Laird's actions, when hanging was in question. No date is given, but it was after the Laird became Sheriff. A "gentleman of the name of Macgregor," driving a "spraith" from the Laird's country, was apprehended by a party of Grants who went in pursuit, and carried prisoner to Inverness. Letters were addressed to the Laird, as Sheriff, by Lord Strathallan, Glengyle, and other friends of the captive, which, instead of pleading for favour to the prisoner, declared that "though Macgregor was guilty, yet if the Sheriff hanged him, they would have a Grant's head for every finger in both his hands." The Laird's reply was that if the prisoner on trial was clearly proved to be guilty, hanged he should be, "though a hundred heads should be lost on both sides." Macgregor was duly convicted, and condemned. On the way to execution,

[1] Original Commission, 24th April 1708, at Castle Grant.

accompanied by the Sheriff, the condemned man was met by an express bearing a reprieve, which, without opening, the Sheriff placed "between the criminal's neck and the rope wherewith he was fastened, and thereby hanged both at the same time." The chronicler of this remarkable tradition adds that this act caused a considerable sensation, but that by his own influence and the representations of Forbes of Culloden, his Parliamentary colleague, the Laird of Grant escaped censure.

The same narrator tells several other stories of this Laird. One of these refers to the later years of the Laird's life, and, whether true or not, it indicates that he left behind him a character for firmness and energy. The Earl of Mar, while Secretary of State for Scotland, one day meeting the Laird in Edinburgh, asked him to dine. In conversation after dinner the Earl complained of his vassals, the Farquharsons of Braemar and the Forbeses of Strathdon, that they were disobedient, cut his woods, killed his deer, and paid no regard to his bailies or factors, but that though Secretary of State, he did not choose to ask for a military force to oblige them to listen to law and reason. Grant replied that if the Earl would do the first favour he asked, he would act as his bailie and bring the refractory vassals to order. Mar eagerly accepted the offer, promising his friendship for life in return for such a service. When the news of their chief's undertaking reached Strathspey, the clan were "greatly affronted . . . looking upon it as an office derogatory to the honour of the Laird of Grant, to be bailie to the Earl of Mar or any other subject." The Laird, however, would not resile from his word. Raising a body of between four and five hundred men, he went with forty or fifty greyhounds under a pretext of hunting in the Earl of Mar's forest, where he killed some small deer. He then invited all the gentlemen vassals to meet him at the old Castletown of Braemar, where the Bailie Courts were held. After dinner and several toasts, the Laird announced his promise to the Earl of Mar, and his purpose to carry it out. He told his hearers "in fair words, that if, upon their honours they promised to be faithful and honest to Lord Mar and his doers in all time, in as far as law required, he would engage to procure them Lord Mar's forgiveness; but if they did not, that he would summon them all to a fenced court, and put the law in execution without feud or favour."

He allowed them till ten o'clock next morning to give a reply, and they responded by promising all he desired. The Laird discharged all former factors and bailies, and appointed two, one as his own substitute and another as a forester, leaving Lord Mar to name his own factors. On returning home, the Laird informed the Earl of the result of his proceedings, and received a letter of thanks, "wrote in the strongest terms of friendship."[1]

The same writer refers to an incident with which this Laird was also connected, namely, the trial of James Macpherson and others at Banff, in the year 1700. It is said that Sir Walter Scott intended to introduce Macpherson, to whose history a romantic interest attached, into the pages of fiction, and "Macpherson's Lament" will be known to every reader of Burns. The circumstances regarding the capture and execution of Macpherson have been told and retold elsewhere,[2] and it need only be mentioned here that he was the leader of a gang of gipsies, who roamed through the North country, and, by their audacity in plundering, caused considerable terror to the inhabitants. Alexander Duff, Laird of Braco, had long wished to arrest the gang, but stood in awe of the Laird of Grant, who regarded some of the marauders as his tenants, and felt bound to protect his jurisdiction from encroachment. These tenants were two of Macpherson's comrades, Peter and Donald Brown, who usually resided near Castle Grant. The Laird of Braco, however, made an attempt at Keith to seize the robbers, and succeeded in arresting Macpherson and Peter Brown. It is related that the Laird of Grant attempted a rescue, and was successful so far that the culprits escaped, but they were retaken and placed in safe custody.[3]

Macpherson, Peter and Donald Brown, with a fourth named James Gordon, were tried before the Sheriff of Banff on 7th November 1700. A claim was made by the Laird of Grant that the Browns, being his vassals, should be remitted to his jurisdiction, but this plea was repelled. The trial went on, and the prisoners were found guilty, and, at different dates, sentenced to death.[4] The author of the Chronicles of Keith states

[1] MS. "Anecdotes" at Castle Grant.

[2] Miscellany of the Spalding Club, vol. iii. pp. 175-191; Gordon's Chronicles of Keith, pp. 37-43.

[3] Gordon's Chronicles of Keith, pp. 37, 38.

[4] Miscellany of the Spalding Club, vol. iii. p. 190.

that only Macpherson was executed, and that the Browns were thought to have escaped; but the unknown biographer of Laird Lewis supplies some information regarding the Browns.

Peter Brown, it is said, had a fair share of good sense and good manners, and "could behave himself in gentlemen's company." Macpherson was rough and disqualified for good society. One accomplishment was common to both, they were good musicians. The Laird of Grant took an interest in Brown, regretted his wild life, and endeavoured to wean him from it by inviting him to Castle Grant. Brown made fair promises, and stayed for some time at or near Castle Grant, but at last made an appointment to meet Macpherson at Keith, where, as stated, they were captured in company. The Duke of Gordon is said to have made some interest for Macpherson,[1] as did the Laird of Grant for Brown, but the Sheriff condemned them, and thereby incurred the Laird's displeasure. The Laird, however, obtained a reprieve for Brown, on his signing an act of voluntary banishment for life from Scotland, while Macpherson was hanged, which gave rise to the song—

"The Laird of Grant, that Highland Saint,
Of mighty majesty,
Did plead the cause of Peter Brown
And let Macpherson die."

The Laird then sent Brown to John Duke of Argyll, under whose command he behaved so well that the Duke selected him as one of his personal attendants. Some years afterwards, the Laird of Grant desired to have Brown home again, and the Duke promised to send him. But Brown, earnestly begging to be allowed to attend the Duke at the battle of Malplaquet, had his usual post that day, and was shot while on duty.[2]

The Laird of Grant, no doubt feeling age drawing upon him, made a settlement by way of entail of the estate of Grant upon his eldest son, Colonel Alexander Grant, younger of Grant, who had already for many years acted as Bailie of the Regality of Grant. The entail was made as part of the family arrangement on his son's second marriage. Laird

[1] This is not borne out by the records of the trial.

[2] MS. "Anecdotes," at Castle Grant.

Ludovick reserved to himself an annuity of £300 sterling yearly, and a jointure to Jean Houstoun, his second spouse.[1]

In the end of the same year, 1710, the following touching incident narrated by the writer of the "Anecdotes" took place. The Laird, it is said, sent his eldest son Alexander to London to press his claims for indemnity on the Government. These claims were, however, as already stated, rejected. This statement may refer to the application made in 1707; but it is further related that on being thus refused, Mr. Grant of Grant returned home, and "having obtained his father's leave, made all the gentlemen and commons of his name wear whiskers, and make all their plaids and tartan of red and green, and commanded them all to appear before him at Ballintome, the ordinary place of rendezvous, in that uniform, in kilt and under arms, which order was complied with." The old Laird attended the meeting with his son, and made a speech to the men drawn up in full order, telling them that he being now old was no longer able to command them as formerly, and that he therefore devolved the leadership upon his son, who, "they saw, promised as well, if not better, than ever he did." He expected therefore that they would maintain "the same good character, with regard to courage and unanimity, which they bore while he commanded them." Then addressing himself to his son, he said, "My dear Sandy, I make you this day a very great present, viz., the honour of commanding the Clan Grant, who, while I conducted them, though in troublesome times, yet they never misbehaved, so that you have them this day without spot or blemish. I hope and beg you will use them as well as I did in supporting their public and private interests agreeable to the laws of liberty and probity as are now happily established in our lands. God bless you all!"[2]

Thus, according to his admiring biographer, did this Laird of Grant resign the leadership of his Clan, and from or about this period the old Laird took no active interest in public affairs. His son, in the intervals of his military duties, managed the estates of Grant, with the assistance of his sister Anne, and of her husband, Lieutenant-Colonel William Grant of Ballindalloch. But though thus relieved of the care of his large estates, the Laird's later years were somewhat disturbed by differences between

[1] Charter, dated 9th July 1710, at Castle Grant.

[2] MS. "Anecdotes" at Castle Grant.

himself and his son, the young Laird, chiefly, it would appear, through the stepmother, Jean Houstoun. The Earl of Murray, a near relative by marriage of the young Laird, endeavoured to make peace between the father and son,[1] and their differences were composed by arbitration in the following year.

By this arrangement, to which not only the Laird and his eldest son, but also Jean Houstoun and her friends were parties, the Laird's annuity of £300 sterling was reduced to £200 sterling, with the provision that on the death of his second wife, it should revert to the original sum. Questions about the lady's jointure lands, and the furniture and plate in the family mansions, were also disposed of.[2] But the result does not appear to have been altogether satisfactory, as the Laird and the Brigadier were involved in litigation in the Court of Session in 1715, respecting the same affairs.[3]

Five years after his settlement of the estates, the Laird died at Edinburgh in November 1716. His remains were interred in the Abbey Church of Holyroodhouse, on the 19th November of that year, in the north-west corner of the church, four feet from the north wall. The Burial Register of Holyrood says that he was laid in the same place where his father had been buried on the 10th of October 1663.[4]

Ludovick Grant was twice married. His first wife was Janet Brodie, only child and heiress of Alexander Brodie of Lethen. The marriage contract is dated 21st December 1671,[5] and six days later the marriage took place.[6] From the diary of the lady's kinsman, the Laird of Brodie, it would appear that the Laird of Grant's friends opposed the marriage.[7] This fact is commented on by the chronicler already quoted, who says that the Clan opposed the match, deeming the lady, though a great fortune, to be the Laird's inferior. But he adds, "she proved so wise, good, and

[1] Letter dated 19th June 1711, vol. ii. of this work, p. 93.

[2] Extract Submission, and Decreet Arbitral, pronounced 10th July 1712, at Castle Grant.

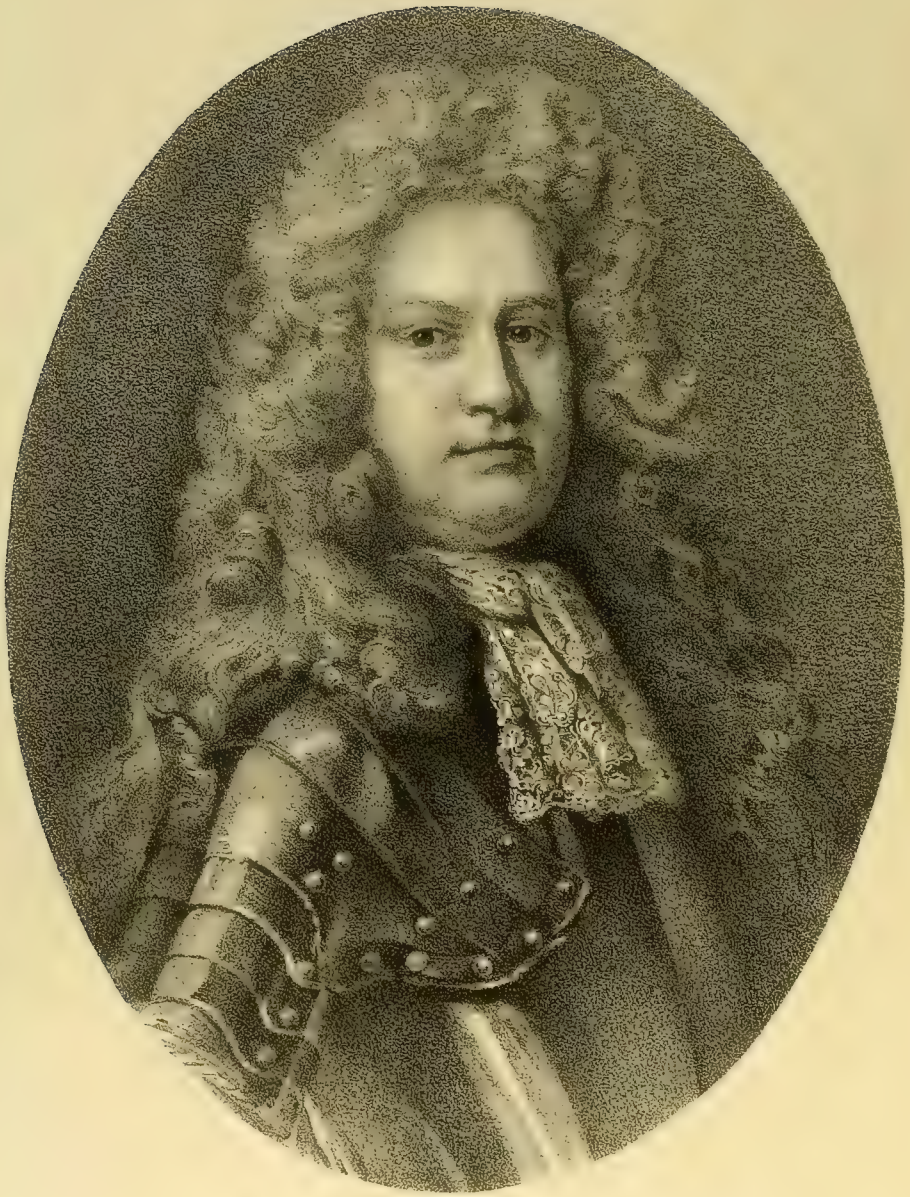
[3] Information for Brigadier-General Alexander Grant, dated 1715, *ibid.*

[4] The entry is as follows :—Buried 19th November 1716. Ludovick Grant of that Ilk was buried in the church of Holyroodhouse, and lyes in the north-west corner of the church four foots from the north wall. The head of his coffin lyes below the north-west window, and the foot of his coffin four foot from the wall upon the west side of the north door, the foot of his coffin being exactly where the head of his father's was laid upon the 10th of October 1663.

[5] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 469.

[6] Diaries of the Lairds of Brodie, p. 323.

[7] *Ibid.* p. 319.



MAJOR GEORGE GRANT OF CULBIN,
FOURTH SON OF LUDOVICK GRANT OF GRANT,
DIED IN DECEMBER, 1755.

COLONEL LEWIS GRANT,

FIFTH SON OF LUDOVICK GRANT OF GRANT,

DIED S. P. AT KINGSTON IN JAMAICA, 11TH MARCH, 1742.

virtuous a woman, as gained her in a very short time the esteem and respect of friends and strangers."[1] Janet Brodie, Lady of Grant, died in 1697,[2] and the Laird, some years later, married again. His second wife was Jean, daughter of Sir John Houstoun, and relict of Sir Richard Lockhart of Lee. The contract of marriage between the Laird and this Lady is dated 1st March 1701,[3] and by her the Laird had no issue. She was alive in 1727, and in that year entered into an agreement with her stepson, Sir James Grant of Grant, by which she consented to modify the allowance of four thousand merks to which she was entitled in terms of her contract of marriage, to three thousand merks.[4]

By his first wife Ludovick Grant had issue, five sons and four daughters. The sons were—

1. John, who died young, and unmarried, on 11th April 1682.[5]
2. Alexander, who became a Brigadier-General in the army, and succeeded his father. Of him a Memoir follows.
3. James, who succeeded his brother Alexander as Laird of Grant, and became Sir James Grant of Grant, Baronet. A Memoir of him follows.
4. George, described in 1704 as third son of Ludovick Grant, his eldest brother John having predeceased. He became Major George Grant of Culbin, and was for a time Governor of Fort-George. In 1733 he acquired the lands of Culbin and others from his nephew, Mr. Ludovick Colquhoun of Luss, afterwards Sir Ludovick Grant of Grant, to whom, after the death of the Major in December 1755, unmarried, they reverted.
5. Lewis, who became a Colonel in the army. In a petition to the King for preferment to the post of Lieutenant-Colonel, he states he had had the honour to serve the Crown twenty-nine years, particularly in Scotland during the rebellion of 1715. He states that during that time he had been twenty-six years Captain in the army and thirteen years Major in the regiment of foot

[1] MS. "Anecdotes," at Castle Grant.

[2] Shaw's Moray, p. 37.

[3] Memorandum of Contents of Contract at Castle Grant.

[4] Extract Contract between James Grant of Grant and Mrs. Jean Houstoun, dated 14th March and 16th June 1627, at Castle Grant.

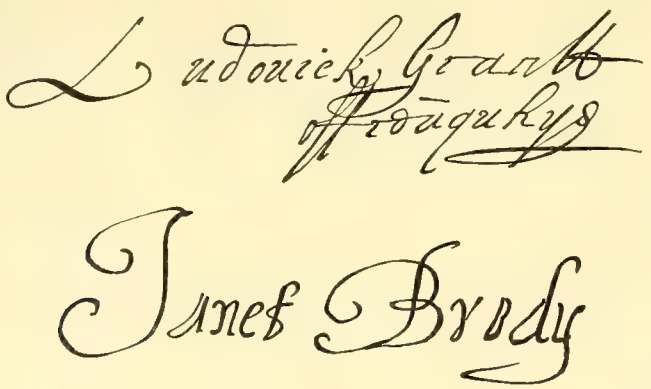
[5] Diaries of the Lairds of Brodie, p. 467.

commanded by the Earl of Orkney.[1] He married an Irish lady, whose name has not been ascertained. After his marriage he purchased the estate of Dunphail from the Dunbars, but with the express intention that it should not be settled on the heirs of that marriage.[2] Having gone to Jamaica, he died in Kingston on 11th March 1742. He left a daughter Anne, who married Mr. Patrick Grant, minister of Logie Easter, but the property of Dunphail, with the rest of his estate, passed to his nephew, Sir Ludovick Grant of Grant.

The daughters were—

1. Elizabeth, who married (contract dated 15th January 1704)[3] Hugh Rose of Kilravock, in the county of Nairn. They had issue.
2. Anne, who married Lieutenant-Colonel William Grant of Ballindalloch. The contract for their marriage is dated 30th October 1711.[4] She was the ancestress of the present Sir George Macpherson Grant of Ballindalloch.
3. Janet, who married, before 1716, Sir Roderick Mackenzie of Scatwell, and had issue.
4. Margaret, who married, in December 1716, amid great rejoicings, Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat, by whom she had issue. She died, after child-birth, in July 1729, and her husband bewailed her loss in passionate grief.[5]

[1] Draft Petition, undated, at Castle Grant. The rank of Colonel appears, however, to have been conferred in or before 1731. [2] Letter at Castle Grant. [3] Original Contract at Castle Grant. [4] Original Contract of Marriage at Ballindalloch. [5] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 298.



BRIGADIER GENERAL ALEXANDER GRANT OF GRANT,
D. 1719.

ANNE SMITH, MAID OF HONOR TO QUEEN ANNE,
SECOND WIFE OF BRIGADIER GENERAL GRANT OF GRANT.
M. 1709.

XVI.—BRIGADIER-GENERAL ALEXANDER GRANT OF GRANT.

ELIZABETH STEWART (OF MURRAY), HIS FIRST WIFE, 1699.
ANNE SMITH, HIS SECOND WIFE, 1709.

1716-1719.

ALEXANDER GRANT was the second born but eldest surviving son of Ludovick Grant of Grant, and his first wife, Janet Brodie of Lethen. His first appearance in public life was as a commissioner of supply for the shires of Inverness and Elgin in 1698.[1] He was also one of the Commissioners of Justiciary for the northern counties, and travelled on circuit to Keith and Kincardine in January and March 1702, and signed warrants for the incarceration of various Highland depredators.[2] He was also, on 24th February 1703, appointed by Queen Anne Sheriff-principal of the shire of Inverness.[3] He sat in the Scotch Parliaments of 1703, 1704, 1705, and 1706,[4] as member for the shire of Inverness, in the first three years or sessions, jointly with his father, and in the fourth and last session of the Parliament 1706-1707, as sole member for that shire. He took part in the debates on the Act of Security, and, with his father, supported Robert Dundas of Arniston in a protest by the latter that no clause to be inserted in that Act should prejudice the lawful rights of the shires or their representatives.[5] On 5th August 1704, young Grant protested in favour of a petition by his father and the Earl of Sutherland regarding certain claims they had against the Government. He was, in that year, again appointed a commissioner of supply.

The young Laird of Grant was one of the commissioners appointed on behalf of Scotland to treat for a union with England. The Commission appointing him and the other Scotch commissioners was dated on 27th February 1706,[6] and the Lords commissioners of both kingdoms met for the first time on 16th April following. Mr. Grant was not present at the

[1] Acts of Parliaments of Scotland, vol. x. p. 132.

[2] Original Warrants at Ballindalloch.

[3] Original Commission at Castle Grant.

[4] Acts of Parliaments of Scotland, vol. xi. pp. 30. 114, 207, 301. The date of his Commission as Member for Inverness-shire is 6th October 1702.

[5] Acts of Parliaments of Scotland, vol. xi. p. 73.

[6] *Ibid.* App. p. 162. The original Commission is in H.M. General Register House, Edinburgh.

earlier meetings, his name appearing in the proceedings for the first time on the 9th of May,[1] but from that date he constantly attended the sittings of Commission, and signed his name with the others to the Articles of Union on 22d July 1706.[2]

Of the memorable Scottish Parliament which followed, and which began its Session on 3d October 1706, Mr. Grant was a member, taking part in all but a few unimportant divisions on the subject of the Union, and always voting on the side of the Government.[3] In the last recorded division of the Parliament, which took place upon the question whether the quota of the "Equivalent" to be paid to the Darien Company in terms of the treaty, should be paid to the directors or to the individual stockholders, Mr. Grant voted that it should be paid to the stockholders, which was done. Mr. Grant was one of the thirty representatives of counties appointed by the Scots Parliament to sit in the first British Parliament.

Although Mr. Grant's entrance into public life was as a legislator, he did not confine himself to that calling, but entered the army, in which he rose to high command. On 4th March 1706, he received a commission from Queen Anne appointing him colonel and captain of a regiment of foot in Scotland, formerly commanded by John Earl of Mar, and which is said to have been raised in 1702.[4] It is not improbable that he was appointed to this high rank as a recognition of his father's services to the Government, but the chronicler who treats of his father's life ascribes the young Laird's advancement also to political reasons. Referring to the transfer by the Laird to his son of the leadership of the clan, as narrated in the previous memoir, the writer says:—"The young Laird, a few weeks after this, wrote letters to all the chieftains of clans in the Highlands. What their contents were is not published, but the report of them reaching the Ministry, they thought it prudent, as there was an invasion always threatening from France in favour of the Pretender, not to lose such a powerful friend as the Laird of Grant." They therefore judged it advisable as they believed him disobliged by the difficulties

[1] Acts of Parliaments of Scotland, vol. xi. App. p. 168.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 204.
[3] *Ibid.* vol. xi. pp. 312-422, *passim.*
[4] Commission and Draft Memorial at Castle Grant.

made as to the indemnity, that the Earl of Mar, then appointed Secretary of State,[1] and Lord Leven, Commander-in-Chief of the forces in Scotland, should write the young Laird in a friendly manner, and urge his coming to Court with all despatch. He obeyed, and was offered the Earl of Mar's regiment, then vacant, with power to fill up blank commissions for such friends as he thought proper. The offer, it is said, gratified the young man's ambition, and he accepted the regiment.[2]

The large sums of money expended by Ludovick Grant, and the losses incurred by his family and tenants, amounted, in the year 1695, as has been shown, to the large sum of £12,000 sterling. Although the Scottish Parliament passed a special Act recommending the payment of this sum, no part of it had been received from the Government. In March 1707, Colonel Grant, on behalf of his father, again petitioned the Scottish Parliament to consider the losses sustained by the family, and the petition was duly recommended to Queen Anne, but as the Parliament of Scotland dissolved on 28th April following, never to meet again, no progress was made in the matter.

After the Treaty of Union was completed, and the terms of it became publicly known in Scotland, much indignation was at first expressed at a measure which, it was asserted, would deprive the nation of its independence. This feeling prompted many to look to the Court of St. Germains for aid in this crisis, and many combinations were formed on behalf of the exiled royal family. They, on the other hand, were aware of the national feeling arising in Scotland, and with the consent of the French King sent over agents to obtain intelligence and form schemes for a restoration. The most prominent of these emissaries was Colonel Hooke, an English refugee residing in France, but his conduct was injudicious, and in the end contributed nothing to the success of his mission. He overlooked a party of men who, upon very slight inducement, would at that time have mustered strongly for the Stewart cause, without making such stringent conditions as did the more timid Lowlanders. These were the chiefs of the Highland clans, who at this time do not seem to have been appealed to in any effectual manner. But that it was contemplated to influence them may

[1] The Earl of Mar was Secretary in 1706.

[2] MS. Anecdotes at Castle Grant.

be inferred from a letter in which David, third Earl of Leven, then Commander-in-chief of the forces in Scotland, instructed Colonel Grant to take measures against two persons suspected of designs against the Government. The Earl writes, on 9th September 1707, "I am certainly informed that John and Robert Murrays, brother-germans to the Laird of Abbercairny, are returned from France to Scotland, and that upon treasonable designes against the Government. I am informed that they have been in the north, and it is more than probable that they will be much in your countrey dureing thair aboad in this pairt of the kingdome. The Earle Marshell, Earl of Arroll [Errol], and Duke of Gordoune, their famillies and interests, I presume are the places where they are lickliest to haunt when in the Low Country, and when they goe to the Highlands you can make a better judgement then I what will be their haunts." The Earl remarks upon the importance of securing these two gentlemen and their papers, and also that it was more especially a duty for the military. He expresses his great confidence in the colonel's ability to manage the affair, and adds, "I doe therefore earnestly desyre that you use your outmost dilligence to informe yourselfe off and to secure those persones with their papers if possible." The utmost secrecy, however, was to be observed. The Earl also desires to be informed regarding a reported "Highland hunting" to be held by the Duke of Gordon.[1]

At least one of the persons named in the above letter was associated with the celebrated Simon Fraser of Beaufort, better known as Lord Lovat, when the latter, in 1702 or 1703, was sent on a special mission to the Highland Chiefs, who, however, distrusted him and rejected his overtures.[2] Lord Leven's anxiety about the Duke of Gordon's reported hunting-match arose from the fact that Lovat had proposed under such a guise to draw the Highland clans together and raise the standard of insurrection. But though a person who had been thus associated was naturally an object of suspicion to the Government, it does not appear whether the report of Murray's mission was correct, and there is no evidence regarding any further procedure by Colonel Grant.

[1] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 28.

[2] The Reign of Queen Anne, by J. Hill Burton, vol. i. p. 330.

In the following year, 1708, the first elections in Scotland of members of the first British Parliament took place. Colonel Grant was elected as member for the shire of Inverness.[1] Besides attending to his own election by his old constituency, the Colonel naturally interested himself in the elections in the neighbourhood of his own property, and was present in Elgin shortly after the first nomination (on 26th May 1708) of a member for the district of burghs of which Elgin was one. While in the town he was made the subject of popular displeasure, apparently on account of the support given by him to the Union. On 4th June following he writes to an agent in Edinburgh, "Major Clephan will give you a full account of the insulencie happned me and some officers at Elgine upon the 2d inst. . . . he was to waite upon the Earle of Leven and receave his directions, and then will tell you what method to follow, and order money for doeing it. . . . I can make no particular libell (accusation) in the matter, since, except the magistrats, there was not four people in town but were concerned in it, so it must run against the whole. I expect your care in this, for I never met with such a piece of impudence done me, tho at the samen [time] it was the samen thing to them if they could but maul any body that either served the Queen or was well affected to the Government."[2]

In view probably of the threatened French invasion, which proved so futile, Queen Anne on 18th March 1708, issued a warrant, authorising Colonel Grant to increase the number of men in his regiment by receiving recruits or volunteers. The regiment under his command consisted of nine companies. Three other companies were to be added, and the whole was to consist of twelve companies, with fifty-nine rank and file in each, and a corresponding number of commissioned and non-commissioned officers. On 3d April two other regiments in Scotland, commanded respectively by William Lord Strathnaver and Major-General Maitland, were put upon the same footing, while the regiment of Foot Guards commanded by the Marquis of Lothian, was augmented from thirty-six privates in each of the sixteen companies to seventy men, and officers in proportion, with two companies of grenadiers.[3]

[1] Original Commission at Castle Grant, dated 21st June 1708.
[2] Original Letter at Castle Grant.
[3] Copies of Warrants, *ibid.*

The increased force under Colonel Grant's command was not, however, to be used in Scotland. Colonel Grant received from the Earl of Leven, Commander-in-Chief for Scotland, a sudden order to repair to Stirling, where his regiment lay, and to call in all the officers absent on recruiting duty or on leave.[1] Two days afterwards Lord Leven, in a private note, explains the cause of this sudden summons. He says, "I have reason to believe that your regiment will be ordered abroad. I have ordered all officers to their posts, but they know nothing of the reason, and its absulutly nesisar that this be keep'd a secret, for if officers know it, the souldiers soon will, and then desertion will follow."[2] Shortly after this the regiment received their route and began the march, passing through Musselburgh, Prestonpans, and Tranent about the 12th of October 1708.[3] They followed the east coast road to Cockburnspath, where they were to have been inspected by the Earl of Leven, but he was prevented from meeting them.[4] From Cockburnspath they were to march to Newcastle, thence to embark for London. About the beginning of November they sailed from Newcastle to the Nore, and towards the end of the same month they were quartered at Canterbury and other towns in the neighbourhood, there to remain till further orders.[5]

It would appear that the regiment was ordered to Flanders to join the Duke of Marlborough, then in the zenith of his military fame, who, towards the end of the year 1708, was besieging Lille in Flanders. Though there is no clear evidence on the point, yet the fact stated by Colonel Grant in a memorial dated in 1711, that his regiment had then been nearly three years abroad, warrants the supposition that Colonel Grant and his men joined the allied army about this time; and in the private note referred to, Lord Leven indicated that the Colonel would receive orders either from Court or from the Duke of Marlborough. The latter also, in a letter to an officer at Antwerp, speaks of the projected arrival of two regiments from Scotland, and implies that they were to reach Flanders before the 20th November 1708.[6] Colonel Grant, how-

[1] Original Order, dated 2d August 1708, at Castle Grant.

[2] Original Letter, dated 4th August 1708, *ibid.*

[3] Order for quarters, *ibid.*

[4] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 29.

[5] *Ibid.* pp. 30, 31.

[6] Marlborough's Despatches: Sir George Murray, 1845, vol. iv. p. 315.

ever, either did not accompany his regiment abroad, or received leave of absence, as on 7th April 1709 he signed at London a contract of marriage between himself and his second wife, Anne Smith, daughter of John Smith, Esquire, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, and formerly Speaker of the House of Commons.

The exact date of the marriage ceremony does not appear, but it was celebrated previous to 31st May 1709; for in a letter to his brother-in-law, Hugh Rose of Kilravock, bearing that date, and written from London, the Colonel speaks of his having altered his condition by marriage. From this letter the fact is gleaned that his father had declined to subscribe his marriage-contract, apparently until he received an account of how certain "particular sums" of money had been applied. This proved no small disappointment to Colonel Grant, who protests with some warmth of feeling his ability to satisfy his father when he had his papers before him, and his willingness to pay what he could not account for. He adds with reference to his marriage, "Now I thank God it is done, for I am very hapily married, and the longer I try it I find it the better, both as to my wife and her relations, for I can swear my own father and mother, were they both alive, could not be fonder of me nor kinder to me than they are."

The Colonel's journey to Flanders was further postponed on account of impaired health. In the letter just quoted he refers to this, and also states his intention of setting out to rejoin his regiment on 7th June. He says, "I have been these three weeks past upon a very fair lay for a journey to the other world, haveing been ill of a reumatism, accompanied with ane ague and fever. The ague was to that degree, that for ten days I was obliged to shift my linnen four and five tyms a night, I swat so excessively. I am now, I thank God, better, and goe Friday next for Flanders; and I fancy you'l be so charitable as to believe nothing but indisposition of body could have kept me so long from thence." He adds at the close of the letter, "I am much weakened by my sickness, and fallen away so much, that I was forc't the other day to take in my scarlet suite, mounted with black, three full inches; but I hope exercise will recover me. If we have a cessation of arms, I dessign to goe to Aix La Chappell."[1]

[1] Original Letter at Castle Grant.

Colonel Grant's regiment seems to have been quartered at Ghent, Antwerp, Tournai, and other places round the seat of war; and an order from the States-General of the Netherlands was issued on 15th April 1709, for marching it with expedition, and fully equipped, from Antwerp to Ryssel.[1] The Colonel commanded his regiment in person in September 1709, when he took part in the siege of Mons. In a letter from the camp before that place to his brother-in-law, Colonel William Grant, Colonel Grant writes: "Upon Weddinsday last we broke ground before this place in two places, with very litle loss. One Thursday, Coll. Hill lost betwixt 70 and 80 men, killed and wounded. Among the latter was his Luet.-Coll.; and yesternight his Major was killed. I mounted the breaches with my regiment one Saturday, and had but one man killed, and three wounded very slightly." He adds: "I dare not venture to tell you my opinion of this siedge, further then if the weather does continue so rainy as it has been these four days past, its very hard to know when we shall have the toune; but if the weather had proved good, we should certainly have taken it in three weeks after breaking of ground. However, if our Generall does not spare the toune, by not bombarding of it, as it should be, for a reason you may guess at, we shall be masters of it in a short tyme. This day we have two batteries of 48 pieces of great cannon mounted. They play very hard, but don't as yet fire at the toune."[2]

The following summer the Colonel was on garrison duty at Tournai, as he writes from that place to his sister, Anne, afterwards wife of Lieutenant-Colonel William Grant of Ballindalloch, giving her directions as to the building of certain stables at Castle Grant. In that letter the Colonel refers to the capitulation of the town of Douai, but states that he was not present. He also mentions that his regiment is to take the field in the following week, which he prefers to being on garrison duty.[3]

The second regiment referred to in the despatch by the Duke of Marlborough, quoted above, was most probably that of Lieut.-General Maitland. This may be inferred from a letter by the Duke of Marlborough

[1] Original Order at Castle Grant. [2] Original Letter, 21st September 1709, *ibid.*
[3] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 92.

to General Maitland, dated at Tournai, 20th April 1710, intimating that the former was favourable to the carrying out of Colonel Grant's wishes, who desired to purchase the command of General Maitland's regiment. On the same date the Duke writes to Lord Islay, stating in answer that he had no desire whatever to inflict any hardship on General Maitland, but that the Duke had seen no reason to refuse Colonel Grant's proposal, as he was not aware of Lord Islay's opposition in the matter. The Duke adds, however, that Lieut.-General Maitland has declined to dispose of his command. He also writes, apparently in reply to some special objection made by Lord Islay to Colonel Grant's purchase, "As to what you mention of the notion that it might not be safe to have the command in the Highlands entrusted with one that has an interest there, I am quite of a different opinion, and shall always think the Queen's interest and service very secure wherever your Lordship is concerned."[1]

An order was issued by the Duke of Marlborough from the camp at Vilen Brulin for a general court-martial, to consist of Colonel Grant as president, and twelve other field officers or captains of foot, for the trial of various crimes and disorders committed among the foot of Her Majesty's forces in the Low Countries, of which the Duke had been informed. The Court was authorised to summon witnesses to hear and examine by affidavit and otherwise all such matters and informations as should be brought before them, and after full trial and examination to give judgment, and report the same to the Duke.[2]

Colonel Grant did not take part in this court-martial, as on the 30th of August he obtained four months' leave to return home to England.[3] He must, however, have anticipated his official pass, for on the 24th of that month, he and some other officers were crossing the channel from Ostend to Dover, when their vessel was captured by a French privateer, and they were carried prisoners to France.[4] But they were not detained long, being allowed to proceed to Scotland on their private affairs only, under obligation to return at the close of two months, if they were not exchanged by that time. The official pass, signed by the French

[1] The Marlborough Despatches: Sir George Murray, vol. iv. pp. 722, 723.
[2] Order, dated 26th August 1710, at Castle Grant. [3] Original Furlough, *ibid.* [4] Draft Memorial, *ibid.*

King, is dated 7th September 1710, and among the officers included in it is one Captain Louis Grant, who was probably the brother of Colonel Grant, and the same who was Captain and Adjutant in his regiment. The exchange proposed might have been easily arranged, but the French Government made it a condition of their release that two sons of the Earl of Middleton, who had been made prisoners of war by the English, should be returned to France. With a view to procure the liberation of Colonel Grant and those taken with him, a correspondence took place between the Duke of Marlborough and M. de Villars, the French General. On 15th September, writing from the camp of St. Andre, the English General says that he is "obliged to M. de Villars for forwarding a letter on behalf of Colonel Grant, who, with his lieutenant-colonel and three subalterns of other regiments, had the misfortune to be taken to Calais. Upon the representations which these gentlemen made to me that their private affairs demanded their presence, I gave them a pass, and as they may suffer from their absence, you will do me much pleasure, sir, if you will grant them passports while waiting their exchange, of which I am ready to treat with you in that manner you think convenient. Or if that depends on the Marine, I beg you will intercede on their behalf with the King or his minister, as a particular favour which I have the honour to request." The matter was referred to the French monarch, as on 20th September Marlborough writes again to M. de Villars, "I hope that you have presently received some favourable answer from the Court relative to Colonel Grant and the other prisoners with him at Calais."[1]

The Duke of Marlborough wrote also, on the 1st October following, to M. d'Allegre, another French General, desiring him to take the trouble to ask from M. de Pontchartrain (the French Chancellor) a pass of six months' duration for Colonel Grant and the other officers who had the misfortune to be captured and taken to Calais, from which place they had gone with a passport for two months only to attend to their private affairs in the interior of Scotland. "The colonel is my friend," writes the Duke, "thus you will do me a special pleasure by interesting yourself for these gentlemen, and sending me a prolongation for as long a period as you can."

[1] Original Letters printed in Marlborough's Despatches: Sir George Murray, 1845, vol. v. pp. 142, 146.

M. D'Allegre did not reply to the above letter until 28th November, when, after apologising for the delay, and referring to certain proposals for the exchange of Colonel Grant, presently to be noticed, he says, "M. de Pontchartrain also begs me to tell you, my lord, that when he knew that you interested yourself in Colonel Grant and the other officers, passengers found in the Ostend packet-boat, he represented the matter to the King [Louis XIV.], and immediately His Majesty caused them to be dismissed on their parole." [1]

The giving of their word of honour, however, did not secure the liberty of the Colonel and his companions for more than a few months at most, and the arrangements for an exchange were delayed by the action of the French Government. Shortly after their capture, the circumstances of Colonel Grant and his fellow-officers attracted the attention of the authorities at home. So early as the 15th September, Mr. Walpole (afterwards Sir Robert), then Secretary-at-war, wrote about the affair to the Duke of Marlborough, who, on 6th October, replies, "You may be sure I shall omit no endeavours to procure him [Colonel Grant] his liberty, but you know the proposition they [the French Government] have made, and we are too sensible of their obstinacy in adhering to anything they are once set upon, therefore I have already written that the pass may be prolonged for six months, as likewise for the gentlemen taken with him. In the meantime you will do well to let the commissioners for the exchange of prisoners do their part with the commissioner at Calais. I hear he has an interest with M. Pontchartrain, and if the French are in our debt for seamen, he may be glad of the opportunity of these gentlemen to help to quit scores; were they deemed landmen, I should have exchanged them before now."[2]

The last sentence is explained by a paragraph contained in a petition presented to Queen Anne about this time by Colonel Grant on behalf of himself and his comrades, which also states the proposals made by the French and opposed by the English Government. After referring to the facts of their capture, the petitioners say :—"The Court of France insists to have the Earl of Middletoun's two sones and some other officers taken

[1] Original Letters in Marlborough's Despatches, by Sir George Murray, 1845, vol. v. p. 170.

[2] Marlborough's Despatches, by Sir George Murray, vol. v. p. 176.

aboard the Salisbury man-of-war,[1] who are esteemed here" (that is in France) "prisoners of State, in exchange for us. This we humbly conceive is a breach of the agreement made betwixt the commissioners for exchange of prisoners on both sides, whereby its settled that in cace there are not officers of the samen ranck to be exchang'd for each other, then conform to there severall degrees ther's a certain number of seamen to be given for the officers." The petitioners earnestly beg Her Majesty to direct that to be done which may most readily effect their exchange, "it being," they add, "extreamly discourageing to us, that our circumstances render us uncapable of dischargeing our duty to your Majesty in the severall stations we have the honor to serve in."[2]

The petition thus shows that having been taken on board a vessel, Colonel Grant and his companions were accounted as seamen, and therefore to be exchanged for seamen, but that the demand of the French Government had raised difficulties. These difficulties were not arranged for some considerable time, as neither the correspondence of Marlborough with France, nor the petition of Colonel Grant to Queen Anne, met with immediate success. The Earl of Dartmouth, in a letter to Colonel Grant, dated 27th October 1710, writes, "I have received a letter from Monsr. Pontchartrain, wherein he writes that the two months of leave are expired within which yourself and the other officers taken on board the Ostend pacquet-boat gave your word to returne, in case you could not be exchanged for the Middletons, prisoners in England; and therefore desires notice may be given to you and those other officers to observe your promise: whereupon I am commanded to lett you know that the Queen does not think fitt to make the exchange desired, which I signify to you, hoping that, as you made your application to me in behalfe of yourself and the other officers, so you will take the trouble of letting them know the Queen's intentions, that they may regulate their affairs accordingly."[3]

On the 14th of the following month the Earl again writes the

[1] This was a vessel taken by Sir George Byng's fleet, when Fourbin made his futile descent upon the Scotch coast in 1708. Lord Griffen, the two sons of the second Earl of Middleton, secretary to King James II., and other Jacobite officers, were captured on board, some of whom were sent to the Tower.

[2] Draft Memorial, holograph of Colonel Grant, at Castle Grant [undated].

[3] Original at Castle Grant.

Colonel to the same effect. After referring to his former letter, he says, "Her Majesty has since commanded me to write again to you on the same subject, and to let you know that the Court of France does call upon you and the other officers to make good your parole, which I must desire you will let them know, since I do not know how to direct a letter to them."

Colonel Grant, however, did not proceed to France. From a letter which he wrote at a later period to the Earl of Dartmouth, it appears that he received the Queen's orders to remain in England until some prisoners of war on parole in France should return. One of these was the Marquis D'Allegre, who was at this time offered a prolongation of his parole on condition that the same should be obtained for Colonel Grant. It is not unlikely that the Colonel was ordered to delay setting out to France until it was ascertained if this arrangement was to be effected. In a letter written from Ghent to Mr. Smith, probably the same who was Chancellor of the Exchequer and father-in-law of Colonel Grant, a reference to this proposal occurs. The writer says, "I hope my Lord Duke has taken effectual care for the prolongation of Colonel Grant's leave, and of the gentlemen taken with him. His Grace has writ twice to the Marquis D'Allegre, who is in the like circumstances, and sent him a prolongation for six months, conditionally that he procured the same for the [Colonel] and the other gentlemen. We are hourly expecting his answer, which I do not doubt will be to your satisfaction."[1]

It is apparently this proposal concerning himself that is alluded to in the letter, already referred to, from M. D'Allegre to the Duke of Marlborough, of date 28th November 1710. The Marquis writes, "M. de Pontchartrain tells me, my Lord, that he waits an answer from Lord Dartmouth as to the proposal which he has made for the exchange of M. Grant and the officers who were taken at the same time, and he doubts not that what has been proposed will succeed. . . . M. de Pontchartrain must advertise me when he receives a reply from Lord Dartmouth, and I shall be careful to inform you, my Lord, in the event of his finding any difficulty as to the exchange proposed. I shall also beg M. de Pontchartrain to ask of the King a pro-

[1] Original Letter, dated 19th November 1710, at Castle Grant.

longation of leave for these gentlemen, which I am persuaded His Majesty will grant, knowing that you desire it."[1]

A formal congé in favour of Colonel Grant was at length signed by the French King. It was to date from 31st December 1710, and to last for six months. The Earl of Dartmouth, on the 5th January following, announces this to Colonel Grant. The letter proceeds, "I have received a letter from Mr. Pontchartrain, wherein he tells me you are at liberty to continue in England for six months from the 31st of December last, at the expiration of which term that Court expects that yourself and the rest of the gentlemen taken on board the Ostend packet-boat, should return to France as prisoners of war."[2]

Although the Government of Queen Anne was unwilling to accede to the terms of the French Court relative to an exchange of prisoners, they were not wanting in endeavours to obtain for Colonel Grant and his comrades all the liberty possible. The Earl of Dartmouth wrote Colonel Grant as follows:—"Her Majesty having directed me to write to Mr. Pontchartrain concerning several prisoners of war, it is proper I should know whether you desire to have your congé prolonged, or whether it is your intention to go back when the time for which it is already granted expires."[3] Colonel Grant's answer is evident from the terms of another letter from the Earl, dated exactly a month later. He says, "I send you inclosed a paragraph of a letter I received this morning from Monsieur Pontchartrain, with the agreeable news that your congé is prolonged. I desire you will be pleased to communicate it to the rest of the gentlemen concerned."[4] In the paragraph referred to, six months' additional leave of absence is given to Messrs. Grant and Stewart, their exchange for Messrs. Middleton is again proposed, failing which they are required to return to France at the expiry of this congé. By this last pass freedom to remain in Scotland until the close of December 1711 was secured to Colonel Grant. But the French Government seem to have overlooked this fact, and to have considered that Colonel Grant was continuing in England beyond the period of his parole. This led them to

[1] Original Letter (in French) in Marlborough's Despatches: Sir George Murray, vol. v. p. 170.

[2] Original at Castle Grant.

[3] Original Letter, dated 24th April 1711, at Castle Grant.

[4] Letter, dated 24th May 1711, *ibid.*

refuse leave of absence to a Mr. Duffus, then a prisoner of war in France. In a letter from Versailles, dated 30th September 1711, addressed to the Earl of Dartmouth, Monsieur Pontchartrain writes: "His Majesty would willingly have granted leave to the Sieur Duffus to go over to England on his parole, but the abuse the English officers make of these favours has prevented His Majesty. You will be yourself informed of it, if you will desire an account to be given you of the time that the Sieurs Grant, Steward, Louis Urquhart, Valentin Carte, and others, have been in England, although their licence is expired, without taking any care to procure their exchange; and therefore I desire you to order those officers to return to France in order to comply with their parole."[1] On 25th October the Earl of Dartmouth communicated this statement of the French Court to Colonel Grant, and requested to be informed what answer should be returned to it.[2] The Colonel sent a spirited reply, narrating the terms of his parole, his readiness to return to France when it expired, unless the Government of the Queen should arrange otherwise, and claiming protection from the Earl. In it he says, "I raikon he (M. Pontchartrain) has forgot that the gentlemen and I who wer taken aboard the Ostend pacquet-boat had our congé twice prolong'd, and the last does not expire before the 20th of December next, yet he seems to insinuat to your Lordship that we are guilty of the breach of our parole. I shall be at London the end of next week, and be in readiness to compear at Calais if your Lordship does not prevent it either by a further prolongation of our congé, or by obtaining Her Majestie's orders, as you did last year, that we should stay in England untill all the subjects of France who are the Queen's prisoners, and now in France on their parole, do return to England. I beg your Lordship's favour and protection in this my misfortunat circumstance."[3] There is no distinct evidence as to how the matter ended, but it would appear that Colonel Grant did not return to France at the expiration of his parole in December 1711, and also that Lord Middleton's two sons were liberated and sent back to France.[4] Colonel Grant may therefore have regained his liberty by this exchange.

[1] Extract at Castle Grant. [2] Original Letter, *ibid.*

[3] Draft Letter, dated 29th November 1711, *ibid.*

[4] Original Letter (in French) in Marlborough's Despatches: Sir George Murray, vol. v. p. 613.

Although precluded by his parole from active service in a military capacity, Colonel Grant was not thereby incapacitated for promotion. He was, under the new administration which had risen upon the fall of the Treasurer Godolphin, "for his loyalty, courage, and experience," raised to the rank of Brigadier-General;[1] but though thus promoted, General Grant retained the colonelcy of his regiment, which, with several others, was now ordered home from Flanders. This act of the new ministry was intended to weaken the forces at Marlborough's disposal, and to restrain his movements, but it was also meant to signalise the new administration by seeking to win laurels in another field. This was an expedition fitted out for the avowed object of taking Quebec from France. It is not necessary here to detail the circumstances of this enterprise, which was unsuccessful in its results, as it is only interesting in this connection, that General Grant's regiment went to form part of it.

On the regiment landing at Portsmouth, about the middle of April 1711, under orders for Canada, it was decided that the whole regiment should not proceed abroad, but that it should be reduced, and a certain number of men incorporated with other regiments under the command of Brigadier-General Hill, Commander-in-chief of the expedition. Of these there were seven, representing a force of about 5000 men, but as some of the regiments wanted their full complement, it was directed, on or about 18th April, that one entire company from General Grant's regiment should be added to the regiment under Colonel Disney, and that a further number of men should be distributed among the other regiments ordered for service, according to the requirements of each.[2] This was done, and 233 men, with non-commissioned officers, were therefore drafted from General Grant's regiment and incorporated with those of General Hill, and Colonels Disney, Windress, and Clayton.[3] These, on the other hand, paid levy money as for new recruits,[4] to enable the officers of General Grant's regiment to raise new men, and also an allowance for such arms, clothes, and accoutrements as General Grant's men took with them.

[1] Commission, dated 12th February 1711, at Castle Grant.

[2] Order by Brigadier-General Hill, *ibid.*

[3] Draft Memorial at Castle Grant.

[4] £932 was the amount payable as levy money. Draft Memorial at Castle Grant.

The expedition sailed on the 4th of May 1711, and on 25th April, orders were issued for recruiting General Grant's regiment to the number of fifty men in each company. On 1st May the regiment was directed to march to Morpeth, there to be joined by recruits, and thence to proceed to their former quarters at Stirling and Dundee, and await further instructions.[1] These came in the month of August to the effect that the regiment was to be disbanded, and the officers attached to that of Colonel Crighton, then in Ireland.

Not long thereafter that regiment also was disbanded, and the officers ordered to be put on half-pay. This created some consternation, and Brigadier Grant, on behalf of himself and his brother officers, presented an urgent petition to the Queen, narrating their circumstances, and their fears "that there half-pay will be settled in Ireland, which would be a great detriment to them, the half-pay of that kingdom being much less than that of Brittain." They therefore beg Her Majesty to consider "there seniority, there services, and there haveing been raised in Brittain, where all of them are born and have their friends," and to allow the petitioners "their half-pay in Brittain preferable to younger regiments raised in Ireland and in foreign countreys, though happening to be disbanded on the British Establishment."[2]

On 24th September 1713, Brigadier Grant was chosen Member of Parliament for the county of Elgin and Forres.[3] The Brigadier had resolved, on his regiment being disbanded, to reside in Scotland. He seems, however, to have anticipated his election to a seat in Parliament, and therefore delayed his departure from London. On the 13th June of this year he writes: "As for my living in Scotland, that, I ashure you, is my intention and full resolution, but it is not practicable this year, since it is not to be imagined that I would come up to Parliament in winter, and leave my wife in the North. This I will ashure you off, that if I live to March nixt, both of us shall be with you, and shall not be over heasty in thincking of returning hither."[4] In his capacity as Member of Parliament he received an address, dated on the day of election, from certain gentle-

[1] Copy Order for march, at Castle Grant.
[2] Draft Petition (holograph of General Grant), *ibid.*
[3] Extract Minute of Election at Castle Grant.
[4] Original Letter, *ibid.*

men in the county representing the agricultural interest, requesting that he would lay before Parliament "the great loss the kingdom in general, and this shire in particular, doe sustain by the importation of Ireish grain ever since the Union. You know (the writers say) that our Scots Parliament, when in being, did, by many repeated Acts and Statutes, for the profite and good of the kingdom, discharge the importation of such grain under severe penalties; and the rents of this shire and many others being payed in grain, were usewally consumed by transporting the samen to the southern and westren parts of the nation, which now, because of the importation of the said Ireish grain, is become altogether ineffectuall ever since the Union, and unles the wisedome of this insueing Parliament doe prevent such hurtfull practises in time coming, our rents, which you know is payed in grain, will suffer verie much." This document is signed by Sir Harry Innes, Sir Robert Gordon, Alexander Cumming of Altyre, and eleven other prominent landed proprietors in the shire of Elgin.[1]

Brigadier Grant at this period also held the office of Sheriff of Inverness. As such he joined in a petition to King George the First, on behalf of Simon Fraser of Beaufort, who, after the failure of his mission on behalf of the Stewarts in 1704, had resided in France. The Clan Fraser, incited by the attempts made by Mackenzie of Fraserdale, who married the Honourable Amelia Fraser, daughter and heiress of Hugh, eleventh Lord Lovat, to change the name of the chief of the clan to Mackenzie instead of Fraser, and having learned that their true chief was alive, had sent to ascertain his intentions regarding the party to which adherence should be given at the critical period of King George's accession.[2]

The messenger and his chief left France together on the 14th November 1714, and proceeded straight to London.[3] But it would appear that Lovat had before that date established some communication with those in Scotland whom he deemed his friends. This is shown by a letter dated at Saumur on 29th September 1714, addressed, not improbably, to Brigadier Grant.[4] In this epistle, and also in one of 24th September (place

[1] Original Address at Castle Grant.
[2] Life of Simon Lord Lovat, by John Hill Burton, p. 108.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 113.
[4] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 282.

not given), Lovat professes the utmost regard and devotion for the family of Argyll, believing, with his usual clear-sightedness in matters affecting himself, that if he secured the good offices of the Duke of Argyll, his services could be turned to good account.

It may be noted that in the letter of the 24th September, Lovat adopts an ambiguous style, and speaks as if he were a drover desiring to enter the company in which the Duke is interested, that he may better compete with rivals in the same trade. It would seem, however, that he thus veils a political combination. The stock which so conveniently "lyes to drive to either side or to hinder either side to drive," is his clan, which would rise either for Hanover or the Stewart succession as he pleased. Lovat, if the Duke put him in a "condition to trade," promises "to oversell the marchands who are against him," that is, the Jacobites; though he hints that it will be difficult, "for those marchants are very powerfull, and they ly so conveniently for trade," etc., to enhance the value of his offered services. He adds, "If you live you will see what I tell you come to passe; and if great precautions be not taken, you and your neighbours will suffer more than any," a remark very applicable to the Grants.[1]

After his arrival in London, Lovat writes, taking credit to himself that he had been "barbarously treated as an Hanoverien by the Court of St. Germains thir twelve yeares bypast, without intermission," utterly ignoring his Jacobite relations a few years before. It is also characteristic of the man, and perhaps also of the political morality of the times he lived in, that while thus professing to be Hanoverian, he shows an intimate knowledge of the movements of the Jacobite party. He writes in the same letter, anticipating the address before referred to: "I am sure you may convince the Duke of Argyle . . . that the Rosses, Roses, Monroes, and all the Moray Lairds . . . will adresse the King for me, and be overjoy'd to have me to join them when the Pretender comes to that country, which they may depend upon, in spight of their security and precautions."[2] On 23d December 1714, he writes again to Brigadier Grant, then at Castle Grant, and distinctly assures the latter that the Pretender would be in Scotland in the spring.[3] In that letter and at a later period,

[1] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 282. [2] *Ibid.* pp. 283, 284. [3] *Ibid.* p. 285.

Lovat complains greatly as to the delay in signing his remission, though he was willing to venture everything for the Government, and for Grant.

Lovat went north in October 1715, arriving at Dumfries on the 11th of that month. After some adventures he arrived at Stirling, where, instead of the Duke of Argyll, whom he expected to meet him "with open arms," he was received by Brigadier Grant, with an apologetic though friendly message from his Grace.[1] Lovat thereafter proceeded to the north, where he called off his clan from the insurgent army, and in company with eight hundred of the Clan Grant, and eleven hundred Munroes, he took part in the reduction of Inverness.

The address already referred to may have been signed about this time,[2] as it implores the King for one of his subjects, "who, sometime banished and imprisoned, has lately, when the greatest dangers appeared to surround us, by the influence which he has over a numerous clan, sustained with us that cause which, for the defence of your Majesty's undoubted right to the Crown, we have supported with all our power. That unfortunate man of rank [qualité], my Lord Lovat, for whom with all submission we present this address, will not dare of himself to ask favour of your Majesty, but he trusts to those who are openly and steadfastly devoted to your Majesty's service, . . . praying them to attest the truth on this point: we cannot refuse either in justice or compassion to testify to your Majesty that by the aid and strength of the name and clan of the Frasers, who are under his order, we are confirmed in the defence and maintenance of the present happy constitution in Church and State." The memorialists conclude by pledging themselves to any amount that may be desired for Lovat's sincere intention to sustain the authority of the Government.[3]

As has been said, this document was signed by Brigadier Grant, who, if he had not met Lovat in London, had certainly corresponded with him, and was, as has been shown, one of the first to meet him in Scotland. Besides Brigadier Grant, Lord Strathnaver, the Sheriffs of Ross, Moray,

[1] Life of Simon Lord Lovat, by John Hill Burton, p. 116.

[2] A list of the signatures attached to it, preserved at Castle Grant, bears date 1714, but the tenor of the document implies a later date.

[3] Copy of the address (in French) at Castle Grant.

and Nairn, several Members of Parliament, and a number of clergymen and local Lairds, append their signatures to the address.

Brigadier Grant at a later date gave a marked proof of his sentiments towards Lovat, by giving in marriage to the latter his youngest sister, Margaret Grant. The wedding took place apparently in December 1716, and great preparations were made for the event. The account for groceries and spices, including "16 pound 12 unces wheat shugar at 12s. the pound," hops, raisins, cinnamon, "8 pound ryce, at 6d. per pound," etc., amounted to £69, 9s. 6d. Scots. Among other additional items, were a half hogshead of wine, at £7, 10s. sterling, 17 bolls and a half of malt, and eleven bolls, for "brewing aquavite," "12 stones 3 pound butter, at £3, 6s. 8d. (Scots) the stone." The following entry in the account evidently refers to the bride's trousseau:—"Cash sent to Aberdeen to buy necessary for Miss Margret at the time of her marriage, as per Miss Wilson's accompt—£385, 12s." (Scots).[1] The tradition still in Strathspey is that the festivities on the celebration of this marriage were more than ordinarily characteristic of a great Highland wedding.

The secret history of this marriage is somewhat romantic, and Brigadier Grant had strong influence brought to bear upon him in regard to it. Lovat, who, as will be seen from his letters at a later date, considered it greatly for his own interest that he should be connected with a family so powerful in the north, and so much respected as was the family of Grant, was extremely anxious to bring about this alliance. But there were difficulties in the way, and Lovat's manner of getting over them was characteristic. Writing from London to Mr. Duncan Forbes of Culloden, Lovat, after referring to some petition about the Jacobite Magistrates of Inverness, proceeds thus:—"I spoke to the Duke and my Lord Ilay about my marriage, and told them that one of my greatest motifs to that design was to secure them the joint interest of the north. They are both fully for it, and the Duke is to speak of it and propose it to the King." Notwithstanding this, however, Lovat is afraid of consequences from his former attempt at matrimony [with the Dowager Lady Lovat]. He himself is assured that there can be no cause for anxiety, but Lord Islay had

[1] Account at Castle Grant.

suggested some disagreeable contingencies, and Lovat entreats "a line on this head, to satisfy my Lord Islay's scruple."[1] This matter was arranged, but the affair did not yet run smooth. Another suitor stood in the way, and as the lady was, it would appear, residing with her sister, Anne Grant, the Lady of Ballindalloch, and they rather favoured the first in the field (who was Mr. Duff of Drummuir),[2] John Duke of Argyll himself was invoked to enter the lists on behalf of Lovat, which he did by the following letter, addressed to Colonel Grant of Ballindalloch :—

"London, Ju[ly] the 23.

"My dear Grant,—I trouble you with this to let you know that some time since I learn't that Lord Lovat had propos'd a match with Grant's [the Brigadier's] sister, which for many reasons I wish'd so well to, as to interest myself with Grant in favours of it. You know Lord Lovat is one for whom I have, with good reason, the greatest esteem and respect, and as I confide entirely both in him and the Brigadeer, I am most ernest that this match should take effect. I am inform'd that the young lady is at present with you, and that some other body makes court to her; I must therefore, as a faithfull friend to us all, intreat your interest to bring this matter about, which will, I think, unite all friends in the north, a union which will be very servisable to His Majesty and his Royall Famely, and no less so to all of us who have ventur'd our liv's and fortuns in deffence of it. Pray believe me, in what ever state I am, your faithfull humble servant, Argyll."[3]

The same matrimonial project also formed the subject of a letter from Lord Islay (whose "scruple" must have been removed) to Colonel Grant, dated from London on 29th September 1716. Lord Islay speaks of the marriage as concerted between his brother, the Brigadier, and himself, "this being a measure setled for the better uniting our interest in the north." He desires the Colonel's assistance in it, which shall be taken as a "mark of your friendship."[4] On the same date the Duke of Argyll writes again, from Sudbrook—

My dear Grant,—I receiv'd yours, and return you many thanks for the assistance you give my friend Lovate. I doe, indeed, think that affair of great consequence to all of us, who I hope are determin'd to remain ever in the strictest friendship, and for that reason am well satisfied that you will continue your best endeavours to bring it about. . . .[5]

[1] Letter, dated 28th June 1716, Culloden Papers, No. lxxv.

[2] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 291.

[3] Original Letter, holograph of the Duke, at Ballindalloch.

[4] Original Letter, *ibid.*

[5] Original Letter, dated 29th September 1716, *ibid.*

This correspondence had no small influence on the Grant family in favour of Lovat. Shortly after the date of Argyll's first letter, but perhaps before it had been received, the Brigadier wrote to his brother George on the subject, probably in answer to one by him in favour of the proposals of Mr. Duff. In this letter he says, "Before I had yours, the Duke of Argyll and Earl of Islay were both imployed by Lord Lovat to speak to me anent my sister Peggie, and to tell you in short, I did give my consent, provideing they pleased each other; he now has ane independant company as Governor of Inverness, which is £300 per annum, and the gift of Fraserdale's escheat is passing in his fa[vour, which,] with good manadgement and the [payment of the] debts he's already master of, will undoubtedly enable him to make the family esteat of Lovat his own. These were the reasons, joyn'd to that of so considerable allyance that moved me to consent. So that untill they see other, I cannot in good manners give any answer to Drumuir's proposall, and I hope my sister will shew that civility to me as not to determine herself untill she sees Lord Lovat, and then lett her please her self, for I will not pretend to compell, tho', I must own, I rather she married Lovat." The Brigadier adds: "Drumuire has not writ to me about it, so its not proper I should to him, but you must give a civill answer to gett a litle delay; and had I not been thus far ingadged, you may ashure him that I should have readily consented to Drumuir's proposall, which I take very kindly, and shall always retain a thankfull sence of it."[1] He asks the Captain to communicate his sentiments on the subject to Colonel Grant and to his two sisters.

It will be seen from the foregoing letter that, Lord Lovat apart, Mr. Duff's suit would not have been unacceptable to the family of Grant. The Brigadier says he would have readily consented to it, and his sister Janet, Lady Mackenzie of Scatwell, subsequently exerted herself on Mr. Duff's behalf. But Lord Lovat's claims soon eclipsed those of his rival, and the Brigadier finally decided that he would reject Mr. Duff's proposals, and arrange without further delay for a marriage between his sister and Lovat. In his absence in England, the Brigadier intrusted to Mrs. Grant of Ballindalloch the providing of a proper trousseau, and the making of all

[1] Original Letter, dated 31st July 1716, at Castle Grant.

necessary arrangements for having the marriage celebrated at Castle Grant. This he does in a letter from Bath, entering fully into the subject of the marriage. After referring in somewhat uncomplimentary terms to the elder Duff, the Brigadier continues: "I 'm told sister Scatwell has been agenting. But she may ashure herself I 'll have no more young lairds for brothers, since a scon of a bakeing may, I thinck, suffice. Lord Lovat is the bearer, so I will say the less, since shure, to anybody of sense, his conversation, manners, and behavior, laying aside his quality, is sufficient to make Mr. Duff be forgott at any tym; for, as Rose represents him, he is a meer young laird. You may easily guess how anxious I am to have this affair finished. . . . So I expect, as you tender my credit and reputation, you will doe every thing that may contribute towards it. . . . With Lord Lovat I am shure she will be happy in a good man and a better esteat by much then the other. . . . I must add that if it goes one, I desire you may send to Edinburgh for every thing that 's necessary for my sister of cloaths and linning. Lett her want for nothing that may be proper for Lord Lovat's Lady, as I don't think you have it in your temper to be extravagant, so pray save nothing that 's proper for her to put her in the handsomest manner of my hand; and call from my chamberlane for what money it coasts to pay for the things. I once thought to haue sent her things from London, but there comeing would be uncertain, besides it will be five weeks ere I 'm there, and I hope in as much more tym you 'l have them wedded."[1]

The following month, Ludovick Grant, the Brigadier's father, who had long been ill, died. This event, although it involved a slight modification of the arrangements for the marriage with Lovat now agreed upon, did not delay it. The Brigadier, writing to Mrs. Grant at Ballindalloch, says, with reference to the ceremony, "I would not haue it delayed one account of my father's death, only now it must be carried one in the most privat manner possible."[2] Thus matters were finally arranged, and, as already stated, the marriage was celebrated with unusual rejoicings, and the union appears to have been a happy one. The excessive grief of Lovat on the

[1] Original Letter, dated 15th October 1716, at Ballindalloch.
[2] Original Letter, dated 24th November 1716, *ibid.*

death of his lady shows how keenly he felt his bereavement. His correspondence also shows how miserable he was in his second marriage.

Brigadier Grant, on the accession of King George the First, was continued in his rank of Brigadier-General, by a commission dated 23d March 1715.[1] Previous to this, on 11th January, he had been appointed Governor of the important fortress of Sheerness, and also, on 20th January, keeper of the stores contained there.[2] This is referred to in a letter from Lovat, dated 5th February, congratulating the new Governor on his appointment, and expressing great expectations from their friendship.[3] The Brigadier was then, it would appear, at Castle Grant, but it is probable he soon travelled southward to fulfil the duties of his governorship in person.

His former regiment had been disbanded, hence, no doubt, his appointment to garrison duty, but on 22d July 1715 he was appointed colonel of a regiment to be raised,[4] and on the following day he received authority from King George to raise a regiment of four hundred men, besides officers, to be under his command.[5] Glasgow was appointed the rendezvous of the regiment, and Brigadier Grant was requested to name the officers whom he proposed for the new regiment, and also to submit patterns of the clothing and accoutrements to be provided.[6]

On the 4th August following, 1715, he received orders to admit to the fort at Sheerness two companies of invalids, one from Tilbury Fort and the other drafted from the Chelsea pensioners, to do the garrison duty of that place.[7]

Immediately afterwards he was required to assist the Duke of Argyll in suppressing the Jacobite insurrection, which had broken out in Scotland under his old friend John Earl of Mar, who, on account of his unstable character, was commonly called Bobbing John. Mar left London for Scotland on the 2d of August, and though he did not formally raise the Jacobite standard until the 6th of September, yet his meetings with Highland chiefs, under the pretext of hunting expeditions, and his other proceedings, were sufficient to rouse the suspicion of the Government.

[1] Commission at Castle Grant.
[2] Commissions, *ibid.*
[3] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 289.
[4] Commission at Castle Grant.
[5] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 10.
[6] Original Orders at Castle Grant.
[7] *Ibid.*

Commissions to Lords-Lieutenant of the Scotch counties were issued, and also, though at first probably only as a cautionary measure, instructions were given for calling out militia. On 19th August 1715, Brigadier Grant received a commission as Lord-Lieutenant of the counties of Banff and Inverness,[1] and on the 25th of the same month instructions respecting the appointment of deputies, who were only to be chosen from those well affected to King George's accession and the Protestant religion, and the calling out of such fencible men as could conveniently be assembled, making the same distinction. Each battalion of the latter was to consist of about four hundred private men, with necessary officers, and each troop of horse, if such were expedient, to consist of about forty private men, with officers. In the event of the militia of more than one shire being combined, the Lords-Lieutenant were to command by the day alternately, according to the place of the shire on the Rolls of Parliament. The last of the eleven instructions is: "You are upon all occasions to execute the trust reposed in you with as little expense to our subjects as possible."[2]

On 9th September 1715, John, Duke of Argyll, having been appointed Commander-in-chief for Scotland, and received his final instructions, left the Court. He arrived in Edinburgh on the 14th September, and the same day went to the castle, inspected the garrison, fortifications, and magazines. He then appointed Brigadier Grant to be captain of the fortress, and to reinforce the garrison with two companies of his regiment.[3]

Nine days afterwards, Brigadier Grant received, and so far carried out, certain orders from the Duke of Argyll empowering him to seize all boats and vessels on the Firth of Forth, and to bring them to Leith, lest they should fall into the hands of the rebels, and be used against the Government.[4] In terms of a warrant by Lord Islay, an exception was made of the passage from Fife to Edinburgh, which, by the Duke's order, had been wholly obstructed, and the Brigadier was to "allow two passage boats to sail from Leith each tide, the masters finding caution in Leith to return the same tide, or by the first conveniency with passengers, without touching ground on the Fife side."[5]

[1] Commission at Castle Grant.
[2] Copy Instructions, *ibid.*
[3] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 32.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] Order at Castle Grant.

An order from Whitehall, dated 1st October, required Brigadier Grant to prepare his newly raised regiment to take the field, provision being made for tents and other necessaries.[1] It is stated, however, that on 22d October the Duke of Argyll caused the Brigadier's regiment to garrison the Castle of Edinburgh,[2] and this latter instruction was probably carried out after Lovat's arrival at Stirling, already referred to, as the Brigadier was then in attendance on the Duke at that place. Though this garrison duty prevented the Brigadier and his regiment from taking any part in the battle of Sheriffmuir on the 13th November, it was no doubt dictated by sound policy. The regiment was a new one, and therefore less to be relied on in the event of a battle, while, on the other hand, it was important that Edinburgh Castle should be held by an officer so devoted to the house of Hanover as Brigadier Grant. Under Lieutenant-Colonel Stewart, the previous deputy-governor, an attempt had been made by the Jacobite party to gain possession of the Castle, which, but for an accidental circumstance, had nearly succeeded. As it was considered that the chief danger of the attempt lay in the treachery or apathy which he had displayed,[3] the deputy-governor was superseded. It was consequently of great importance to the Duke of Argyll that, with Mar's army in front of him, he should have confidence that Edinburgh Castle would be faithfully held for the Government.

But though Brigadier Grant took no part in the battle of Sheriffmuir, he obtained a share in the military movements which followed. He was at Stirling on 18th October 1715, and from the camp there wrote to his brother, Captain George Grant,[4] narrating the Duke of Argyll's directions for the reduction of Inverness. These provided that the work should be done by Colonel William Grant, Lord Lovat, Captain George Grant, and others. The Brigadier writes, "Not knowing what you have yett done, I must be silent as to that. My Lord Lovat is now gone north. There's no doubt but his clan, who had loyalty enough to withstand the threats of a bullying rebell, will most unanimusly joyn

[1] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 33.

[2] Charles's History of the Transactions in Scotland in the year 1715, etc., vol. i. p. 319.

[3] History of Scotland, 1689-1745, by John Hill Burton, vol. ii. pp. 127, 128.

[4] Original Letter at Ballindalloch.

him in the support of his Majesty King George's person and Goverment. What we have projected here, with the advice and by the direction of the Duke of Argyll is, that my Lord Lovat, the two Lairds of Kilraick, Culloden, Collonel Grant, and you, with all their people and myn, doe joyn in the retakeing the toune and Castle of Inverness, and in extirpating the rebells and rebellion now raised by the Earle of Seaforth; that you doe attack them on the one side at the same tym as the Earl of Sutherland does the like one the other. By doeing so you cannot miss of doeing your countrey good service and what will be most acceptable to the King and Government. You must acquaint people that if any of the rebells are slain, the actors are by law indemnifyed for any such slaughter, mutilation, or what els may happen."

The Brigadier also urges his brother to signalise himself, and to obtain for the family higher honours than had yet accrued to them. "Now, dear brother," he writes, "as now you and my people have a glorious opportunity of signaliseing yourselves for the Protestant interest and succession, so you have it in your hands to raise the family by your zealous and brave behavior at this tym, far beyond what ever it was in any of our predecessors tyms; and if any handsome thing is done, ther's no doubt but you'l be rewarded for it, and wee'll as have the glory of haveing done it. I wish with all my soull I could be with my friends and kinsmen one this occasion, for I doubt not but their behavior would give me great pleasure. . . . Lett them take example of the name Fraser, who future ages must praise for their loyalty to their prince as weell as love and friendship to their chieff."

Two months later, on 22d December,[1] the Brigadier again wrote from Stirling to his brother, with instructions for defeating any movements of the rebels. These were to be communicated to the noblemen and gentlemen engaged on the side of the Government.

In both these letters the Brigadier displayed that public spirit which characterised the Grant family in their dealings with the Government, a spirit which, however, too often received but an ungrateful return, and led to the ruin of many a loyal family. In the first letter, that of 18th October, his liberality towards his dependants is conspicuously brought out in the provision he makes for those who should in the war be deprived

[1] Original Letter at Ballindalloch.

of their supporters and breadwinners. He says, "I desire that you will ashure all my people in my name, that if it shall so fall out that any of them should be killed in their king and countrey's service, the widdow of such person and each of them shall be entitled to a yearly pension of ten pounds, or twentie merks, to be modified by four gentlemen, viz., one out of each parish, conform to the condition of the husband who was and the circumstances of the relict and children, and that for life, to be payed by my chamberlane, or allowed to them in pairt payment of what lands they possess, optionall to them, and this I promise to make good to them by extending taks to that effect, upon my word and honor."[1]

In the other letter of 22d December he writes, probably in reference to a sentence in a letter from Captain Grant, dated 6th December, that he had spent a good deal of the Brigadier's money, of which the latter was to expect no particular account.[2] "As for the expenses of this campaign, I hope you know me so weel that I never valued money when my honor was concerned, and far less when not only that, but our religion, liberties, and laws are all at stake; so that as far as my rent goes, pray bestow it, and if that falls short, I will certainly pledge the one half rather than risk the whole of my esteat. So I conjure you to lett my people want nothing that's necessary for them." The next sentence is written in the capacity of Lord-Lieutenant:—"As to provisions for the castle of Inverness, or for the army, my deputy lieutenants, where theyr power extends, can order the rents and effects of the rebells, which now belong to the king, to be brought in, and no doubt but the Earl of Sutherland will, as legally he may, doe the samen within his jurisdiction; for so long as they have, you are not to want, and this is the method followed here."[3]

Brigadier Grant proceeds to name one or two gentlemen whose

[1] Original Letter at Ballindalloch.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 95. From a copy of Captain Grant's account, now at Castle Grant, it appears that he expended in the pay of the men and support of a regiment varying from one thousand to two hundred men, the sum of no less than £1972, 13s. sterling. The original sum was £2240, 12s., but by small payments by Forbes of Culloden and the Earl of Sutherland, it was reduced as above. In a pamphlet, entitled, "The Conduct of the Well-affected in the North," with reference to the rebellion of 1715, it is related of Brigadier Grant that "his men were orderly paid at the rate of sixpence a day, well armed and clothed, ordinarily in one livery of tartan, and furnished with all other necessaries to defend them from the rigour of the season." [Burton's History of Scotland, vol. viii. p. 529.]

goods might be thus confiscated, and then refers to some of his own men or tenants (from the Urquhart estate) who had joined the rebels. "I hope" (he writes) "whatever coms of others, you will with my other friends take care that these men of myn be secured; be shure you take no baile for them." He desires that they may, if unable to maintain themselves, have so much a day (a "penny worth of bread") at his expense, for he "will prosecute them, and endeavour to make exemples of them, that so future ages shall stand in aw of following there footsteps."[1]

On the same day the Brigadier wrote to the same effect to his brother-in-law, Colonel William Grant of Ballindalloch. After referring him to the instructions contained in the foregoing letter, he adds, "You 'l likeways see what directions I have given as to provideing your men and garrison out of the rents of the rebells esteats, and corn yards of such as have joyn'd in the rebellion. One thing I forgot, which is, that the deputy-lieutenants summon all the tennants of Fraserdals esteat to pay their rents to any they shall appoint, and you must name some one to receave the ferms and money rent. You are to doe the same to all the rebells, so far as you have safe access, and where you have not, you are to summon them at the marciat cross of Inverness, and if they pay any after that, they must pay it again."

In the same letter Brigadier Grant looks forward to his being soon in the field. He writes, "I hope we shall soon come to your relief, for all the troops we expect will be here by the 4th of January, so we shall try a stroack with the rebells for Perth, and if we once dispossess them of it, I know of no place benorth it that they dare pretend to keep." He concludes by commending the care of Balveny Castle to Colonel Grant, saying, "Surely you cannot want provisions so long as there are so many rebells who have dwellings in your neighbourhood."[2]

On 27th December 1715, Brigadier Grant, no doubt in common with other officers of the royal army, received instructions from Whitehall, reflecting on the discipline of the private soldiers. The officers were enjoined to pay a due regard to these matters, and also to inquire diligently as to suspicious persons in their respective companies, and dismiss all such, as it was said that owing to the haste of raising new levies and recruiting

[1] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 95.

[2] Original Letter at Ballindalloch.

old regiments, many disaffected men and Irish Papists had joined the service. As General Grant's regiment was a new levy, it is probable he had to deal with disorderly elements.

By the end of December the Duke of Argyll was joined by General Cadogan and a large body of Dutch troops, which, with the English, raised his army to about 10,000 men. The Commander-in-chief then resolved, notwithstanding the winter season, to take the field and conduct active operations against the insurgents who were quartered in Perth. Waiting for artillery from Berwick, it was towards the end of January 1716 that Argyll made his first movements northward. A small party of dragoons was sent forward on the 21st January to report on the practicability of marching over the country, then buried in deep snow.[1]

The main body of the royal army began its march on Wednesday, 25th January. Brigadier Grant accompanied his chief, and has left a memorandum of the route. "Upon Weddinsday, the 25th of January, the troops began to move over the river Forth to Doune and Dunblaine, and so continued for three successive days till all the army was cantouned there. One Sunday, the 29th, the train [of artillery] came up. The 30th, the line of the army was stretched as in the line of battle.[2] That day the castle of Tullibardine was attackt; Captain Campbell and 50 men surrendred at mercy; the army quartered at Ardoch, etc.; Braco House abandoned. Teusday, the 31, we marcht in the former order, and that night incampt at Tullibardine, Pannols (Panholes), etc. February the 1, the Duke of Argyll and Generall Cadogan went into Perth, the rebells haveing abandoned it [on] the 31, at 10 in the forenoon. That night the army quartered in Perth, Huntingtoure, and other villages in the nighbourhood. February the 2d, the Duke march'd with 3 battalions, and detatchment of 1000 foott, and four squadrons to Erroll, and nixt day to Dundee. The rest of the army remain'd at Perth till the 3d, that they march'd to Erroll, and the 4th, being Saturday, they came to Dundee,

[1] History of Scotland, 1689-1745, by John Hill Burton, vol. ii. p. 203, and note.

[2] This refers to a sketch of the position of the royal forces, in which General Grant's brigade appears on the right rear, and is composed of the regiments known as Morison's, Montague's, Shannon's, Grant's, and Wightman's. On this day, the 30th, the rebels retreated, and there was no fighting.

North Ferry and Monifieth. That night the Pretender, with Earl Mar, Lord Drummond, etc., took shipping to Monross (Montrose), and left the rest, who did not know of his desertion, some till they came to Stonehive (Stonehaven), and the clans did not till they were past Aberdeen. Sunday, the 5th, we marcht to Monross, Munday to Bervie, and Teusday, the 7th, to Aberdeen, where severall gentlemen surrendred themselves prisoners at discretion. The clans marcht by Strathbogie, and so up to the Highlands, with some lords, English and Irish officers. One Saturday, the 11th, Lieut.-Colonel Grant took possession of the house of Gordon Castle. The troops were upon this order'd into quarters of refreshment." [1]

Here the narrative breaks off suddenly, but while the Duke of Argyll remained at Aberdeen, Brigadier Grant proceeded northward, and in his double capacity of Lord-Lieutenant and military commander, acted against the rebels in Inverness and elsewhere. He received from the Duke of Argyll an order, dated 14th February, directed to him as Lord-Lieutenant, to search for rebels in hiding, and on 20th February he was instructed in his military character to disarm all disaffected persons or others who had been engaged in the rebellion. Pursuant to these orders, the Brigadier proceeded to receive surrenders of some of the principal rebels. Before 28th February he had placed a garrison in Brahan Castle, the seat of the Earl of Seaforth, as appears from a letter of General Cadogan's. The letter speaks of sending a detachment of regular troops to Brahan Castle, and other places taken in Lord Seaforth's country.[2] This seems to imply that Brigadier Grant had placed there a garrison from his own or other loyal clans. He also took possession of Erchless Castle and Borlum; the former the seat of the Chisholm, the latter that of Brigadier Mackintosh.[3]

On March 6th, Brigadier Grant was at Strathbogie, on the 16th at Banff, and on the 20th at Stonehaven, thus making his progress southward, whither the Duke of Argyll had gone some time before. At each of these places the Brigadier received the surrender of several gentlemen from the insurgent party, notably John Gordon of Glenbucket, Sir James Abercromby of Birkenbog, George Gordon of Buckie, and others.[4]

[1] Original Memorandum at Castle Grant.
[2] Original Letter, *ibid.*
[3] Browne's History of the Highlands, vol. ii. p. 345.
[4] List of names at Castle Grant.

Brigadier Grant was expected to arrive at Edinburgh on or about the 20th March 1716, as Mr. Duncan Forbes of Culloden, writing on that date to the Lord Advocate (Sir David Dalrymple), says that he had "carried three addresses from our country, which missing of the Duke, for whom they were designed, I intended to keep until Brigadier Grant came hither (to Edinburgh), who I judged a proper person to present them." One of these addresses, however, he for special reasons sends to the Advocate, to be presented by the latter.[1] Of these addresses more is heard on 5th May 1716, by which date Brigadier Grant was again in London on his way to his post at Sheerness. On that day John Forbes of Culloden writes from London to his brother Duncan:—"At the Prince's desyre, Brigadier Grant gave him at my sight this day the two memorialls you wrote of what was done in the north. I believe the Prince desyres to compaire them with the accompt printed by Colonel Grant, which makes so great a noyse here that Earl Sutherland, as I am told, is making a reply to it."[2]

Allusion is here made to the fact that the recovery of Inverness for the Government from the Highlanders on 12th November 1715, was ascribed by the London prints and others to the Earl of Sutherland, whereas he had nothing to do with the exploit, the true honour being due to Mr. Duncan Forbes, Lord Lovat, and Captain George Grant, the youngest brother of the Brigadier, with one or two other gentlemen who were really acting under him as Deputy-Lieutenants of Inverness. Lieutenant-Colonel William Grant of Ballindalloch wrote and printed a true account of the matter, under the title of "A true and impartial account of the conduct of the well affected in the north dureing the late rebellion."[3] The letter already quoted as written to the Colonel by the Brigadier on 22d December 1715, gives ground for assuming that this narrative was written at the instigation of the latter, who, zealous for the honour of his clan, called for an "impartiall account," that justice might be done to his friends. He writes, "I wonder that none of you sent me up ane exact account of the takeing and possessing the town and castle of Inverness. Its in all the prints that it was done by E. Sutherland, with the M^{c}Kays, his own people,

[1] Culloden Papers, No. liv.
[2] *Ibid.* No. lxix.
[3] MS. at Ballindalloch. History of Scotland, 1689-1745, by John Hill Burton, vol. ii. p. 189, note.

the Rosses, and Monroes of Ross-shire, and, by what I can understand, there was none of these, no not the Earle that came over the Ferry for several days after you were in possession of both. So what I want is ane impartiall account of facts, with the people who were there, and those you had ready to sustain in case of opposition. Lett it be writ in a fair hand, and sign'd by the Deputy-Lieutenants, and I will transmitt it to Court, that other people may not run away with the glory of your actions. It may be done by way of letter to me; and send it as soon as possible. I ashure people at London are surprised this is so long neglected, especially when I tell them that had it not been for the appearance made in Inverness-shire by Lord Lovat and others, that the Earl of Sutherland nor any of the others would have ventured to cross the Mickle Ferrey." [1]

Brigadier Grant went from London to Sheerness to occupy his important office at the latter place. On the 5th of July 1716, he received advice from Whitehall "of some design of an attempt from sea, in concert with some on land, upon Sheerness," and he was instructed, without loss of time, and as little stir as possible, to take the necessary precautions for the security of the place.[2]

Although Brigadier Grant was detained in the south by his duties, he maintained communications with his deputy-lieutenants in the north. In his capacity as Lord-Lieutenant, he was, on 3d July 1716, commanded to issue warrants by himself, or two of his deputies, to search for arms and all warlike stores kept or used contrary to the Act of Parliament for securing the peace of the Highlands. Proclamation of the terms of the Act was to be made at market crosses and parish churches, and places appointed at which to receive the arms brought in. Those who were faithful during the rebellion were to receive a "satisfaction" for the arms given up. In terms of this order, Brigadier Grant forwarded the necessary instructions to his deputy-lieutenants in the north,[3] who, it may be noted in passing, executed their duty with so much fidelity, that, in the rebellion of 1745, the loyal Grants, when desired to muster for the Government, found themselves miserably equipped with weapons.

[1] Original Letter at Ballindalloch. [2] Original Order at Castle Grant.
[3] Original Order and Draft Instructions at Castle Grant.

On 10th November 1716, he received from his deputies an account of their proceedings in regard to the Disarming Act. It may be interesting, as showing how it was carried out, to note that as each load of arms was brought to the place appointed, they were valued and then deposited in a place of safety. Gentlemen whose yearly rental amounted to £400 Scots were, by the Act of Parliament, allowed to carry arms, and such as had proved loyal during the rebellion, after proving their yearly income, had their names inserted in the minutes of the lieutenancy meetings, and received a warrant to bear arms.

At Banff the warlike stores brought in and delivered up amounted to sixty-six guns, fifteen pistols, twenty-six swords, three dirks, and four Danish axes or halberts. At Cullen, there were delivered one hundred and thirty-six guns, seventy-four pistols, nine barrels of guns, two hundred and thirty-six swords, thirty-three dirks, a "steel cape," and three calivers. These arms were placed in the custody of the magistrates of Banff and Cullen respectively. At Keith there were delivered up no fewer than six hundred and thirty-four swords, ninety-one dirks, three hundred and ninety-six guns and barrels of guns, fifteen locks of guns, two hundred and nineteen pistols, thirty-seven halberts or partisans, eighteen targets, and one steel breastplate. These were deposited in the steeple of Keith, that being the "place of best security," and four men appointed to guard the same nightly. New doors, new locks, hasps, staples, and "hinging locks," were ordered to be put on the steeple for better security. It being afterwards found necessary to remove the arms from Cullen and Keith to Banff, so many horses for each £100 [Scots] of valued rent, were to be furnished by the neighbouring parishes, with packets and creels for the small arms, which were to be put into sacks and sealed; the valuators, two and two, by turns to go from Keith and Cullen to Banff to see the arms delivered, obtain receipts for them, and use all possible care to prevent theft or exchange of the weapons delivered.[1]

A notification of what they had done was communicated to Brigadier Grant by his deputies, with the expression of their hope that he and the

[1] Extract Minutes of Meeting of Deputy-Lieutenants at Castle Grant.

Government would be satisfied with their care and diligence. They begged that the measures to be taken against certain gentlemen, including Sir James Dunbar of Durn, and James Gordon of Letterfourie, who had recently surrendered themselves, should be lenient. The Deputy-Lieutenants at the same time sent a list of gentlemen whom they propose should be made Justices of Peace, and they request definite instructions as to the limits of their own authority.[1]

The Brigadier also continued in the command of his regiment, which was quartered at Fort-William and elsewhere. He received from Whitehall an intimation, dated 9th June 1716, referring to disorders committed by the troops in their quarters for want of a sufficient number of officers to preserve discipline, and desiring the Brigadier to direct that one field officer, with two-thirds of the officers of all grades, shall repair to quarters and continue with the regiment, any officer desiring leave of absence receiving it only when relieved by another of the same rank.[2]

Towards the end of the year he received a letter from Colonel Cecil, the officer in actual command of the regiment, who refers to certain former causes of complaint at Fort-William which had been removed, and then adds, "I have thought it for the advantage of your regiment and good of the service, to discharge all such men as were much under size, or otherwise unfitt to serve, in order to recruit better, by which the coare (corps) may be much mended whenever you think it convenient to send your commands and instructions about it."[3]

Shortly afterwards, Brigadier Grant received official intimation that his regiment was to be transferred to the Irish establishment on 24th June 1717, up to which date he would receive the full pay of the regiment, provided he embarked the complete number of men. He was also instructed to make a return of the effective strength of his regiment, that arrangements might be made for their transport to Ireland.[4]

The Brigadier, on 17th July, was curtly informed that the King had no further occasion for his services,[5] an event which was not un-

[1] Original Letter, dated 12th December 1716, at Castle Grant.

[2] Original Order, *ibid.*

[3] Letter, dated 25th May 1717, at Castle Grant.

[4] Original Letters, *ibid.*

[5] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 34.

expected by him. In a letter to his sister, Mrs. Grant of Ballindalloch, he indicates the reasons of this anticipation, and the ungrateful policy of the Government. He says, "I hourly expect a bill of ease for voting what I thought was right in relation to Lord Cadogan the other day."[1] A few days after receiving the intelligence of his dismissal, in a letter to Colonel Grant, he again refers to the subject, and in similar terms, adding that he was not alone in being thus disposed of by the King. He says, "I own it was no surprise upon me, because I expected it, and you'l see by the prints I'm not the only man turned out for my honesty, for I goe in good company."[2]

In the letter of 15th June to his sister the death of his second wife is recorded by Brigadier Grant. He felt the loss keenly, and expresses himself as being doubly bereft: "My dearest sister may easily imagine with what a sorrowful heart I take the pen in my hand, when it is to tell you that my wife dyed last Teusday in the evening. Shurely I am the most misfortunate creature alive, for there was nothing left me to wish for to compleat my happiness in a married state but that of children, and no sooner was there a prospect of that, then it has pleased the Almighty to take both from me. She was brought to bed about two hours before she dyed. This subject is so melancolly, that I shall only tell you her body is carryed out of town to be buryed to-morrow at her father's burying-place in the countrey."

Brigadier Grant now retired into private life; and being persuaded to renounce a project which he had formed of going abroad, he wished to devote himself to his duties as a landlord. Before undertaking the journey home, he went, at the earnest solicitation of his father-in-law, to Tidworth, in Hampshire, the residence of Mr. Smith, where he remained for some time. The letter to Colonel Grant was written from that place, and in it he narrates his intentions for the future. He says, "Ther's a talk as if this Parliament were to be dissolved. If so, I shall be down very soon. If otherways, I don't thinck of goeing before nixt March. I shall be here with Mr. Smith till December; and you may imagin I will have

[1] Original Letter, dated 15th June 1717, at Ballindalloch.

[2] Original Letter, dated 25th July 1717, at Ballindalloch.

some desire to see how matters goe for 2 or 3 moneths in Parliament nixt winter: after which, I am resolved to be as reall a countrey gentleman as I take you to be at present." From the same place, three days later, the Brigadier again wrote on some matters of private interest.[1]

About this time he authorised negotiations to be entered into for the building of a stone bridge over the river Dulnain, at a place called the Linn of Dalrachnie. The bridge was to consist of one arch, of a height and breadth sufficient to receive the water at its highest flood. The benefit of such a structure to the neighbourhood may be estimated from a letter from certain gentlemen of the adjoining parishes to Brigadier Grant, in which they give him hearty thanks for the proposal to build a stone bridge, adding, "We need not much insist on the conveniency and charitableness of this good work, and how usefull it is both to the country and strangers travelling the road, especially in such a seasone as the last was, ther being severall burrialls stopt and oblidged to be carried be Inshlume, by the frequencie of speats, your Honour being a very good judge of such accidents." The remainder of the letter treats of details as to the contract, etc.[2]

In the spring of 1719 Brigadier Grant, while yet in England, was seized with his fatal illness, and for a considerable time his life was despaired of.[3] He recovered sufficiently to leave London for Scotland about the beginning of August, accompanied by his brother, Sir James Colquhoun. But, though he made a good journey, he had a recurrence of his malady the day after his arrival at Leith, and died there on 19th August 1719. His body lay a short time in South Leith parish church, and was transported thence and buried in the Chapel Royal at Holyrood,[4] where also his father, grandfather, and great-grandfather had all been buried.

A letter from Sir James Colquhoun to the Earl of Moray narrates the circumstances of the death in the following terms:—"I thought it my duty to acquaint your Lordship that it pleased God to remove my brother, Brigadier Grant, by death, Wednesday last, in the house of Mr. Fenton in

[1] Original Letter at Castle Grant.
[2] Original Letter, etc., dated at Duthil, 3d May 1717, *ibid.*
[3] Original Letter at Ballindalloch.
[4] Accounts for funeral at Castle Grant.

Leith, and that yesternight his body was transported to the church of South Leith, and is to be interred to-morrow, at sex o'cloack at night, in the Chappell Royall of Holyrood House. I waited of him from London, whence we sett out Saturday was two weeks, and we aryved at Leith, Sunday in the evening. His health was rather the better then the worse of the journie; but Monday morning he was seazed of one of his former fitts with great violence, and then his lethargie came on, in which he slept to death without any pain or sensation."[1]

A document drawn up for one of his successors in the estate of Grant, describes Brigadier Grant as follows:—"Alexander Grant, eldest son to Ludovick [Grant], from all accounts inherited the manly features of his father's character, and united to these the cultivated understanding of a polite gentleman. He was an excellent classical scholar, and being in the army, much abroad and at Court, he received a polish which was unknown to his father. While his profession allowed him to be upon his own estate, he improved the police of the country and manners of the people. He knew how to blend severity and rigid discipline towards offenders, with benevolence, hospitality, and humanity in the general tenor of his conduct."[2] After commenting on General Grant's friendship with John Duke of Argyll, and his loyalty to the Government, it is added that he fell into a "languishing sickness, as is commonly said, from chagrin at the unmerited treatment he had received," and died in the year 1719. The "unmerited treatment" here spoken of appears, from the context, to refer to futile applications to obtain from Government payment of the large sums expended for the public good by the family of Grant.

Brigadier General Grant of Grant was twice married. His first wife was Elizabeth Stewart, daughter of James Lord Doune, son and heir of Alexander, sixth Earl of Moray, and his Countess Lady Katharine Talmash. Their marriage-contract is dated 30th September and 29th December 1699, the marriage having been previously solemnised on 3d December 1698. As the lady's father was dead, the consenting parties for her were her mother and Lionel, Earl of Dysart, her uncle. Her tocher was £5000 sterling, bequeathed to her as a legacy by the Duchess

[1] Draft Letter at Castle Grant. [2] Memorial for Sir James Grant of Grant, at Castle Grant.

of Lauderdale, her grandmother. The other terms of the marriage-contract are related elsewhere.[1] Elizabeth Stewart predeceased the Brigadier, dying on 22d April 1708, without surviving issue, and was buried at Duthil.[2]

A year later, on 7th April 1709, the Brigadier, then Colonel Grant, contracted his second marriage with Anne Smith, daughter of the Right Honourable John Smith, sometime Speaker of the House of Commons, then Chancellor of the Exchequer. Anne Smith was one of Queen Anne's maids of honour, having been appointed to that post on 26th June 1706, as appears from a certificate of her admission of that date.[3] The contract was entered into at first in a provisional form, owing to the Brigadier's absence from home, and his inability to secure the consent of his father, but this was afterwards rectified. The tocher obtained with this lady was the same as that with his first wife, £5000.[4] As already stated, Anne Smith also predeceased the Brigadier, dying in June 1717, and also without surviving issue.

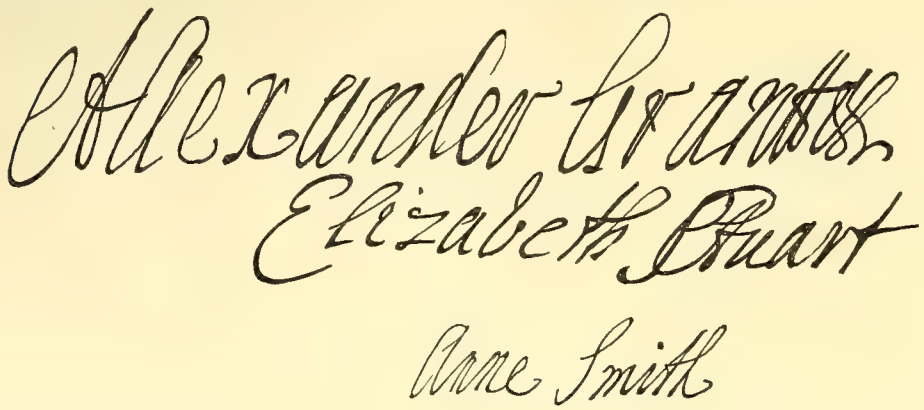
Brigadier-General Alexander Grant was succeeded in the Grant estates by his next eldest surviving brother, James, whose history is given in the following memoir.

[1] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 485.

[2] Register of Deaths of the Parish of Boharm, in office of Register-General, General Register House, Edinburgh.

[3] Original Certificate at Castle Grant. In the drawing-room of the Castle are two beautiful cabinets which were brought there by Miss Smith, and also a large organ which is said to have been given to her by Queen Anne as a wedding-present. [Information by the Earl of Seafield.]

[4] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 492



SIR JAMES GRANT OF GRANT, BARONET,
MARRIED ANNE COLQUHOUN OF LUSS.
AGED 64. DIED 1747.

ANNE COLQUHOUN OF LUSS
WIFE OF JAMES GRANT OF PLUSCARDINE.
AFTERWARDS SIR JAMES GRANT OF GRANT BARONET
DIED 25TH JUNE. 1724.

XVI.—2. SIR JAMES GRANT OF GRANT, Baronet.

ANNE COLQUHOUN, Heiress of Luss, his wife.

1719–1747.

Sir James Grant was the third son of Ludovick Grant of Grant and Janet Brodie, but owing to the death of his eldest brother, John, in 1682, Sir James became heir-presumptive to the Grant estates during the lifetime of his next eldest brother, Brigadier-General Alexander Grant. On the death of the Brigadier without issue, Sir James Grant succeeded as Laird of Grant.

He was born on 28th July 1679. From his correspondence preserved at Castle Grant, it appears that part of his education, at least, was obtained at a seminary in the town of Elgin, but little is known of his history until his marriage in his twenty-third year to Anne Colquhoun, sole child and heiress of Sir Humphrey Colquhoun, fifth Baronet of Luss, which took place on 29th January 1702.

Sir James Grant was for some time designated of Pluscardine, from the abbey and lands of that name, which he inherited as the second surviving son of Janet Brodie, daughter and only child of Alexander Brodie of Lethen. The abbey and lands of Pluscardine for some time belonged to the Mackenzies of Kintail, but were apprised from them in 1649 and sold to Ludovick Grant of Grant in 1677 for £5000. The purchase-money was provided by Mr. Brodie of Lethen, and the lands were to form a provision for the second son of his daughter. Ludovick Grant of Grant only managed the Pluscardine property as tutor and trustee for his son till the year 1709. In the following year James Grant sold the estate to William Duff of Dipple, ancestor of Earl Fife, who is the present proprietor of Pluscardine. James Grant retained the designation of Pluscardine until his succession to his father-in-law in the title and estates of Colquhoun.

After his marriage with the heiress of Luss, Sir James, in terms of an entail, made in his favour by his father-in-law, of the estates of Luss,

dated 4th and 27th December 1706,[1] assumed the surname of Colquhoun. He is subsequently mentioned as concerned in several transactions as to lands in the barony of Luss.[2] He also accompanied his father-in-law on what was known as the "Lochlomond Expedition," a movement made against the Macgregors in 1715 to secure the boats on Lochlomond, and thus hinder that clan in their predatory excursions. The Macgregors had hastened to join the Earl of Mar, and, in order to fit themselves out for service, had plundered their neighbours in Dumbartonshire of arms, horses, etc. Among other appropriations they had taken possession of all the boats upon Lochlomond, and it was resolved by Sir Humphrey Colquhoun and others to recover these boats. To this end a considerable body of armed men left Dumbarton on the 12th October 1715, and were joined on their way to Luss by a number of noblemen and gentlemen of the locality. At Luss, where they spent the night, they were met by Sir Humphrey Colquhoun and "James Grant of Pluscarden his son-in-law, . . . followed by forty or fifty stately fellows in their short hose and belted plaids, armed each of them with a well-fixed gun on his shoulder, a strong handsome target, with a sharp-pointed steel of about half an ell in length screwed into the navel of it, on his left arm, a sturdy claymore by his side, and a pistol or two, with a dirk and knife in his belt." The volunteers were met by the country-people with alarming stories about the numbers of the Macgregors and the dangers of encountering them, "but all could not dishearten these brave men; they knew that the Macgregors and the devil are to be dealt with after the same manner, and that if they be resisted they will flee." The enterprise was completely successful as regarded the obtaining possession of the boats, and the volunteers encountered no rebels, save "an auld wife or two."[3]

Sir Humphrey Colquhoun was not only desirous to carry out in all points the marriage settlement of his daughter, but he also especially wished that failing the heirs-male of his own body, the title of Baronet should be inherited by his son-in-law, James Grant, and the heirs-male of

[1] The Chiefs of Colquhoun, by William Fraser, vol. i. p. 311.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 323, etc.

[3] "The Lochlomond Expedition, etc., 1715," quoted in The Chiefs of Colquhoun, vol. i. pp. 325, 326.

his marriage. He accordingly resigned his baronetcy in the hands of the Crown for a new patent. Queen Anne, by a regrant and new patent, dated 29th April 1704, granted, renewed, and conferred upon Sir Humphrey and his sons to be born; whom failing, upon James Grant of Pluscarden, and the heirs-male of his marriage with Anne Colquhoun, only daughter of Sir Humphrey; whom failing, upon the other heirs therein specified, the hereditary title, rank, dignity, and designation of knight-baronet, with all precedencies belonging thereto.[1] Accordingly, upon the death of Sir Humphrey in 1718, his title descended, in terms of the regrant, to his son-in-law, who was then designated Sir James Colquhoun of Luss, Baronet.

He held the lands of Luss only for one year. In 1719, his elder brother, Brigadier-General Alexander, the Laird of Grant, having died without surviving children, Sir James succeeded to the estates of Grant. He was retoured heir to his brother by special service before the bailie of the Regality of Grant on 24th October 1720, and was infeft in the Grant estates on 10th November following. He thereupon dropped the name and arms of Colquhoun of Luss, and resumed his paternal surname of Grant. This was done in terms of a clause in the entail executed by Sir Humphrey Colquhoun, which expressly provided that the estate of Luss should never be held by a Laird of Grant.[2] In terms of the entail, Sir James Grant's second son, Ludovick, now became the possessor of the barony of Luss, Humphrey Grant, the elder son, being the heir-apparent to the Grant estates.[3] On his succession to the estates of Grant, Sir James also discontinued for a time the title of Baronet, but he afterwards resumed it, and continued to hold the dignity till his death in terms of the limitation in the regrant in favour of him and the heirs-male of his marriage with Anne Colquhoun.

Sir James Grant was returned Member of Parliament for the county of Inverness on 12th April 1722.[4] He was twice re-elected, in 1727 and 1734, and continued to represent that county till the year 1741, when he resigned, and was returned member for the Elgin burghs, which he represented till his death in 1747. Sir James was thus in Parliament for a quarter of a century. The recent returns of Members of Parliament show that the

[1] Vol. iii. of this work, pp. 489-491. [2] The Chiefs of Colquhoun, vol. i. p. 313. [3] *Ibid.* p. 330.
[4] Return of Election of Members of Parliament, 1878, Part ii. p. 60.

family of Grant is one of four Scotch families who can actually boast of an unbroken descent of seven generations in Parliament.[1]

While in Parliament, Sir James Grant was on intimate terms with Sir Robert Walpole. A few years after Sir James was first returned, the great Minister asked him a favour, not of a political, but of a private nature. This appears from a letter, dated from London, 12th June 1725, written by Sir James to his sister Anne, to whom and her husband, Colonel William Grant of Ballindalloch, Sir James confided a great part of the management of his estate previous to the year 1732. Mr. Walpole, he says, had desired a favour of him :—"He is at present building a park, quhich he enclyns much to stock with roes, quhich is a rarity here, and not to be had, and he has begg'd of me to gett him some. Secretar Johnston told him what diversion my father gave him there, soe I must entreat that you give orders to search for them, and give what you please for every on that can be had." Sir James adds, after giving directions as to the shipping of the roes, "this will be ane unexpressable complement to him."[2] The roe-deer were, however, not obtainable for that year at least, as the request had been made too late in the season.

Like other gentlemen, Sir James Grant had an interest in the South Sea Enterprise, a circumstance referred to in two letters from his brothers Lewis and George, who both refer to the closing of the South Sea Company's books, though the stock had risen, but could not be sold.[3] He also took an interest in Church affairs. This is shown by a letter from the Moderator of the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, dated 7th October 1725, thanking Sir James for his "just and generous concern for the desolation of the parish of Tarbat" (now Arrochar), and his "ready disposition to contribute good offices for a speedy settlement, and particularly to allow the vacant stipends yet undisposed to goe to such a natural use." The Presbytery of Dumbarton were absent from the Synod, but were ordered to make their own address to Sir James, that his views might be fully carried out.[4] This letter evidently refers to the building of a church for

[1] Mr. Forster's Members of Parliament, Scotland, 1882, p. 160, and Preface, p. viii.

[2] Original Letter at Ballindalloch.

[3] Original Letters, dated in 1721, at Castle Grant.

[4] Original Letter, *ibid.*

the parish of Tarbat, which had been disjoined from the parish of Luss about 1678, but in which neither church nor manse had as yet been built, and if there was a school, it had only been recently erected. A church was built there in 1733.[1]

Although the barony of Luss had devolved on his second son Ludovick, who was retoured heir to his mother therein on 27th March 1729, Sir James Grant had no small trouble in giving up his connection with that barony. In 1727, without consulting his father, and also without the consent of the lady's parents, Ludovick married Marion Dalrymple, daughter of Sir Hew Dalrymple of North Berwick, President of the Court of Session. This step involved the young couple in the heavy displeasure of the parents of both, but Sir Hew was the first to condone the offence, and in their interest he besieged Sir James with applications for a proper settlement of the barony of Luss. An able lawyer of the clan, Patrick Grant of Elchies, afterwards a Lord of Session with the title of Lord Elchies, conducted the arrangement of affairs on behalf of Sir James, and on 17th May 1729, a long letter containing the President's final proposals was sent for Sir James's consideration. The proposals made were, shortly, as follows:—1. That Sir James and his son Ludovick should assist each other in giving bonds for the debts of the one and the other; 2. That in this they should ask the aid of their friends; 3. That Sir James should make over to his son all claims that he had against the estate of Luss, and also debts due to that family, his right to the Slate-crag, etc.; 4. That Sir James should make over to Ludovick a certain debt exigible from Sir John Houston; 5. That certain questions should be raised as to the application of the price paid for the estate of Colquhoun, sold after the deed of entail, and as to a discharge of the price granted by Sir James, with the view of securing any balance due to the family of Luss; 6. That Ludovick should discharge Sir James of the latter's whole intromissions with the estate of Luss, and of all claims against Sir James in any way; 7. That Ludovick should take on himself the burden of £50,000 of debt, and the interest thereof, from Whitsunday 1729, and of any claims made by the superiors of the lands, and that Sir James should relieve him of all other debts.[2]

[1] The Chiefs of Colquhoun, vol. ii. pp. 82, 83.

[2] Original Letter at Castle Grant.

It would appear that Sir James, after some consideration, assented to these proposals, as no further proceedings resulted, and in the following year Ludovick Colquhoun completed his feudal title to the barony of Luss.

While Sir James was thus engaged with his son Ludovick he received several letters, containing much good advice, from his eccentric brother-in-law, Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat. He writes:—". . . I beg you suspend your wrath till all be rightly examin'd, and remember what I told you in my last, that he (Ludovick) truly is the hopes of your family, but he must be an obedient son; and truly you deserve obedience and affection from your childeren, for you have been the most tender and indulgent father that ever was, and I think you was too much that way, but it 's erring on the right side; but I am absolutly for peace, and I know it is for your interest, . . . so, for God's sake, set humour aside, and be fully reconcil'd; and if Louis does amiss, let him ask your pardon on his knees, and never offend you any more."[1]

As Member of Parliament for the county of Inverness, Sir James Grant naturally took a deep interest in the elections. There is no evidence in the Grant correspondence of any change or difficulty as to the representation of the county until about 1732, when the influence of the Lord Advocate, Duncan Forbes of Culloden, was brought to bear on the gentlemen of the neighbourhood. A curious account of an electioneering intrigue is given by Alexander Brodie of Brodie, who was Lyon King-of-Arms, and member for the county of Nairn, in a letter to Ludovick Grant on 4th October 1732. After referring to the decease of Mr. Grant's elder brother, Humphrey, Mr. Brodie says:—". . . As to the concert made with the *aqua vitæ* pots,[2] I cannot give you any very particular information, being still in the dark as to that congress, any further than that your father (Sir James Grant) does insist upon my giveing a present of the shire of Nairn to John Forbes, and that without John's condescending to ask it of me. But, as I am allow'd to guess at the secret articles, they are supposed to be as follows: Great compliments being made of the sincere regard the advocate and his brother have for the family of Grant, they choose to enter into a league, defensive and offensive, with him, and in

[1] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 296.

[2] The Culloden family were extensive distillers.

particular they choose to ow him an obligation rather than to such a litle puny fellow as the Lyon, who pretended to give himself such airs as to be chosen for two counties, which insolence the Laird of Grant was the most proper person to curb, and as it would be difficult to get the better of him in Nairn, the most proper method was for the Laird of Grant to show him his interest in the shire of Murray was such that he could not pretend to be able to carry the representation of Murray but by the Laird of Grant's assistance, and therefore, if I was to have that shire, I must allow Craigalachie the absolute disposal of Nairn in favours of Culloden, and in case I was not easily to be prevailed upon to come into this measure, that Grant must be either opposed or bullied in the shire of Inverness, in order to be a pretext for him to set up in the shire of Murray."[1] The writer also remonstrates against any concession being made to the family of Culloden, and insists strongly on his own friendship for Sir James Grant and family.

In regard to the same matter Lord Lovat wrote also to Ludovick Grant, a fortnight later, that Lord Islay had declared himself against the two brothers John and Duncan Forbes, but that the two were resolved to carry Inverness, Ross, and Nairn. "Ross they think themselves very sure of, and they have hook'd in Macleod to get the shire of Inverness by him. . . . And my Lord Advocate is gone express . . . to assist him to make twelve or twenty barons, so that he will, according to their scheme, beat the shire, and then give it up to Culodin, . . . so that if your father does not bestir himself and make as many barons as will ballance M'Leod, he is affronted, and what will the ministry think of his interest and mine in this shire." Lord Lovat even fears that Sir James may lose his seat in Parliament and his interest in Moray, "so that he is mad and disstracted if he does not for ever mantain his interest and election in the shire of Inverness." The writer declares he has five votes, and hopes soon to have ten, and he adjures Sir James to exert himself: "Let him not force his friends and allays to forsake him and join those whom they hate. . . . If he is not active for himself, he can make as many barons in Urquhart as he pleases, and the divel take his advisers if he does not make as many as secures himself."[2]

As to the question of making barons, Sir James Grant's own opinion,

[1] Original Letter at Castle Grant.

[2] *Ibid.*

as expressed in a letter to Macleod himself, may be quoted here, though the letter is dated a few months later. After a general reference to election matters, Sir James writes :—" Sir, I am sorrie that your thoughts should be soe mean of me as to allow your selfe to imagin that by makeing seven barrons on the lands of Glenmoriston, I had therby a design of enslaveing the shyr, that being a work that though you and I both joyn'd together, we are not capable of, and as litle able to bring about. For my part I alwayes relye entyrly on the gentlemen of the shyr for there help and assistance, and as I have hitherto endeavour'd to make my behaviour, I hope in noe maner dissagreeable to them, soe I shall still relye on there favour and friendship for the tym to come, and leave the event to there pleasure, and whenever I carrie ane election, I shall esteem it as there free grant in the honour they doe me, and will studie that my actions be agreeable therto." [1]

On 25th October 1732, Lord Lovat wrote to Sir James Grant that he had written to Lord Islay for a grant of the sheriffship of Inverness, and that Lord Islay was inclined to give it to Lovat, but desired to consult Sir James Grant. Lord Lovat thought it would be as much for Sir James's interest that he should be Sheriff as that Ludovick Grant should be. He therefore hopes that their friendship may be reciprocal, and he begs that Sir James would yield " that feather " to him, " since I am convinc'd that you belive that I will stretch a point to serve you as your son."

Sir James Grant, however, did not at first accede to the proposal so advantageous in Lord Lovat's eyes, and the latter wrote :—" . . . I never dream'd that my brother-in-law would refuse me a feather that might be of good use to me in my present condition, and cannot be of a sexpence profit to you ; especially when I offer'd to resign it to your son whenever he had any occasion for it. I am very sory that you thought my letter too long, since it did produce nothing but a refusal. This shall be as short as you please, as it is only to tell you . . . that you had no relation . . . more zealous for . . . your person and family than I was. . . . However, you are best judge of your own affairs, etc." [2]

[1] Original Draft at Castle Grant, dated 3d March 1733.

[2] Original Letter, dated 2d November 1732, at Castle Grant.

To this Sir James replied:—"I must own my surpryse is noe less than your Lordship's at what you insist on and desyr of me. You told me when I had the honour of a visit from you that you had writt about the sherrifship, and that you desyr'd it only in the event that I was not to have it, but now your Lordship seems to take it amiss that I wont resign what pretensions my wryting soe earnestly about it may entitle me."[1] It may be mentioned that the matter was ultimately arranged in accordance with Lovat's wishes, as appears from a letter of his in February 1733.

The amenities of electioneering are graphically depicted in another letter by Lord Lovat to Sir James. The writer refers to the above disagreement, and says, "My pett is over, and I am resolved to live with you as an affectionat brother. . . . But I cannot nor will not suffer to be maltraited by my inferior. . . . This makes me highly inrag'd at the Laird of Brody, Lord Lyon, who, befor your son Luss" and others, "after giving himself the aires of being my Lord Ilay's minister in the north, he abus'd me, threaten'd me, and insulted me. It was in his own room, and I bless God I keep'd very much my temper. He first accus'd me sillily that I and all the Frasers had made a league with Culodin against Grant. I could not forbear telling him that what he said was false, that I was sincerly for the Laird of Grant when he was against him. Then he threatened me, and told me that he would blow me up with the Earle of Ilay. I told him that he and all the Brodies on earth joined to all the divels in hell could not blow me up with the Earle of Ilay. He then insulted me in telling me that he would get Lord Hugh to make Barons. I own my temper was much try'd at that expression, but bless God, providence stiffled my passion, that I did not send the mad fool to hell as he deserv'd."[2] Lord Lovat then states he will keep his just resentment till the election is over, and then demand satisfaction, "if he was as stout as any Lyon that ever was in Arabia, let the consequences be what they will."[3]

Sir James Grant gained the election, though if Lord Lovat is to be depended on, he was anxious about the result. Lovat advised the Laird to be easy about the matter and to put all trust in him.

[1] Original Draft at Castle Grant.

[2] Original Letter, dated 23d January 1733, *ibid.*

[3] On other occasions Lovat called the Lyon "the King of Beasts."

In another letter to Sir James, Lord Lovat writes :—" As they are pelting us with rhime at Inverness, a friend of mine put the enclosed in my hand this morning. It will make you laugh at a bottle."[1] The following are the verses referred to :—

The Peer and his Clan were there to a man,
His Lordship look'd big, like a Hector;
No doubt he will vaunt, in the Evening Courant,
With a hey, Sine Sanguine Victor.[2]

THE ANSWER.

Tho' the Brothers did brag, yet at last they did fag,
Notwithstanding two clans was their shield;
For the sight of a Grant made all their hearts pant
That they durst not appear in the field.

2.

Tho' our story does boast of the Frasers and host
Before Forbes from Adam came out;
Yet the fourt of that Race, with his impudent face,
Said, the Grants and the Frasers he 'd rout.

3.

But now he does feel, with his brass and his steel,
When he thought he had all the North rug;
Notwithstanding his lyes and the flams of his eyes,
He had the wrong sow by the lug.

4.

Tho' his office of State made him always look great,
And give places and posts to his creatures;
Tho' MacLeod be his Hector, who ne'er will be victor,
The brave Grants made a change in his features.

Sir James Grant himself, or by his adherents, opposed the Laird of Brodie's election for Nairn, and supported Mr. Brodie of Lethen against his chief. The election took place in March 1735, and resulted in favour of the Lyon, but Sir James Grant's feelings, and in part the cause of them, are shown

[1] Original Letter, dated 20th June 1734, at Castle Grant.
[2] One of Lord Lovat's mottoes.

in a somewhat humorous passage in a letter to the Lyon himself, dated in October 1734. Sir James writes that he would regret any difference arising betwixt them, but that if he or his son Ludovick had any interest in the shire of Nairn, their "near relation to Mr. Brodie of Lethin would undoubtedly entitle him verie readily to it," and that he had their good wishes. He begs the Lyon very earnestly to follow the example of others, and be reconciled to Mr. Brodie of Lethen, who indeed was unconscious of any cause of offence. Sir James then adds, "There is on thing you tax Mr. Brodie with, quhich I believe my son and I should know best, which is that he endeavour'd to raise misunderstandings twixt your familie and myn. I don't know who has told you soe, but I doe on my honour and conscience ashure you, its a most false calumnious aspersion, and that he never was in the least guiltie of it. I have now wearied you with a longe letter, and I think answered yours as much as I can. I shall onlie beg leave as a Highland chiefe to give the chiefe of the godlie ane advice (tho' probablie you 'l think it comes but ill from me) that you 'l take more nottice of the Lord's prayer (though now out of fashion with us) and even forgive your enemies, and give noe ground to those who beare you noe good will, to rejoice in seeing differences betwixt you and your friends: your motto is a very good on, and I hope will subsist."[1]

Lord Lovat's letters at this time show that he also supported Mr. Brodie of Lethen, and his correspondence with Sir James Grant and his son is full of animus against the Lyon, with corresponding vehemence in expression of regard for Grant. The value of Lord Lovat's brotherly affection did not then stand high in the mind of Sir James Grant, as may be inferred from the following passage in a letter to his son Ludovick: "I am plagued with letters from Lovat anent Foyers.[2] I have answered him very freely, which I believe will save me furder trouble on that head. The Frasers' friendship has not been for nothing, and it seems the continowance of it must be purchased at noe litle trouble."[3]

Sir James Grant, though seldom at Castle Grant, as his Parliamentary

[1] Original Draft Letter at Castle Grant. The motto of the family of Brodie is "Unite."

[2] Fraser of Foyers, for whom Lord Lovat desired a lieutenant's commission.

[3] Original Letter, dated 17th April 1736, at Castle Grant.

duties obliged him to reside chiefly in London, yet promoted the plantation and improvement of his estate and neighbourhood. This is shown by a letter to his son Ludovick, who acted as resident and virtual Laird of Grant. After referring to certain money matters, he turns to affairs of domestic interest. "The syd sadle was sent to Lieth, and the litle blake[1] went in the same ship. I think it were proper you ordered him north, as he won't gett the best of instruction at Edinburgh whyl you are not there, and it's a pitie such a prettie boy should be lost. . . . In a letter to my daughter I send you some spruce firr seed which I had from the Peer (Lord Islay), with a good quantity of pynaster apples which I thought to have sent in the last ship that went to Findhorn, but unluckilie miss'd the occasion. They shall be sent with first. There are in the box with them 4 ounces large ston pyne, halfe ane ounce cyprus (cypress), four aples of the large cedar, on ounce laburnum, and on ounce bladdersencie. The cedar-apples must be opened to gett out the seed by makeing a hole with a smale gemelet from the on end to the other, and then breaking it (them), and the seed will be easily taken out. The same method will doe with the pynasters; the fire must not be used to open them. Pray let me know how the elms, beeches, and willowes doe that were sent last. I wish there be care taken to preserve the willowes from the cattle, for I propose great pleasure in them, as you know they have shads of them in several places here of the same hight with those sent."[2]

He adds: "I had almost forgott to tell you that Mr. Heron, our member who droves in cattle, spoke to me severall times anent the cattle of our countrey, and sayd that if the countrey people would keep them for him, he would send a servant in a litle time who should buy them, and pay readie money as they could agree, only they should be oblieged to keep and grase them untill the ordinar time of sending them to Criefe ore Falkirk. This they doe everie year, however. Pray tell the countrey of this, for Mr. Heron seems verie much enclyn'd to bargain with them, and here their money is shure, and noe after deductions when they are pay'd. Acquaint me by first how this proposal is relishd, and if I shall speak yet more

[1] A negro page for Lady Margaret Grant.

[2] Original Letter, dated 3d April 1736, at Castle Grant.

seriously to him about it, for I would not wish that at my desyr he sent his servant, and that the cattle were disposed of befor he went."

In a later letter, Sir James again refers to this subject: "As I wrote last, Mr. Heron is to send a servant to buy the cattle of the countrey, and as he will give readie money or payment without deduction, I think they should encourage him, and not ask extravagant prices, which now cattle don't give."[1]

From London Sir James occasionally, and especially at election times, endeavoured to influence his friends by letter, but, on the whole, he seems to have led a comparatively quiet life, taking little active part in politics. To this may perhaps be attributed the fact that though a Member of Parliament under Sir Robert Walpole's administration, Sir James Grant never received any public office or place for himself or members of his family. It would appear, however, that on one or two occasions he deemed himself entitled to consideration in such matters, but he did not press his claims upon the administration.

This reserve, or apathy as it was deemed by some, was by no means agreeable to Sir James's energetic brother-in-law, Lord Lovat, who wrote so persistently about himself, his estate, his affection for and devotion to the family of Grant, his admiration of and submission to the Earl of Islay, that it is difficult to mention anything in which Sir James Grant took interest that was not in some way interfered with by Lovat. He also constantly besieged Sir James to do something on his behalf, a circumstance which evoked such sarcastic comments as the one quoted above, that the "Frasers' friendship had not been for nothing."

From 1740 to 1745, Lovat's correspondence with Sir James Grant and his son declined, and latterly appears to have ceased. But though Lord Lovat did not write so much, he did not hesitate to use other means to gain his ends. An election contest was proceeding in May 1741, and the following extracts from two letters then written show how differently Sir James and Lord Lovat acted under somewhat similar circumstances.

Writing to his son-in-law, Lord Braco, Sir James Grant says, "It gives me not a little trouble to heare that you design personally to appear

[1] Letter at Castle Grant.

against my son in his design of standing candidate for the shyr of Morray. I am perfectly shure that had you yourself stood for the shyr of Banff, nothing would have hindered him from standing by you against any person could have pretended to oppose you, and as I wish soe, I hope that any little accidental mistakes betwixt you (which I am perswaded won't be of longe continowance) won't lead you to carry maters soe farr as at this time publickly to appear personally against him, and therefor allow me, my dear Lord, to beg and entreat that you would at least stay away from the election in Morray; for I doe ashure your Lordship that to see differences subsist between you two, would be on of the greatest misfortunes can attend me in life."[1]

The other letters addressed to Ludovick Grant by the daughter of a voter, with evident reference to his or his father's candidature at this time, gives a glimpse of Lord Lovat's proceedings. The writer acknowledges receipt of a note to her father, and says, "It is impossible I can describe his condition, but I 'm afraid he 'll be render'd uncapable of doing service at the ensuing election, being so confounded and teaz'd out of his life by the nearest party, that its surprizing how he bears it out so long. The day I had the honour to write to you last, Lovat came here, and there were many present that heard the hott ingagment my sister and I had with his Lordship for the unaturall flight he had taken against his brother-in-law, our worthy friend, Sir James Grant. I won't insist on his ansuers, only tell you that we took up all his time, so that he had no roome to plague papa that day, but every day that past since, he hes had ambasaders here, and hes sett all his relations and kindred upon papa, telling him what a slur he is like to bring on his name by appearing to make any difficulty in serving a chief who is willing to do all in his power for his family, and likewise holding forth what a hard thinge it is to live in Rome and appear against the Pope. . . . I am certain that they have not gained the least advantage as to their design."[2]

It would seem, from the incidents related in this letter, that Lovat's partisanship for the family of Grant had failed, as his interest and theirs

[1] Original Draft Letter, dated 14th May 1741, at Castle Grant.
[2] Original Letter, 13th May 1741, *ibid.*

no longer coincided. But from this date there is no evidence of any further intercourse between Sir James Grant and his brother-in-law. If the correspondence between them was continued as formerly, it has not been discovered in the repositories at Castle Grant.

The same courtesy which dictated the mild remonstrance by Sir James Grant to his son's opponent, Lord Braco, appears even more plainly in a letter written at this time to a more formidable rival, Lord President Forbes. The latter had always opposed the influence of the Grant family in Inverness-shire, and had now gained so large a party that Sir James Grant felt that to contest the county would involve too great expense, especially as his son Ludovick Grant was also a candidate for Parliamentary honours. He therefore withdrew from the field, and intimated the fact to the Lord President in the following short note, which was carried by Sir James's brother :—"As my brother is the bearer of this . . . he will fully inform your Lordship of the usage I have mett with, the design I have taken and the reasons for which I have done soe, to which I referr. I shall only now beg leave to tell your Lordship that for those very reasons I have given over any design of standing candidat for the shyr of Invernes, and have resolved to support my son in the shyr of Morray, and at the same time I have writt to my friends and beggd the favour of them that they will waite of your Lordship, attend the election, and be directed by you in the choise of a member. I am with truth, etc."[1]

Sir James Grant, however, though he retired from the representation of the shire of Inverness, sought and obtained the suffrages of another and not unsuitable constituency, the Elgin district of burghs. In the letter containing his proposal, addressed to the town-council of Elgin, he grounds his hope of their acceptance of his offer upon his personal acquaintance with many in the town, and also upon the fact that he was for some time educated among them.[2] The election took place at Cullen, on 28th May 1741, when Sir James was returned as Member of Parliament for the Elgin district of burghs, and sat as such in the House of Commons until his death in 1747.[3]

[1] Original Draft Letter at Castle Grant.
[2] Draft Letter, *ibid.*
[3] Annals of Elgin, by Robert Young, p. 530.

It may be of interest to note here a letter dated 9th January 1747, but which refers to a previous date, showing that Sir James Grant and his family were the patrons of a bursary in the College of St. Andrews. The writer of the letter was the Rev. Thomas Tullideph, Principal of St. Mary's College, St. Andrews. It is addressed to the Rev. Patrick Grant, minister of Calder, and refers to a contract drawn up between Sir James Grant and the College, in 1744, to some provisions in which Sir James's agent took exception, but, on finding they were similar to those agreed to by the patron of the Wilkie bursaries, he consented to forward the contract to Sir James Grant to be completed. Through some inadvertence the deed was not signed, and the Principal desires that it might now be arranged that the annual income might be regularly paid. It is not clear whether the sum named was the regular yearly payment or not, but the Principal owns receipt of £19, 4s. sterling, and discharges Mr. Grant's bond from Martinmas 1744 to Martinmas 1745.

The Principal relates a curious episode about the bursars. "Untill (he writes) I received your last it had quite escaped me that you had formerly complained of the ill usage of the Grant bursars. Upon receipt of that I have casten up yours of the 26th January 1746, and therein I find you mention that they were apparently ill used at our table last session, but as they were not here to explain that ill usage to me, it had quite escaped me. . . . It is very true that, since they came up this time, they complained to me that their beef at table was coarse; but upon examining the undertaker (contractor), and the porter who then served them, I found it was of the very same carcass that we were eating, and I assure you that I have the undertaker's promise that all the bursars shall eat of the same meat with the Masters, and we reckon we never had better beef than we have this year."[1]

When Prince Charles Edward landed in Scotland, Sir James Grant was in Morayshire during one of his brief residences in the north. On learning the news, he at once went to Castle Grant and concerted with his son Ludovick what should be done. Sir James himself, however, was obliged to go to London to attend to his Parliamentary duties. Shortly

[1] Original Letter at Castle Grant.

For

S.r James Grant B.t

Kinlochiel Aug. y^e 22^d. 1745

You cannot be ignorant of my being arrived in this Country & of my having set up the Royal Standard, & of my firm resolution to stand by those who will stand by me I refer you to my printed declaration for the rest. On such an occasion I cannot but expect the Concurrence of all those who have the true interest of their Country at heart. And I have heard such a Character of you as makes me hope to see you among the most forward. By answering these expectations you will entitle y^r self to that favour & friendship of w^ch I shall be ever ready to give you proofs

Charles P. R.

after he left, he received from his son, through the post, a letter from Prince Charles Edward. This letter, which was sealed when Sir James received it, was handed by him unopened to the Marquis of Tweeddale, then Secretary of State, from whose repositories, by the courtesy of his descendant, the present Marquis, it has been obtained, and, along with a facsimile of the original, is here given :—

"Kinlochiel, August the 22, 1745.

"You cannot be ignorant of my being arrived in this country, and of my having set up the Royal Standard, and of my firm resolution to stand by those who will stand by me. I refer you to my printed declaration for the rest. On such an occasion, I cannot but expect the concurrence of all those who have the true interest of their country at heart. And I have heard such a character of you as makes me hope to see you among the most forward. By answering these expectations, you will entitle yourself to that favour and friendship of which I shall be ever ready to give you proofs.

CHARLES, P. R.

For Sir James Grant, Baronet."

No answer was returned to this letter, and Sir James remained quietly in London, while his son managed affairs at home.

A history of what was done by the Grant family during the Rebellion of 1745, is given in the memoir of Sir Ludovick Grant, which immediately follows this; but as Sir Ludovick deferred much to the opinion of his father, it may be stated that Sir James Grant was, in common with his kinsman, Sir Archibald Grant of Monymusk, and others, strongly opposed to the scheme of the Independent Companies, the plan adopted by the Government in seeking aid from the loyal clans. Sir James considered that the best way for securing the active co-operation of his own clan, or any other, was to summon the whole clan under its chief, after the usual Highland custom, and engage them in active service. By doing this, and marching the loyal clans together, he believed that a very considerable force would be raised for the Government, which also would be far better fitted than the regular troops to encounter the rebel army in the field.

This view was founded on the well-known aversion which the lower class of Highlanders entertained to fighting under any one save the head of their clan, unless it were a distinguished leader such as Montrose or Dundee. It is true that the calling out of the clans in a body would probably have led to disputes among their chiefs, but under a good commander this difficulty might have been obviated. In any case, it was the method adopted by the young Pretender, and contributed greatly to his success. Had the same plan been promptly taken by the Government, and the loyal clans in the neighbourhood of the locality where the Prince's standard was first raised been called out in a body, the insurrection might have been checked at the outset. These sentiments are expressed in a memorial, dated 30th October 1745, addressed by Sir James Grant to the Right Hon. Henry Pelham, Secretary of State, in which he offered to raise a regiment from his own country and clan on the same terms as those regiments raised by the Duke of Bedford and others in England, but it was not accepted.

Before leaving Strathspey Sir James Grant counselled his son to remain passive unless he and the clan were called out together; that is, they were to remain loyal, defend their own territory only if attacked, and aid the Government in every way, but not to rise in arms unless summoned to do so. The strength of his opinion regarding the independent companies may be inferred from two letters written by him at this time. In the first letter, to his son Ludovick, dated 2d November 1745, he says:—"You know the advice I gave you at parting. I hope you have kept to it, for it would give me the greatest uneasines if I but gave credit to a letter I saw from Inverness, telling that young Grant was to send a company of men there. I hope it is false, and noe advice or arguments from any person will perswade you to such a thing until I acquaint you. I shall be in great trouble unless you write the conterar, and had I suspected it in the least, I would not have left the country as I did."[1] In the second letter, which is addressed to his law-agent in Edinburgh, Lachlan Grant, writer there, dated 4th January 1746, Sir James says:—"I think my son did very right in not accepting of any of those commissions offered by the President, and my letter to him (which I finde the rebels have gott)

[1] Draft Original Letter at Castle Grant.

was to that purpose, and discharging the raising my men in any shape except for protecting the countrey [their own territory], untill some better offers were made by the Government then we have formerly met with. I told him my family had already suffered more in the cause than many in Brittain, and therefor desyrd he might take care."

It will be seen from the memoir of Sir Ludovick Grant that he really had accepted one of the independent companies, and his reasons for so doing are stated. But though he accepted the first to show his goodwill to Government, he refused to raise a second company.

Owing probably to interception by the rebels, few of Sir James Grant's letters to his son Ludovick at this time are preserved, but it appears that Sir James made another direct application to the Secretary of State, on 23d January 1746, renewing his former offer of assistance. After detailing the circumstances which led to the second proposal, the defeat of the royal troops at Falkirk, the affairs in the north of Scotland, and such like, Sir James says:—"By what I know of the temper of those people and of the companies already with Lowden, from the several tribes of which they consist,[1] I am well assured that these companies will not serve with that alacrity and submission that they would doe, if the main body of each clan were called out by the Crown under there proper chiftans ore some near relation of there family, which would raise ane emulation among them who should most distinguish themselves in the common cause."[2]

Sir James Grant did not rest content with memorialising the Secretary of State. A few days after his application to the latter, he wrote to the Lord Justice-Clerk of Scotland, then Andrew Fletcher of Milton, relating his former proposals and their ill-reception, and begging that this proposal might be laid before the Duke of Cumberland himself, as Commander-in-Chief for Scotland.[3] This was done, and the offer was accepted, as appears from a letter from Mr. Grant to Sir Everard Falkener, dated 16th February 1746.[4] The circumstances which prevented the full carrying out of Sir James Grant's wishes will be found fully narrated in the next memoir.

[1] The independent companies were Grants, Macleods, Monroes, Mackenzies, Mackays, and others.

[2] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 216.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 217.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 235.

The treaty of neutrality entered into with the rebels by Grant of Rothiemurchus, and several other gentlemen of the Clan Grant, greatly distressed Sir James Grant. He wrote to Lord Findlater that the affair had made a great noise in London, and that he was ashamed to show his face.[1]

Sir James was looking forward to another parliamentary election, and one of his last letters to his son Ludovick, on 30th September 1746, contained instructions to arrange matters for the ensuing contest, but in the end of 1746, or beginning of 1747, while still in London, he was seized with gout in the stomach, and died there on 16th January 1747.

The following character of Sir James Grant has been given by one who obviously knew him intimately :—"He was a gentleman of a very amiable character, justly esteemed and honoured by all ranks of men; his natural temper was peculiarly mild, his behaviour grave, composed, and equal; and his social conduct was full of benevolence and goodness. To his clan he was indulgent, almost to a fault; to his tenants just and kind; and did not very narrowly look into things himself, but committed the management of his fortune to his factors and favourites. To sum up his character, he was a most affectionate husband, a most dutiful and kind parent, sober, temperate, just, peaceable, an encourager of religion and learning, a lover of all virtue and good men; he was very solicitous for the welfare and support of the families, both of Grant and Luss; and when, upon the death of his eldest son, Humphrey, and the resignation of the second son, Ludovick, of the estate of Luss in favour of his third son, James, he was put into the possession of it, it gave Sir James the highest satisfaction. He was very happy in his children, and they in him."[2]

By his wife, Anne Colquhoun, who died at Castle Grant on 25th June 1724, Sir James Grant had fourteen children, six sons and eight daughters.

The sons were—

1. Humphrey, who was born on Wednesday, 2d December 1702,[3] and who died, unmarried, in September 1732.

[1] Original Letter at Castle Grant.

[2] The Chiefs of Colquhoun, by William Fraser, vol. i. p. 331.

[3] From a leaf pasted into an old Bible at Rossdhu. The entry is holograph of Sir James Colquhoun, husband of Lady Helen Sutherland. The dates of the births of the other children are taken from the same authority, supplemented from another family list.

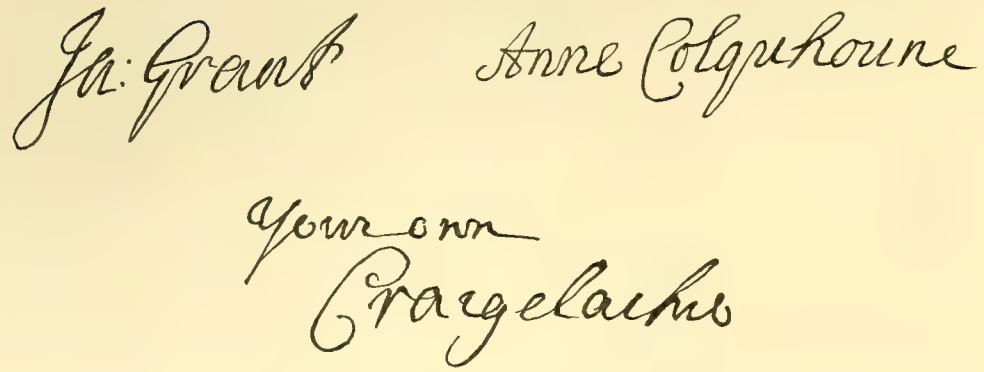
2. Ludovick, who was born on Monday, 13th January 1707, and who succeeded to the estates of Luss and afterwards to those of Grant.
3. Alexander, who was born on Saturday, 8th September 1709, and died 12th March 1712.
4. James, who was born on Monday, 22d February 1714, and baptized on the 24th of that month.[1] He succeeded to the Luss estates, and carried on the family of Colquhoun of Luss. A memoir of Sir James is given in the Chiefs of Colquhoun.
5. Francis, who was born on Saturday, 10th August 1717. He became a lieutenant-colonel of the Royal Scotch Highlanders, and afterwards a lieutenant-general in the army. He obtained the estate of Dunphail, in the county of Elgin, and was M.P. for that county from 1768 to 1774. He also held property in Hants, and is styled "of Windmill Hill" there, in his will, which is dated 5th July 1781. He died on 30th December the same year. He married Catherine Sophia, daughter of Joseph Cox of Stanford Vale, Berks, and Catherine Sophia Sheffield, daughter of John, Duke of Buckinghamshire and Normandy. By his wife he left three sons and three daughters.
6. Charles Cathcart, was born 3d April 1723, and became a captain in the Royal Navy. He died unmarried on 11th February 1772. His brother Sir Ludovick was served heir to him.

The daughters were—

1. Janet, who was born 31st May and died 5th October 1704.
2. Jean, who was born on Friday, 28th September 1705. She married, in 1722, William Duff, who was raised to the Peerage of Ireland by the Queen Regent, Caroline, under the title of Baron Braco of Kilbryde, in the county of Cavan, on 28th July 1735. On 26th April 1759, he was advanced to the rank of Viscount Macduff and Earl Fife, also in the Peerage of Ireland. She was his second wife, and bore to him seven sons and seven daughters. From the eldest son the present Earl Fife is descended.

[1] Luss Register of Baptisms.

3. Margaret, who was born on Monday, 19th January 1708, and died on Wednesday, 7th September 1709.
4. Anne Drummond, who was born 2d May 1711, and who married, in 1727, Sir Henry Innes of Innes, ancestor of the present Duke of Roxburghe.
5. Elizabeth, was born 22d January, and died on 1st February 1713.
6. Sophia, who was born 12th January 1716, and died unmarried on 25th March 1772.
7. Penuel, who was born on Thursday, 12th August 1719, and who married, contract dated February 1740, Captain Alexander Grant of Ballindalloch. Penuel is called in the contract the fourth surviving daughter—her three elder sisters, Janet, Margaret, and Elizabeth, having all predeceased. Of the marriage of Penuel there was one son, William, who became a Major in the Army. He succeeded to Ballindalloch on the death of his father on 14th January 1751.
8. Clementina, who was born at Castle Grant, 12th April 1721, and who married in 1737, Sir William Dunbar of Durn, in the county of Banff. She was then the fifth surviving daughter. Of this marriage there was issue one surviving son, who became Sir James Dunbar, Baronet, and died unmarried in 1811.



SIR LUDOVICK GRANT OF GRANT, BARONET.

B 13TH JANUARY 1707. D. 18TH MARCH 1773.

XVII.—SIR LUDOVICK GRANT OF GRANT, Baronet.

MARION DALRYMPLE (of North Berwick), his first wife.
LADY MARGARET OGILVIE (of Findlater), his second wife.

1747–1773.

Sir Ludovick Grant was born on 13th January 1707, and, as the second son of Sir James Grant by his wife Anne Colquhoun, heiress of Luss, he, in terms of the entail by Sir Humphrey Colquhoun, succeeded to the Luss estates in 1719, when his father became Laird of Grant. After the death of his mother in 1724, Ludovick Grant was, on the 27th of March 1729, retoured as nearest heir-male of entail to her in the lands and barony of Luss and others.[1] He therefore assumed the name of Colquhoun, and became the twenty-second Laird of Colquhoun and twenty-fourth of Luss.

On 6th July 1727, he married, at Edinburgh, Marion Dalrymple, second of the three daughters of the Honourable Sir Hew Dalrymple, Baronet, of North Berwick, president of the court of session. It was a somewhat hasty step taken without the consent of the parents of either, and both Sir James Grant and Sir Hew Dalrymple were highly incensed. The work of pacifying them was undertaken on behalf of the young couple by Patrick Grant, afterwards Lord Elchies, to whom Sir James wrote, expressing much displeasure with Ludovick. In his reply Mr. Grant alludes to this, and says, "The poor young fellow himself is quite confounded. . . . It has been my dayly employment to importune the President to be reconcil'd to them. . . . I gave him the most positive and full assurances that however you might possibly be a litle angry with your son for doing it in that manner, yet you woud be heartily pleased with the thing itself. . . . I us'd all my litle rhetorick to convince him that I know your sentiments of the marriage as well as if you had actually been here, and that the allyance with his Lordship's family woud give you the greatest joy," etc.[2] He then intimates

[1] Copy Retour at Rossdhu. [2] Original Letter, dated 27th July 1727, at Castle Grant.

the result, that after much argument, he had persuaded the President not only to see the young couple, but to receive them into his family. Sir James's letter, however, had greatly disconcerted Mr. Patrick Grant, but the latter concealed the tone of Sir James's letter from the President. Mr. Grant then proceeds to conciliate Sir James himself. He implores him to reflect more deliberately on the matter, as the fact of Ludovick's marrying without his father's consent was the "only circumstance of the marriage that 's blamable," and employs various arguments to induce Sir James to agree heartily to the marriage, and be reconciled to his son and daughter-in-law. He reminds Sir James that in regard to Luss he had only a reserved liferent, but that since his succession to the Grant estates, he had intromitted with the rents of Luss. This fact, Mr. Grant points out, would raise difficulties with the heir of tailzie, and for that reason as well as others, he urges Sir James to take a cordial view of Ludovick's marriage.

Whether these arguments had any effect on Sir James, or whether calmer reflection showed him that his son's fault was one to be leniently dealt with, the result was pleasing to Ludovick Grant and his young wife. Writing in answer to the President, who had made Lord Lovat the bearer of a letter to Sir James, the latter says,[1] "I am heartilie sorrie he (Ludovick) should have given your Lordship and my ladie the least ground of being dissatisfied with his conduct in it, though I must own you have both shown the commendable and true compassion of tender-hearted parents, soe very naturall to both towards there children in forgiveing. I must say the choise my son has made, being every way soe very honourable, gives me the greatest of pleasure in haveing now some title and claim to the friendship and protection of a familie quhich I always honoured and esteemed among the first," etc. Sir James proceeds to say that though his son had not behaved in a dutiful manner to himself, yet he would be guided by the President in his conduct to the young people. The President replied in complimentary terms,[2] and the affair was thus arranged at the time.

It is to be feared, however, that Ludovick's want of duty towards his father, added to questions arising out of the administration of the Luss

[1] Draft Letter, of date 4th August 1727, at Castle Grant. [2] Letter, 22d August 1727, *ibid.*

LADY MARGARET OGILVIE,
SECOND WIFE OF SIR LUDOVICK GRANT OF GRANT BARONET.
M. 31 OCTOBER 1735. D. 20 FEBRUARY 1757.

estates, caused an irritation of feeling between Sir James Grant and his son, which did not so readily pass away. The influence of Sir Hew Dalrymple, and, it may be, of other friends with more zeal than discretion, perhaps tended to foster this feeling. Lord Lovat, through his marriage with Margaret Grant, sister of Sir James, and aunt of Ludovick Grant, was closely connected with the principal parties, and, to do him justice, he appears to have succeeded in acting the part of peacemaker. He made himself very busy in the matter, and his picture of the situation is graphic. The remarkable candour which he displays in giving advice all round, and "very freely," according to his wont, is well shown in his letters on the subject. Writing to Sir James Grant from Edinburgh, on 20th January 1728, Lord Lovat, amid allusions to his own affairs, says, "I heard a litle when I came here of your son Louis going to Roseduü [Rossdhu], and I was angry at it. I spoke to Louis, and I really find him mightily griev'd that you should be offended at him, and I find if he was left to himself he would obey you implicitly; but he is truly now under tutory, and is in some measur oblidg'd to take and follow the advice of those in whose hands he is, while he is imediatly in them. I understood . . . that things are gone a great deal further, and that ther was danger of coming to an open rupture, upon which I took the freedom to speak to the President and to Louis last night, and I told them my mind very freely." His advice to the President was, not to do what he might afterwards regret, if Ludovick came to be Laird of Grant, as the family of Grant should not be injured for the family of Luss. In this the President acquiesced, and Lord Lovat proceeds:—"I beg that you consider how every way hurtfull it will be that you should come to a rupture with your son and his new allyes. . . . I would let affaires lay by till you come down, and than choose your arbiters, if you cannot agree without them. I do assur you that Louis will do anything in his power to please you, and as you have been allways the most tender and affectionat father on earth, I beg you forgive Louis any wrong steps that you think he hes taken, sinc they are not properly his own, and whatever comes of it, for Christ's sake shun a ruptur."[1]

[1] Vol. ii. of this work, pp. 293, 294.

The matter of dispute seems to have so far been arranged at that time, as the Lord President himself writes, expressing his gratification that Sir James Grant had accepted his proposal.[1] Lord Lovat, however, writing two months later to Sir James Grant, implies that some irritation still existed, and is copious in his advice. He says, "Be not only reconciled to your son Lewis, but fix your affection and confidence in him, for I do assur you that he is the hope of your family, and a very glorious hope he is, for there is not in Scotland a smarter young man of his age, and I hope he will do great things for your family; and you should consider that if H[umphrey] dyes, Lewis is not only young Laird of Grant, but Laird of Luss, and if you was dead, and he hapen to survive you, it is not your second son, but his second son, that will be Laird of Luss, as the President [Sir Hew Dalrymple] plainly explained to Peter Grant and me; so that he will have the estate of Luss in his person till his second son be of age, and if he hes not a second son, his eldest son will have it till his second son be of age; so that it is a vast advantage to the family of Grant that Lewis should become your eldest son, for than the estate of Lusse will be in the possession of the family of Grant for many yeares, and than thair will be tyme to free that estate for a second son, and, in the meantyme, to make the estate of Grant in a flourishing condition. This is plain reason and fact."[2]

Ludovick Colquhoun studied for the Bar, and was admitted advocate in the year 1728. In regard to his studies and intentions, his father-in-law, Sir Hew Dalrymple, wrote, in a letter already referred to, that Ludovick was firmly resolved to enter as advocate in the next session, and that he intended "not to enter for an empty name;" to which end he had applied closely to his studies during the winter. "And," the President adds, "if I be not very much mistaken, he will not only be fitt to manage his own afairs, but to be usefull to his friends, and chiefly to serve you, and to make a figure in business."[3]

That Ludovick Colquhoun was formally called to the Bar appears from the fact that, under the designation of Ludovick Colquhoun of Luss,

[1] Letter, dated 3d February 1728, vol. ii. of this work, p. 108.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 297.
[3] Letter to Sir James Grant, 3d February 1728, vol. ii. of this work, p. 108.

Advocate, he obtained a charter from the Commissioners of James Duke of Montrose, to himself and the heirs of his body, in terms of the deed of entail executed by his grandfather, Sir Humphrey Colquhoun, formerly quoted, of the four merk lands of the dominical lands of Balvie-Logan and others. In these lands he was duly infeft on a precept of sasine contained in the charter.[1] Some time before June 1732, Ludovick Colquhoun had a fall from his horse, and injured one of his limbs, an accident which called forth from Lord Lovat an appeal to take better care of his health for the sake of his wife and family.[2]

Ludovick Colquhoun resigned the lands and barony of Luss, etc., into the hands of the Commissioners of Frederick, Prince of Great Britain and Wales, for a regrant of the same to him and the other heirs of entail, as required by the settlement of his deceased grandfather, Sir Humphrey Colquhoun of Luss,[3] and the same day obtained a charter of *novodamus* from Prince Frederick, with consent of his Commissioners, the Barons of Exchequer, on which he afterwards received infeftment.[4]

In January 1735, Ludovick Colquhoun's first wife died, and was buried in the Chapel Royal at Holyrood on the 18th of the same month.[5] On 31st October following, he married Lady Margaret Ogilvie, eldest daughter of James, fifth Earl of Findlater and Seafield, and his Countess, Lady Elizabeth Hay, daughter of Thomas Earl of Kinnoul. In contemplation of this event, and as Ludovick had now become the eldest son through the decease of his elder brother, Humphrey Grant, in 1732, Sir James Grant settled upon him the estates of Grant in fee, reserving to himself a liferent interest.

This settlement, and Ludovick's accession to the position of Younger of Grant, raised a new dispute as to the possession of the lands and barony of Luss. According to the deed of entail Ludovick should now have divested himself of the Luss estates in favour of his younger brother, James, who was the next surviving son of the marriage of Sir James Grant with the heiress of Luss.[6] But Ludovick was unwilling to do so, and con-

[1] Original Charter, dated 14th and 18th December 1730, and Instrument of Sasine, dated 24th, 25th, and 26th, same year, both at Rossdhu.

[2] Vol. ii. of this work, pp. 311, 312.

[3] Original Instrument of Resignation, dated 22d June 1732, at Rossdhu.

[4] Original Charter, dated 22d June 1732, and Instrument of Sasine, dated 2d August 1732, *ibid.*

[5] Accounts for funeral of Lady Luss, at Castle Grant.

[6] The Chiefs of Colquhoun, by William Fraser, vol. i. p. 313.

tinued his refusal, even after his father had settled upon him the Grant estates. His reasons for retaining the barony of Luss were, that he had not as yet succeeded to the estate of Grant, and could not do so in his father's lifetime; that in the event of his succeeding to the estate of Grant by surviving his father, he might have a second son of his own body, who should be entitled to succeed to the estate of Luss in preference to his brother, James, his own daughter, Anne, or any heir of entail; and that he was entitled to hold Luss in expectation of such second son.[1]

In holding this opinion, Ludovick Grant acted in accordance with the views of Sir Hew Dalrymple, the father of his first wife, and those of Lord Lovat, as expressed in Lovat's letter on the subject already referred to,[2] which clearly shows the influences brought to bear upon him. But notwithstanding Lord Lovat's advice, backed by President Dalrymple's opinion, when the question of succession came to be tried in the Court of Session, decree was given against Ludovick, and he was therefore obliged to denude himself of the barony of Luss in favour of his younger brother, James, which he did by a disposition dated 25th and 30th January and 9th February 1738.[3] In that disposition he is designed Ludovick Grant, younger of Grant.

Ludovick Grant now withdrew from the practice of the profession of law, and applied himself chiefly to the management of the Grant estates, with which his father wholly intrusted him. He became a Member of Parliament for the county of Moray, in the year 1741, and by re-elections he continued to represent that county till the year 1761, when his son Sir James was elected in his stead.

During the Rebellion of 1745, Mr. Grant patriotically exerted himself in support of the House of Hanover in opposition to Prince Charles Edward, who acted as Prince Regent for his father Prince James, commonly called the "Old Pretender." Mr. Grant was ready zealously to aid King George the Second and his Government with the whole of his clan, who were brave, loyal, united under their chief and among themselves, and attached

[1] The Chiefs of Colquhoun, by William Fraser, vol. i. p. 345.
[2] *Supra*, p. 396; vol. ii. of this work, p. 297.
[3] The Chiefs of Colquhoun, by William Fraser, vol. i. p. 347.

to the then established Government. But, from whatever cause the feeling arose, it would appear that the Government of King George the Second had little confidence in the loyalty even of those Highland clans who had openly declared for the House of Brunswick, and this feeling seems more or less to have influenced the military authorities in their dealings with the chief of the Grants. That doubtful policy greatly hindered united action. The part played by Sir Ludovick Grant and his clan at this time forms an important episode in his career, and a detailed account of his proceedings is necessary to show the eminently loyal conduct of the chief and his clan. Two contemporary narratives, which will be frequently quoted, as well as much original correspondence, happily exist for an ample history of the Rebellion of 1745, in so far as it involved the family of Grant.

The first official intimation which was received by the chief of the Clan Grant of the landing of the young Pretender was contained in a letter from Robert Craigie of Glendoick, lord advocate of Scotland, to Ludovick Grant, dated 5th August 1745.[1] The writer refers to a report current at Paris that the Pretender's son was to embark at Nantz on the 15th July, and desires Mr. Grant to furnish him with intelligence of the feeling in his neighbourhood, to be forwarded to London, "where," he adds, "at present they have no very good opinion of the affections of this country." The young Pretender, however, had sailed from Nantz a fortnight before the time assigned, and was actually in Scotland when the Lord Advocate wrote, but as this was unknown to the Government, Mr. Grant was not called upon to aid the Government in any way other than by furnishing information of the Pretender's movements, or of reports arising therefrom.

Soon after the receipt of this letter came the news of the Pretender's arrival in Scotland, with conflicting rumours as to the number of his adherents. Mr. Grant and his father, Sir James, who had been at Grangehill, in Moray, thereupon came to Castle Grant, summoned their friends, and intimated their resolve to support in every way the Government of King George. They also communicated what intelligence they had of the Pretender's movements.

[1] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 144.

Shortly thereafter Sir James Grant went to London, to perform his Parliamentary duties, leaving his son virtual head of the clan, and earnestly recommending him to concur heartily in every measure for support of the Government. Mr. Grant was very willing to do this, and in pursuance of his purpose, called his friends together, and inquired what arms were in the possession of his clan. This was necessary, as by the operation of the Disarming Act in 1725, the loyal clans had been left without arms, and, indeed, any further steps Mr. Grant might have taken at this time in aid of the Government would have been frustrated by this deficiency.

Lord President Forbes came to the north with the view of preventing, if possible, the further spread of the insurrection, and from Alexander Brodie of Brodie, Lyon King-of-Arms, who was then in close attendance on him, Mr. Grant received a letter contradicting a report as to the landing of a large number of French troops, and giving information that Sir John Cope was on his way north to meet the rebels.[1] Further intelligence of Cope's march, which was delayed by insufficiency of provisions and want of money,[2] came from the Lord Advocate,[3] and also from the Lyon,[4] who, in the same letter, intimated the arrival at Inverness of a thousand stand of arms with ammunition for the friends of the Government. Sir John Cope resumed his march northwards from Stirling on 20th August 1745, and on the 25th Mr. Grant wrote to him with information intimating that he and his clan had been doing their best to preserve the peace of the country, and to defend themselves, and that his fears of vengeance from hostile clans were dispelled by the news of the General's march.[5]

The letter was conveyed to Sir John Cope by a kinsman of Mr. Grant, who was to inform the General of the number of arms and men which could be supplied, so that if Sir John required assistance he might know what was available. The messenger found the General at a point further north than was expected, he having resolved to march to Inverness rather than meet the rebels in a mountainous district, where his army would be at a disadvantage. Mr. Grant's kinsman returned on the 26th August,

[1] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 145.
[2] Browne's History of the Highlands, vol. iii. p. 33.
[3] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 146.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 147.
[5] *Ibid.* p. 148.

with no other answer to his letter than a verbal message of thanks. He also stated that Sir John was marching to Inverness to avoid the rebels, and that he would encamp at the head of Strathspey on the following evening.

The cold reception given by the royalist commander to Mr. Grant's offer of assistance probably tended to promote the lukewarmness afterwards shown by the clan Grant though not by their chief, but Sir John Cope's answer was no doubt prompted by the conduct already experienced by him from professed adherents of the Government. To such of these as resided near the line of march, notices had been sent requiring them to raise men. Among the more prominent persons thus summoned were the Duke of Athole and Lord Glenorchy, who both visited Cope while halted at Crieff, but showed themselves indisposed to raise their followers. Thus disappointed in his expectations of help from friends of the Government, the unlucky General continued his march, and when he received Mr. Grant's letter where he may have expected to be joined by a portion of the clan, he merely acknowledged it in the manner referred to.

The result was unfortunate. Mr. Grant was sincere in his desire to aid Sir John, and the clan would have mustered strongly if called upon. Indeed, all motives of loyalty apart, such a step would have been for their own interest, as the rebel clans in arms had denounced vengeance against the clan Grant for their loyal conduct in 1715. But Sir John's ill-judged march to Inverness left the Grant country open to be plundered by the insurgent army, a danger which was imminent. It is stated that at this time Mr. Grant was advised that the "person called the Duke of Perth was in Braemar, raising the Highlanders in that country; that the M'Kintoshes and M'Phersons were all in concert with the rebels; that their plan was that they, and even the Pretender and the Highlanders with him, were to march down through Strathspey and join Perth, and march through Strathaven, Glenlivet, and Aberdeenshire, and so southward in advance of Sir John Cope, raising all the men in the country through which they marched."[1] "This," it is added, "obliged Mr. Grant to set

[1] Contemporary MS. narrative by Mr. Lachlan Grant, writer, Edinburgh, at Castle Grant. Mr. Grant was a descendant of the Family of Grant through Mungo Grant of Kinchirdie, and was law-agent for Sir James Grant and Sir Ludovick. His narrative was written by him with a perfect knowledge of all the circumstances, and probably with the view of being presented to Go-

about raising his friends as fast as possible for defence of his own country." But notwithstanding this, Mr. Grant gave orders to certain of his clan to act as guides to the royal army, appointing others to patrol the hills and watch the passes by which the rebels might have attacked Sir John's force, while he himself mustered his friends to check an attack upon the royal troops, the rear of which was threatened by six hundred insurgent Highlanders.[1]

This activity, however, was either misunderstood or misrepresented. In a letter to Mr. Grant, the Lyon strongly urges him to join Sir John Cope, as he had promised to do, and reproaches him for not acting up to his assurances. He says, "You in your letter to Sir John Cope . . . wrote to him that you and your people were ready to join and assist him, yet by some fatal advice you would nether join him with one man, nor go near him yourself, altho' he stopt at Avemore, and lay at Dalrachny's within ten miles of you, and was in danger of being attack'd in Sloch Muyck." Mr. Brodie also refers to a report that Mr. Grant's people had refused to follow him if he joined Cope, or marched out of his own country.[2]

Yet neither in the Lord Advocate's letters already quoted,[3] nor, so far as appears, in any official manner, not even by Sir John Cope himself, was Mr. Grant requested to join the royal forces with his clan. After the statement of the Lord Advocate that the Government had no high opinion of the affection of the country, even the most enthusiastic loyalist could scarcely be expected to come forward while the regular troops were in the field, unless specially requested to do so. Mr. Grant made no profession to Sir John Cope that his people were ready to assist, but simply intimated that they had been preparing, before the news of the General's march, to defend themselves, and it was Sir John Cope's change of plan in marching to Inverness, leaving the country behind him open to the rebels, which so alarmed the Grants for the safety of their own district,

vernment, as various letters are copied and added to the narrative in support of the facts stated. Mr. Grant occupied the estate of Gartinbeg, and died without issue on 15th August 1775. The MS. is entitled, "A short narrative of Mr. Grant's conduct during the Rebellion." The narrative is contained in 24 pp. and the appendix 72 pp. foolscap.

[1] *Ibid.* Browne's History of the Highlands, vol. iii. p. 39.

[2] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 149.

[3] *Ibid.* pp. 144, 146.

that they refused to march out of it when there was no enemy to be encountered. The result of this misunderstanding was that the members of the clan Grant, though remaining, as a body, loyal to the existing Government, never heartily co-operated with the royal officers. Mr. Grant, however, did not refrain from giving every aid he could to assist the General's march. He wrote to him, forwarding a letter from the Lord Advocate, with information respecting the movements of the rebels, that Gordon of Glenbucket had marched southward, but that few men had joined him, and of these some were already deserting, while very few had joined the young Pretender from the north of Badenoch.[1]

The wisdom of the resolution acted upon by Mr. Grant, to aid the Government in every way possible, but yet to abide in his own country unless desired to march direct against the rebels, was justified by events. On 5th September 1745, while Sir John Cope was lying at Inverness, Mr. Grant received a letter from his sister Penuel, wife of Captain Grant of Ballindalloch, stating that the people of Morange (Morinch) were threatened with plunder if they did not join the rebels.[2] Gordon of Glenbucket was then in the neighbourhood doing his utmost to raise recruits and compel men to join Prince Charles Edward, but had no great success.[3] Mr. Grant further received intelligence from his factor in Urquhart, that certain persons were striving to induce the tenants there to join the insurgents. The tenants of the Urquhart estate, situated to the west of Loch Ness, at a distance from Castle Grant, and surrounded by disaffected clans, the Frasers, Macdonalds, and others, were peculiarly liable to be drawn into the rebellion. Mr. Grant wrote in reply, to his factor, informing the latter of the falsity of the reports circulated regarding the rebel forces, showing the number of regular troops at the command of the Government, and the danger of appearing in arms against it. He desired the gentlemen, tenants, and others in Urquhart to abide peaceably at home, and gather in their crops, assuring them of his encouragement should they obey, and of his vengeance should they do otherwise. This letter was to be read publicly, that all might know his sentiments.[4]

In the letter to his factor in Urquhart, Mr. Grant speaks of the

[1] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 155. [2] *Ibid.* p. 152. [3] *Ibid.* pp. 155, 157. [4] *Ibid.* p. 153.

residents in Strathdoun and Glenlivet desiring to remain peaceable, and flocking to the Grant country "with their cattle, to be free of ruin . . . in order to be happie at home within some few days, when Glenbucket is to march from that neighbourhood." A few days afterwards, on 10th September, Sir Harry Innes of Innes wrote to Mr. Grant from Elgin, "We ar hear in a perpetuall alarm for Glenbucket; he took some of the Duke of Gordon's horses and arms this morning. . . . This allarm and search for horses has determined me to send mine under your protection."[1] It is thus evident that Mr. Grant, by remaining in their midst, was more able to keep his neighbours quiet and loyal, and also to aid and protect them, than by marching his clan on ill-judged expeditions where there was no enemy to be attacked.

The efforts of Mr. Grant to prevent the people of Urquhart joining the rebels were so far successful. A letter from his factor there, dated 12th September, informed him that the gentlemen and tenants of Urquhart had yielded to the desire of their young Laird, and that some who were on their way to the Highland army had been induced to remain at home. Others had gone, especially Glenmoriston, though none of great influence. The factor also mentioned the preparations made by Lord Lovat, the Chisholm, and other chiefs, for joining Prince Charles, and stated that the Highland army had intercepted a letter from Sir Alexander Macdonald (of Sleat), in which the latter declared his resolution to adhere to the Government, and that when this letter came to Prince Charles's hands he was displeased, and said publicly that he did not expect such language, as Sir Alexander Macdonald and Macleod were among the first in Scotland that advised his coming, as their letters would show.[2]

Accounts were received by Mr. Grant from time to time of the march of the Pretender and the proceedings of his adherents. He was also informed of the raising of militia for the Government in Sutherland and Caithness.[3] In due time also came tidings of the defeat of Cope at Prestonpans, on the 21st of September, the details of which were at first received with incredulity,[4] but were afterwards confirmed to the full.

[1] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 155. [2] *Ibid.* p. 156. [3] *Ibid.* pp. 157, 158. [4] *Ibid.* pp. 159, 162, 163.

Before this success of the rebel army was known in the north, Lord President Forbes, acting upon instructions from the Government, had endeavoured to raise among the loyal clans a number of independent companies, as they were called, to act in conjunction with the regular troops. This project of raising independent companies, officered from among the gentlemen of each clan, was no new idea to the mind of the President. In 1738 he himself suggested such a scheme as a means of gaining Government influence in the Highlands, and had his ideas been carried out, the restless spirits who, in the Rebellion of 1745, gave such trouble to the country, might have found a safer vent for their energy in fighting the foes of Britain on the Continent. A few independent companies had been formed, and had acted as a species of police in the Highlands, but they had recently been abolished, to the great wrath of Lord Lovat, who was a captain, and thus was enabled to train his own men at the expense of the Government. On the dissolution of these companies a regiment was embodied from their elements, now celebrated as the Forty-second, or "Black Watch."[1]

In treating of the tactics adopted by Lord President Forbes in his dealings with the Highland chiefs at this juncture, and his conduct to the Laird of Grant, although it has been alleged that his treatment of the latter was not free from jealousy, regard must be had to the critical position in which the President now found himself. He had not believed the first reports of the rising, but when the standard of the Pretender was really known to be raised, he hurried north, desiring that the Government should, by striking rapidly, quell the insurrection at the outset. This was not done, partly through delay on the part of the Government, who were wholly unprepared, and partly through Sir John Cope's inefficiency. When therefore the Pretender's army marched triumphantly on the Lowlands, it became necessary to use other means to check the insurgents

[1] History of Scotland, 1689-1748, by John Hill Burton, vol. ii. pp. 385, 386. See also Lord Lovat's letters in vol. ii. The name by which this regiment has been so long distinguished, is said to have arisen from the colour of their dress, which, "as it consisted so much of the black green and blue tartan, gave them a dark and sombre appearance in comparison with the bright uniform of the regulars, who at that time had coats, waistcoats, and breeches of scarlet cloth. Hence the term Du, or black, as applied to this corps."—Stewart's Sketches of the Highland Regiments, vol. i. p. 240. The letters of service incorporating the regiment were dated on 25th October 1739.

than what was afforded by Cope's army. Had the President at once sought the aid of the loyal clans, or summoned them to arms, accustomed as they were to Highland warfare, the insurgents might have been overawed and the rebellion nipped in the bud. But the Government declined to authorise this step, and President Forbes would not act without instructions. He therefore recurred to the plan of raising independent companies, and about the 14th of September he received commissions for twenty of these.

On that date, according to a contemporary narrative, the President sent a message to Mr. Grant desiring to see him. A meeting was arranged, and took place at a point between the two houses of Culloden and Castle Grant, when the President informed Mr. Grant that he was empowered by the Government to raise some companies, and offered Mr. Grant the first of them, if he would name the officers. The number of companies to be raised was not stated, nor any communication made as to the operations intended. Mr. Grant replied that in his opinion the best way to serve the King was to employ all his Majesty's friends in the north. He did not then name the officers, lest by naming some he might offend others, but promised to give an answer in a day or two, as he did not then see the benefit to be gained by the scheme. They then separated, each returning home, as, owing to the state of the country, neither could be absent a night from his own house.[1]

When Mr. Grant reached home, he learned from newspapers and other sources that the President had received instructions to raise twenty companies. He found also that many gentlemen of his clan were dissatisfied with the proportion assigned to them, they being of opinion that more than one company should have been offered to the clan. According to the proportion they bore to the other loyal northern clans they "looked upon it as a slight intended to them, and that either it was intended that

[1] Contemporary MS. narratives, by Sir Archibald Grant of Monymusk, and Lachlan Grant, at Castle Grant. In addition to the narrative by Mr. Lachlan Grant, already referred to, a paper, entitled, a "Narrative of the Family of Grants behaviour during the Rebellion of 1745," etc., was drawn up by Sir Archibald Grant, Baronet, of Monymusk. Much of it is in his own handwriting, and is the statement of one who was an eye-witness and actor in the events he narrates. The original MS. extends to 41 large folio pages. There is also a separate copy of the whole original MS.

no more of them but that company should be employed in the service, or if they were, that it must be at their own expence, while the other favourite clans were to be paid by the Government."[1] This increased Mr. Grant's difficulty in naming officers, and after consideration of the circumstances, Lord Deskford, son of the Earl of Findlater, who, with his father, was then residing at Castle Grant, and Sir Archibald Grant of Monymusk, were despatched to Culloden to explain matters to the Lord President. Lord Deskford was to represent that, if the measure of raising companies was still insisted on, Mr. Grant, rather than give up the service, would accept of four or even three of them, but that a smaller number would not employ the principal gentlemen of the clan, nor satisfy any of them, where so many were to be disposed of. He was also to assure the President that the whole clan Grant should on all occasions be ready to act in the Government service, only that it would be necessary to pay them while in employment, as Mr. Grant's private fortune was unequal to such expense.

The Lord President's reply to these representations, through Lord Deskford, was to the effect that though he was trusted with the disposal of twenty companies, yet all possible economy was enjoined, and that he could not therefore at first exceed one company to any one clan. He knew the importance in that country of the family of Grant, and had therefore offered the first company to Mr. Grant, but should the latter refuse it, others might follow his example, and the whole scheme would miscarry. It might not be the best measure, yet it was the only one that the Government had proposed for employing their friends in the north, and a miscarriage would have serious consequences. He hoped therefore that with so much at stake, Mr. Grant would overlook small difficulties, and if, in the future distribution of companies, due regard was not had to the family of Grant, then Mr. Grant would have reason to complain.[2]

After receiving this explanation, and consulting his friends, Mr. Grant wrote, on 22d September 1745, to President Forbes,[3] referring to the opinions expressed by his friends, and to Lord Deskford's mission, explaining the cause for the latter. He assured the President of his full belief in his

[1] MS. narratives, *supra*. [2] *Ibid.* [3] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 160.

friendship for the family of Grant, and concluded by naming the officers for the one company. Mr. Grant thus showed his willingness to sacrifice all personal considerations in the service of the Government. President Forbes replied in a friendly spirit, and expressed himself satisfied with the choice of officers. He added some information as to the military movements in the south.[1]

This matter of the company was no sooner arranged than Mr. Grant received from William Marquis of Tullibardine, signing as Duke of Athole, a summons on behalf of Prince Charles Edward, to raise his own clan and aid the cause of the Stewarts.[2] This order was issued by the Marquis in his assumed character of Commander-in-chief north of the Forth. He referred to the victory gained by the rebel troops at Preston, and hoped Mr. Grant would join them. To this letter Mr. Grant returned only a verbal answer by the bearer, that he and his father would, with all their friends, and their utmost influence, use their highest endeavours to oppose and suppress this rebellion, and in defence of the Government. On or about the 27th September, Mr. Grant received the first news of the battle of Preston.[3] He immediately sent off the intelligence to President Forbes, who acknowledged the receipt of the news, and added some particulars, but treated the reports as exaggerated. Yet he adds, "In the meantime, as the worst account is greedily swallowed in this country, it occasions a considerable ferment, and I cannot answer for what folly may ensue. I therefor think you will judge it proper to have all your people allert, that they may be able to do such service as the exigence may require. Such a disposition in them will help to cause their neighbours consider."[4] Mr. Grant, in his zeal for the service of the Government, looked upon this letter as the first direct proposal for raising his men generally, and therefore brought together all for whom he could find arms. He was the more readily led to this step by the information that the Farquharsons were rising in Aberdeenshire, and that the Macphersons, with, it was said, the Frasers and Mackintoshes, were to march through Strathspey to join them. These disavowed all intention of hurting the Grant country, purposing only to force men from Strathdon and Glenlivet,

[1] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 161. [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.* p. 159. [4] *Ibid.* pp. 161, 162.

which Mr. Grant had formerly hindered Gordon of Glenbucket from doing. But Mr. Grant so disposed his men in the passes, that though the Macphersons marched near the borders between Badenoch and Strathspey, they were effectually kept in check, and the people of Strathdon and Glenlivet, except a few stragglers, were protected from being compelled to join the rebels. Mr. Grant also, on a report that the Mackintoshes were in motion, kept his men together for some days, till he was assured to the contrary.

Though Mr. Grant was thus able to protect Strathspey and its neighbourhood, his own estate of Urquhart was greatly exposed to the influences of the insurgents, and gave him considerable anxiety. On 30th September 1745, Colonel Angus Macdonald, a son of Glengarry, wrote to Mr. Grant's bailie in Urquhart, informing the latter that he had orders from the Prince to raise the country, and demanding that a hundred men should be ready to join him in five days, under pain of burning and harassing the district. In case of refusal he threatened to march at once and execute his orders with all rigour.[1] To this it was replied that Mr. Grant having ordered all his people in Urquhart to remain loyal to His Majesty, with a promise that he would protect and indemnify them for doing so, Macdonald could expect no man from that country to join him.[2] On being advised of this, Mr. Grant wrote again (on 6th October) to his tenants of Urquhart, in very strong terms, commanding them to remain quietly at home and subject to his direction, under pain of his most severe displeasure. As he was determined that any one disturbing them should meet with a suitable return, they had no reason to fear.[3]

Notwithstanding this, however, Mr. Grant a day or two afterwards was informed by his bailie in Urquhart, that, in obedience to orders, he had summoned the tenants, but that only sixty or seventy had obeyed the call. With these he had set out for Strathspey, when they were met by Colonel Macdonald and the gentlemen of the district, all of whom, except two, swore publicly to the tenants, that if they did not return, their crops would be destroyed and their cattle carried

[1] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 165. [2] MS. Narrative by Sir Archibald Grant.
[3] Vol. ii. of this work, pp. 166, 167.

off. Upon this the tenants refused to proceed, and Macdonald then assured the bailie that the country would be safe from him, and that he would persuade others who had orders to destroy it, to desist.[1] Mr. Grant at once replied, in a letter dated 10th October, that he was not surprised at the conduct of the gentlemen of Urquhart, who were determined to disobey his orders and to make his tenants do likewise. He gave information as to the movements of the troops, to relieve anxiety as to vengeance from the rebels, and reiterating his command for the march of the tenants to Strathspey, enjoined his bailie to observe secrecy, that they might not again be intercepted. He also repeated his promise to repay all losses suffered by those tenants who obeyed him.[2]

A letter from Lord Deskford now informed Mr. Grant that the Mackintoshes and Frasers had given up thoughts of marching, and that Lord Loudoun had come north with a ship of war, containing, it was supposed, arms and money. The next day Lord Loudoun himself wrote, announcing his appointment as commander-in-chief in the north, and desiring that Mr. Grant's company should be ready as soon as possible.[3] To the same effect President Forbes also wrote on the 12th October, and stating that the men would be put on the regular establishment as to pay, etc. In his letter the President expressed his opinion that "the thing will blow over without much harm," but adds, "it is my opinion you should have your eye on as many of your people as you can arm, to be ready on any emergence if they are called out. Ways and means shall be fallen on to subsist them." He regretted the behaviour of the people of Urquhart, and was afraid they would require to be corrected.[4] In pursuance of these suggestions, Mr. Grant again consulted with his friends to have all his men ready, and to increase the number of their arms in every way possible. He had advices from the minister of Calder, near Nairn, that the Mackintoshes had been giving some trouble there,[5] and Alexander Grant of Corriemony, a gentleman of Urquhart, while excusing the uncertain loyalty of his own proceedings, informed him of the intention of the Master of Lovat to march with three hundred men to compel Mr. Grant's tenants to

[1] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 168. [2] *Ibid.* p. 169. [3] *Ibid.* p. 170.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 171. [5] *Ibid.* p. 172.

join the Pretender. The writer accordingly advised the removal of the tenants to Castle Grant.[1]

On 16th October Mr. Grant replied to Lord Loudoun's letter of the 11th, informing the latter that the company was being got together and equipped as quickly as was possible. He suggested a change of officers, desiring to retain with himself Mr. Grant of Rothiemurchus, who had been nominated Captain, and to appoint his eldest son in his father's stead. The reason assigned for this change was that as there might be occasion to convene and march the clan, there was no one with Mr. Grant so fitted to command the men as the elder Rothiemurchus. Mr. Grant informed Lord Loudoun that he had been obliged that day to send thirty men to interrupt one Captain Gordon, who was levying impositions on Mr. Grant's estate of Mulben in Banff. He referred to certain information as to the movements of hostile clans, and hoped if these all marched together towards his country, he would receive some assistance from the Government.[2] Mr. Grant also wrote to President Forbes. The President and Lord Loudoun replied separately in similar terms, stating that the exchange of officers would require consideration. Lord Loudoun promised assistance if necessary. Lord President Forbes wrote again on 24th October, urging the despatch of the company.[3]

Previous to this, however, Mr. Grant had received urgent advices, dated 21st and 22d October, from a gentleman in Urquhart, that the Macdonalds, Glenmoriston men, and others, were combining to molest the tenants and destroy the country if they did not join the rebels, but that the tenants had declared they would on no account disobey Mr. Grant's positive orders to remain peaceable, and also that they would fight to the last drop of their blood, ere the Macdonalds carried off their cattle. It was also added that the tenants would not be able to resist both Macdonalds and Frasers, and that a dispute had arisen betwixt the Master of Lovat and Macdonald of Barrisdale as to which had the best right to these tenants, which had stayed the execution of their threats.

Mr. Grant was much concerned at this intelligence, as he feared that some of his people in Urquhart might, by such influence, be forced from

[1] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 174. [2] *Ibid.* pp. 175, 176. [3] *Ibid.* pp. 176-178.

their allegiance. He considered it of great importance to the Government that those who were resolved to remain faithful at the hazard of their lives or fortunes, should not be suffered to be dragged into the rebellion against their wills, and being aware that Lord Loudoun, having but a small force at his command, could not despatch a force sufficient to hinder the rebels in their design, he determined to meet the emergency himself. As there was no time to deliberate or receive Lord Loudoun's instructions, he mustered his friends to the number of six or seven hundred, and marched towards Inverness on his way to Urquhart,[1] desiring his brother-in-law, Lord Deskford, to inform Lord Loudoun of his march, and to request that the men might be provided with quarters at Inverness.

To this request President Forbes returned answer, of date 26th October, that directions had been given for accommodating the men in the best way possible. He however expressed his own regret and that of Lord Loudoun that Mr. Grant had not communicated his design before setting out with such numbers.[2] When this reply reached Mr. Grant, he had already halted his men some miles from Inverness, having been met by James Grant of Dell, a tenant of Urquhart, who brought the agreeable news that the rebels had left that district, and marched north to Assynt. Mr. Grant thereupon dismissed his men with the exception of a few for disposal near his house. On hearing of Mr. Grant's change of plan, Lord President Forbes wrote expressing his relief that the whole number stated did not come, as there was no plan arranged for disposing of them, but he was concerned that the company under Rothiemurchus did not come, as they had been expected earlier. He desired, therefore, that they might be sent without delay. Referring to the oppression of the Urquhart people and the probable necessity of marching a considerable body of men to their relief, he says, "that in due time may be concerted and executed, tho' it ought not to hinder the immediate march of the company, who in all events will be so far in their way."[3]

Here also Mr. Grant received further information of the proceedings of the rebel clans through Sir Harry Innes of Innes, and his own bailie

[1] MS. narrative by Sir Archibald Grant and Lachlan Grant.
[2] Vol. ii. of this work, pp. 179, 180.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 180.

at Urquhart. The former stated that the Macdonalds, Mackintoshes, and others, to the number of one thousand, had assembled at Lord Lovat's, and purposed marching north to force Lord Seaforth's men and raise the country in general rebellion. From his bailie Mr. Grant learned some additional particulars, that the Master of Lovat was to march with two hundred Frasers to join the Prince, and that Lord Lovat intended paying a visit to Castle Grant to make up all differences, in order to be revenged on Macleod, who had refused to join the Prince, and who Lovat declared was a perjured villain, as he had on a former occasion sworn to march with the Master of Lovat.[1]

One of the most active partisans of the Jacobites in the north of Scotland was Lord Lewis Gordon, a son of the second Duke of Gordon, and he tried to gain the young chief of the Grants to the cause of the Stewarts. On 3d November 1745, he wrote, conveying his compliments to Mr. Grant, with the hope that he would not oppose the raising of his clan for the Prince.[2] Gordon of Glenbucket was the bearer of the letter, but Mr. Grant refused to see him, or to send more than a verbal reply, to the effect that if any of his people took part against the Government, for whom it was well known his father and he were determined to act vigorously, or if any person dared to force or entice any of his people into such measures, he would pursue every one so doing to the utmost of his power.[3] Mr. Grant intimated this attempt to Lord Loudoun and President Forbes, and shortly afterwards proceeded himself to take active measures against Lord Lewis Gordon. Learning from Sir Harry Innes that Lord Lewis was in Strathavon and Kincardine, part of the estates of the Duke of Gordon, pressing men of all ages, and that the Duke of Gordon's tenants were leaving their country for shelter,[4] Mr. Grant, according to one account, marched about two hundred men in that direction, and effectually stopped the recruiting for the Pretender.[5] Another account says nothing of the two hundred men, but states that Mr. Grant so influenced the leading men on the estate of Kincardine by promises of

[1] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 181. Macleod would probably have joined the Pretender had he not been kept loyal by the inducements perseveringly held out to him by President Forbes.

[2] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 182.

[3] MS. narrative by Lachlan Grant.

[4] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 185.

[5] MS. narrative by Lachlan Grant.

support, and otherwise, that they resisted all attempts upon their loyalty, and compelled a recruiting party to fly from the neighbourhood.[1]

In the meantime, Mr. Grant had been able to send the first independent company, under Grant of Rothiemurchus, to join Lord Loudoun. He announced their departure from Castle Grant, in a letter, dated 3d November, to his Lordship, in which he thus accounts for the delay:—"There were soe many idle stories spread among the commons, that it was with the greatest difficultie I gott them prevailed with to march to Invernes, as they were made believe they were to be shipt of in order to recruite some other regiments, and had severall other stories told them. . . . I have likewayes been obliged to promise to releive the whole, or such as should incline to return, at a month's end."[2] Lord Loudoun and President Forbes both wrote to Mr. Grant, praising very highly the appearance of the company sent, which is described as well armed and clothed.[3] The President also referred to his promise that if more independent companies were required, Mr. Grant should choose the officers of one of them, and he now requested Mr. Grant to raise another company in the same way as the last, and name the officers, as both he and Lord Loudoun considered additional companies necessary. This, he thought, would enable Mr. Grant to gratify some "deserving young gentlemen" of his clan, as well as to do service to the Government.

When Mr. Grant submitted this new proposition of the President to his friends, he was met with unexpected opposition. The gentlemen in Strathspey had heard a rumour that four independent companies had been assigned to the Laird of Macleod, and complained that Mr. Grant had accepted even of one. Mr. Grant thereupon went to Inverness (about the 10th November) to confer personally with President Forbes and Lord Loudoun. He found there that about four hundred Macleods had already come to that neighbourhood, though it was said that only part of them were to be employed. The President and Lord Loudoun both pressed Mr. Grant to provide another company of one hundred men with officers. Mr. Grant assured them that all his friends were in good humour, and ready to venture everything in the service; that it was important to preserve such a good spirit among them;

[1] MS. narrative by Sir Archibald Grant. [2] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 183. [3] *Ibid.* pp. 183, 184.

that jealousies had already risen regarding the first company, and while there would be no difficulty in mustering four or five companies, yet, in the excited state of feeling which prevailed, there would be great danger of offending the gentlemen of his clan by naming the officers of one company and no more. The President and Lord Loudoun, however, urged the matter so earnestly that Mr. Grant agreed to take the company and consult his friends about it.[1] The gentlemen of his clan, however, having positive information that the Laird of Macleod had received four companies, besides which, one had been given to a cousin of that Laird, whereby many gentlemen of his clan were at once provided for, would not consent to Mr. Grant's accepting only one company. They considered the giving of five companies to the Macleods so manifest a partiality and slight that they refused to raise another among themselves. Mr. Grant did not think it wise to force their inclinations, and on 29th November, he wrote to Lord Loudoun, referring to the terms of their personal interview, and stating that the gentlemen of his clan were strongly averse to raising the second company. He declared his own willingness to comply with the Lord President's desire, but did not incline to push the matter to the dislike of his friends. He at the same time assures Lord Loudoun that the whole clan would be ready on a few days' notice to go on any duty for his Majesty's service, and were as much to be depended on as they were in the rebellion of 1715.[2]

It may be explained in passing that though the gentlemen of the clan Grant accounted the giving of five companies to the Macleods as a slight to themselves, and though it has, in an earlier memoir of Mr. Grant,[3] been stated as a charge against President Forbes that through jealousy he threw difficulties in the way of Mr. Grant's rendering full service to the Government, a perusal of their correspondence, then unknown, affords no good ground for such a suspicion. Nor does the apparent partiality shown to Macleod give any good reason for the charge of jealousy, or even for the offence taken by the Grants. It is probable that had they not been excited by the ferment of opinion and rumour around them, or blinded for the moment by clannish feeling, they would have seen that being asked

[1] MS. Narratives, by Sir Archibald Grant and Lachlan Grant.

[2] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 186. [3] The Chiefs of Colquhoun, by William Fraser, vol. i. p. 336.

for one company, or two as required, was really a higher compliment to their loyalty and to the standing of their clan, than the giving of five companies to the Macleods. The latter was a piece of policy. Had Lord President Forbes's knowledge of the Highland clans and the character of their chiefs been acted upon by the Government, it is probable the rebellion would never have reached the height it did. The chief cause of the adhesion of the rebel clans to the standard of Prince Charles Edward was, in truth, the reverse phase of the reason founded upon by the Grants in refusing to raise a second company. They asserted that one company would not do for them what the five companies had done for the Macleods; that is, provide occupation for all the gentlemen of the clan.

In the same way, the Highland chiefs, many of whom chafed at the life of inactivity which was being gradually forced upon them, as the Government grew strong enough to repress their feuds and raids upon the Lowlands, saw in the coming of Prince Charles a chance of gaining importance for themselves and of employing their restless dependants. It is true that Lochiel, the most prominent of the chiefs who joined the young Pretender, with one or two others, were gained over at first by the charm of his manner or a dexterous appeal to their feelings.[1] But they, and others who afterwards joined him, were by no means insensible to the rewards which they conceived they might claim from a grateful Prince, and the first success of his arms added greatly to the number of his adherents who hoped to share in the spoil. President Forbes foresaw the necessity of the Government holding out to wavering chieftains such inducements as should at once gratify their warlike spirit and possess a surer ground of promise than could be found in the insurgent army.

The President's scheme of the independent companies was the only one sanctioned by the Government, and these were limited to twenty in number. Sound policy dictated that these should be disposed of in such a way as to attract the greatest number of wavering chiefs to the side of the Government. Of such Macleod was by far the most powerful. The Grants had not wavered in their allegiance, their loyalty had been approved in 1715, and their chiefs were, in 1745, as staunch as ever in their attach-

[1] Browne's History of the Highlands, vol. iii. p. 15.

ment to the House of Hanover. There was therefore no special need in their case to hold out inducements to adhere to King George. The clan, with a few exceptions, were of one mind with their chiefs, and could be depended on in an emergency, without being specially formed into a regiment.

But this was not the case with Macleod. Though it does not appear that the Macleods actually took up arms in 1715, they were described in a paper furnished for the information of the King of France shortly before that date, as loyal to the Stewarts, and able to bring five hundred men into the field.[1] In the present rebellion, the Chief of Macleod, with Sir Alexander Macdonald of Sleat, had engaged themselves to join the Pretender, provided the King of France furnished an army in his aid. But when Prince Charles Edward landed in the west of Scotland with only a few followers, and trusting in nothing but his own destiny, these chieftains looked upon his cause as hopeless, and refused to join his standard.[2] To this decision, so fortunate for themselves, they were firmly held by Lord President Forbes, who, fearing lest their professed loyalty to the House of Hanover might give way before the successes of the Highland army, held out such inducements as the independent companies offered, to engage Macleod at least (who hesitated most) in the service of the Government.

Besides, President Forbes was too sincerely devoted to the Government to have needlessly hurt the feelings of a loyal clan when the latter was of so much importance as the Grants. Fortunately, however, the gentlemen of the clan had no immediate opportunity for brooding over their supposed wrongs, for in the same letter in which Mr. Grant announces to Lord Loudoun the refusal to raise a second company, he mentions reports that the rebels had burned corn-stacks in Braemar, and had committed violence elsewhere in levying impositions, which he considered himself bound to suppress.[3] He offered, on receiving Lord Loudoun's commands, to march five or six hundred men to Aberdeen, and endeavour to restore the peace, and to carry out this project Mr. Grant asked two hundred stand of arms, and that the company commanded by Captain Grant of Rothiemurchus should, if possible, be sent to his assistance.

[1] Original Paper printed in Browne's History of the Highlands, vol. ii App. p. 429.
[2] Browne's History, vol. iii. p. 6. [3] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 186.

In his reply Lord Loudoun complimented Mr. Grant on his zeal for the service, but intimated that he himself was just setting out at the head of the Grant company and others, on an expedition to Fort Augustus. Thereafter he proposed to march along the coast for the relief of the district, and would, if necessary, ask assistance from Mr. Grant.[1]

On receiving from a gentleman of his clan, Mr. Grant of Achoynany, a summons addressed to the latter by Lord Lewis Gordon, commanding him to send to Keith a certain number of men armed and equipped,[2] Mr. Grant wrote in reply that, though somewhat hindered at present, he would not see the country, in which he and his father were so materially concerned, oppressed in any way. He requested, therefore, that Achoynany should inform him more particularly of the rebel movements, and he would keep in view the necessity of affording protection.[3]

The Earl of Findlater, at the same time, received intimation of similar threats against his tenants, and wrote to the Lord President stating the situation, and suggesting that he and Lord Loudoun should provide some remedy. He further informed the President that he had advised the people in Banffshire not to be intimidated by the threats of the rebels, but he was afraid some would be unable to resist the execution of these threats.[4] The President wrote in reply approving the advice given, and trusting that Lord Findlater would soon be relieved of all apprehensions, as a large body of men had marched from Inverness towards Aberdeen, to be followed shortly by Lord Loudoun in person with another force. The President suggests that Lord Findlater should accompany Lord Loudoun, or provide some one to act as a guide, and also arrange for accommodation of the troops.[5]

Before the arrival of this reply, Lord Findlater received another letter from his chamberlain,[6] and Mr. Grant a letter from Grant of Achoynany, both stating that various parties of the rebels were pressing men, quartering themselves on Lord Findlater's tenants and others, and "playing the devil" with them.[7] Grant of Achoynany begs that Mr. Grant would march some

[1] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 187. [2] *Ibid.* p. 188. [3] MS. narrative by Sir Archibald Grant. [4] *Ibid.* [5] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 189. This letter, though dated the 10th, was not despatched till the 11th, and did not reach Castle Grant till the 13th December. [6] MS. narratives by Sir Archibald Grant and Lachlan Grant. [7] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 191.

men to the neighbourhood and overawe the rebels, who were much afraid of the Strathspey men. Mr. Grant responded by at once mustering five or six hundred men, whom he marched to Keith. Of this fact he notified Lord Loudoun, on 12th December, in a letter written on the eve of setting out, stating that he felt it incumbent upon him to prevent oppression to his neighbours, and the dragging of their tenants to the rebel army, and had therefore summoned his clan. He hoped to be at Keith next day, and to keep the surrounding country quiet, until he heard further from his Lordship.[1]

The Grant men marched straight towards Keith, but the weather was so excessively wet, that two days after setting out, they had only arrived in the vicinity of Mulben, about four miles from Keith. On Mr. Grant's approach, the rebels disappeared from that neighbourhood, and reassembled at Fochabers, to the number of two or three hundred, under the command of Gordon of Avachy. Mr. Grant accordingly halted his men for rest and refreshment after their rapid march, preparatory to an attack on the rebels. Here Mr. Grant received a letter from Lord Findlater, enclosing the reply from President Forbes, and in reference to the reported movement of troops, Lord Findlater says, "All their proceedings will not secure our safety unless a sufficient right and trusty person is left in Banffshire, for Lord Lewis's small parties will stir as soon as they are past, if there is not force enough to suppress them." This opinion fully justified Mr. Grant's independent action. Lord Findlater also excused himself from accompanying Lord Loudoun, on the score of ill health, but states that he had written to the sheriff-deputes to prepare for the troops. He gave Mr. Grant full power to act for him, if the sheriffs were afraid to move in the matter.[2]

At the same time, Mr. Grant also learned that Lord Loudoun had reached Moray, and that the rebels had brought the boats on Spey to the east or Fochabers side of the river. He therefore sent a party of a hundred men, who secured the Boat of Bridge, two miles further up the Spey. Mr. Grant then wrote to Sir Harry Innes at Elgin, detailing what he had done, and promising protection to the town, also inquiring about Macleod's

[1] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 192. [2] Copy Letter in Appendix to MS. narrative of Lachlan Grant.

motions with his men, and whether Lord Loudoun had any commands for himself.[1] In reply he received a letter from the Laird of Macleod, who rejoiced to hear of his march, which he conceived would be of great service to the Government. Macleod stated that he had orders to march with five hundred men, and attempt to cross the Spey to assist in protecting that neighbourhood. He had heard that the passage of the river was to be disputed, and that the rebels had secured possession of all the boats, but was persuaded that the force under Mr. Grant would disperse the insurgents and open the passage. He further assured Mr. Grant that he would gladly act in conjunction with him in every matter for the good of the service.[2] Mr. Grant at once wrote to Macleod that as soon as he could summon his men, who were quartered in neighbouring farm-houses, he would march to Fochabers and endeavour to secure the passage of the Spey for Macleod's men ; he further expressed a hope that he would be at Spey-side before two o'clock that afternoon (Sunday, 15th December). Mr. Grant accordingly marched his men towards Spey as speedily as possible, a movement which forced the rebels to retire from the district with some haste, their leader declaring that but for the Strathspey men he would have made it very difficult for Macleod to pass the Spey.

There was no engagement, as the Grant men had not quite reached the river, when intelligence was brought that the rebels had retired, and that Macleod and his party were crossing in safety. Sir Harry Innes afterwards wrote to Mr. Grant regretting that the movements of his men had not been speedy enough to enable them to capture the rebels who had been guarding the boats,[3] but no blame was due to any one, as the insurgents retired precipitately on hearing of Mr. Grant's march.

As Macleod's men were safe, Mr. Grant was about to send his men into quarters, when he heard that a small party of rebels remained near Cullen House. He at once despatched a company thither to secure the place and drive out any rebels in possession of it. Cullen remained in the hands of the Grants, and furnished quarters for Macleod's men, who came there next day (16th December). Mr. Grant then marched to Keith, where he quartered his men and placed advanced guards some miles in the

[1] MS. narrative of Lachlan Grant. [2] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 193. [3] *Ibid.* p. 197.

direction of Strathbogie, where he heard that the main body of the insurgents lay. He informed Lord Loudoun of what he had done, and then, with a few other gentlemen, went to Cullen, where, under the powers received from Lord Findlater, he took care that Macleod and his people were well entertained. Mr. Grant informed Macleod of his having sent to Lord Loudoun, and of his purpose to remain at Keith for further orders. Macleod, however, earnestly requested Mr. Grant to go with him towards Aberdeen, or at least to Strathbogie, and co-operate with himself and Munro of Culcairn, if he did not receive further orders, to which Mr. Grant assented, and returned to Keith to prepare his men.[1]

On reaching Keith, Mr. Grant received a letter from Lord Lewis Gordon remonstrating with him for marching his men to Mulben, declaring that Mr. Grant had no reason to do so, as positive orders had been given that his estates should be let alone, and threatening that if Mr. Grant concerned himself in protecting any estates but his own, he would suffer accordingly. Lord Lewis also stated that he was writing to Lord John Drummond to march his troops directly upon that district to combine with those under himself, and he therefore urged Mr. Grant to withdraw his men.[2] With this letter were enclosed two printed documents, the first being a manifesto issued by Lord John Drummond as "Commander-in-chief of his most Christian Majesty's forces in Scotland,"[3] and the second a letter from the exiled Earl Marischal to Lord John Drummond, announcing his intention of invading England with a body of French troops, and desiring Lord John to summon the writer's friends to rise in arms for the Prince.[4]

The receipt of these documents strengthened Mr. Grant's determination to advance with Macleod at least as far as Strathbogie, and he returned a verbal message to the effect that if Lord Lewis, with his men, would be at Strathbogie next day by 12 o'clock, he would there receive the answer, which Mr. Grant was determined should be proclaimed at the market cross, and fixed upon it. Mr. Grant then intimated his purpose to Macleod,[5]

[1] MS. narratives by Sir Archibald Grant and Lachlan Grant.

[2] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 196.

[3] Printed at length in Browne's History of the Highlands, vol. iii. p. 155.

[4] MS. narrative by Lachlan Grant.

[5] *Ibid.*

who replied, approving Mr. Grant's intentions.[1] On the 18th December, therefore, Mr. Grant marched to Strathbogie, and, at his approach, the rebels left that place, and fell back towards Aberdeen. Mr. Grant thereupon proclaimed and affixed to the market cross a declaration in the name of Lord Loudoun, that all who had been compelled by force to enter the rebel army, if they came in and delivered up their arms, would be treated favourably by His Majesty, while those who persisted would be regarded as traitors.[2]

At Strathbogie, however, Mr. Grant's active service on behalf of the Government was brought to a stand. While there he received a letter from Lord Loudoun, dated Inverness, 14th December, acknowledging Mr. Grant's letter of the 12th, with the first intimation of his sudden march towards Keith. Lord Loudoun referred to the dispositions of troops already made by him for protecting the country, and concluded by suggesting to Mr. Grant that if they both made a sudden march without concert, their men might meet in the same quarters, which would be inconvenient at that season of the year.[3] This sentence contained a tacit rebuke to Mr. Grant for anticipating the movements of the Government troops, and it was indorsed by a letter of the same date from Lord Deskford, who had joined Lord Loudoun. Lord Deskford states that Lord Loudoun regretted he had no arms at his disposal, and no authority to pay any clan "except when an immediate necessity, which cannot be answered by the troops on the establishment, requires it;" that Lord Loudoun considered the service in Banffshire and Aberdeenshire sufficiently provided for by the seven hundred men already despatched there (under Macleod and Culcairn), and that it was impossible to take Mr. Grant's clan into pay. He believed Lord Loudon would be as well pleased if, under the circumstances, the Grants returned to Strathspey, though his Lordship would not take upon him to order them back, as the expedition was made without his command, and he adds, "He (Lord Loudoun) says he won't fail to represent your zeal, and that of your people, and wishes for the future nothing may be undertaken but in concert with those who have the direction of the king's affairs in this country."[4]

[1] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 199. [2] *Ibid.* p. 199. [3] *Ibid.* p. 194.
[4] Copy Letter in Appendix to MS. narrative by Lachlan Grant.

Mr. Grant's zeal for the public service disposed him to overlook any censorious reflections such as these, but he could not do otherwise than return home when he had so clear a discharge from those in authority. The course indicated was opposed to Mr. Grant's own inclinations, and to the opinion of his friends, but his determination to return was strengthened by Mr. Lachlan Grant, whom he had sent to Lord Loudoun for orders, and who stated that Lord Loudoun expressly advised his return to Strathspey. Mr. Grant therefore intimated his resolution to Macleod and Culcairn, both of whom expressed great regret at losing Mr. Grant's assistance, but approved his action in the circumstances.[1]

Next day, therefore, Mr. Grant returned to Keith, on his way home, but remembering that Lord Findlater had expressed a fear that after the Government troops had passed, new parties of rebels might steal down into the low country and distress the neighbourhood, he detached a party for the protection of the district, who did good service afterwards. On resuming the march he received two letters from Lord Loudoun, one addressed to himself, dated 17th, and one to Sir Harry Innes, dated the 18th December.[2] Both of these letters were complimentary, approving of Mr. Grant's march, and of the service thereby done, but as they gave Mr. Grant no reason to believe that the recall expressed in the former letters was revoked, and as the number of the rebels at Aberdeen was not so great as to render the assistance of his clan absolutely necessary, he dispersed his men.[3]

When he reached Castle Grant he received a letter from his bailie at Urquhart informing him that it was impossible any longer to restrain the people of that district from joining the Highland army, and that disputes had arisen between the bailie and them on the subject. This letter no doubt caused much annoyance to Mr. Grant, but it does not appear that he took any action upon it. His attention was suddenly engaged by a matter of more serious importance, and which might have had disastrous consequences, had the rebels been in greater force or more united in their counsels.

[1] MS. narrative by Sir Archibald Grant. Vol. ii. of this work, pp. 200, 201.

[2] Vol. ii. of this work, pp. 197, 200.

[3] MS. narrative by Sir Archibald Grant.

After his return to Castle Grant on the 24th December 1745, Mr. Grant wrote to Lord Loudoun, informing him that he had left a party of sixty men near Keith to prevent the rebels from returning to that neighbourhood, and that there was a report that the rebels were to make a stand at Aberdeen, which made him regret he did not go forward. He again pressed the opinion he had held all along, that all the forces which could be got together should be employed to drive the rebels from that district. He begged also for arms, and desired Lord Loudoun to communicate any commands to Sir Archibald Grant, who was the bearer of the letter.[1]

That letter was just despatched, when tidings came of the defeat of Macleod's force at Inverurie. The news was communicated by William Grant, younger of Burnside, who was in command of the small party so prudently and fortunately detached by Mr. Grant to watch the movements of the rebels. To facilitate the retreat of Macleod's men, Mr. Grant at once instructed Burnside to secure the passage of the Spey at the Boat of Bridge, and, if possible, to inform Macleod that the ford was safe. He also proposed that the officers and men of the party should take the boats to the Moray or west side of the Spey, and remain there, if practicable, till further orders, but to retire if any strong party of rebels advanced on them.[2]

Mr. Grant received from various sources confirmation of the defeat at Inverurie. It would appear that owing to imperfect information of the movements of the rebels, Macleod and his men were on the evening of the 23d December surprised in their quarters by Lord Lewis Gordon and a considerable force. It was estimated that Lord Lewis had seven or eight hundred men, while, owing to the suddenness of the attack, and the wide area over which the Macleods were billeted, only two hundred and fifty of the latter could be got together. The Macleods accordingly soon gave way, and their baggage, money, etc., with several of themselves, fell into the hands of the rebels, though the latter had the greater number killed.[3] The Macleods were deficient in broadswords. Much regret was expressed, when too late, that Mr. Grant had not been permitted to march with Macleod's party, as at first proposed, and Sir Harry Innes informed

[1] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 202. [2] *Ibid.* p. 203. [3] *Ibid.* pp. 204-206.

Mr. Grant that Lord Lewis Gordon had only determined on the attack when he knew that the Grants had been withdrawn.

Through the prompt measures taken by Mr. Grant, Macleod and his officers crossed the Spey in safety on the evening of the 24th, and for greater security against surprise, Mr. Grant instructed his officers to remain on Spey side, and take care of the boats.[1]

In anxious letters from Sir Harry Innes and the Magistrates of Elgin, dated 28th December, Mr. Grant was requested to march his clan to their neighbourhood for their protection, but in face of what had already passed, he did not feel justified in doing so. The Magistrates complained that Macleod was marching away from their town towards Inverness, leaving them exposed to the oppression of the rebels, and that unless they received protection from Mr. Grant, they and the principal inhabitants would require to remove with their effects to some place of safety, especially as five hundred rebels at Strathbogie, uttering threats of heavy vengeance, were ready to commence an attack. Sir Harry Innes wrote in support of this appeal.[2] In his reply to the Magistrates on the 29th, Mr. Grant assured them of his inclination to serve them, and narrated the circumstances of his former march, which was intended to protect their town and neighbourhood, and the discouragement he had from those in authority. He, however, was of opinion that the people of Elgin had no cause to be alarmed unless a much larger body of the rebels came from Aberdeen to join those at Strathbogie, as the latter would never venture to cross the Spey when Mr. Grant was above them and Lord Loudoun so near them. He anticipated that though the Macleods had marched to Inverness, Lord Loudoun would send sufficient force against the rebels at Strathbogie. With respect to himself, Mr. Grant adds, "In the situation I am at present, I am uncertain whether I am to be attacked from Perth, or by those at Aberdeen and Strathbogie for my late march. I dare not promise to march with any body of men but in concert and with Lord Loudoun's directions, and, at the same time, I have demanded to be assisted with arms and encouraged to keep my men in the proper way."[3]

[1] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 207. [2] Copies of letters in Appendix to MS. narrative by Lachlan Grant.
[3] Letter in MS. narrative by Lachlan Grant.

In this last sentence Mr. Grant referred to his letter to Lord Loudoun of the 24th December 1745, conveyed to Inverness by Sir Archibald Grant, to which no reply had yet been received. A day or two afterwards, however, Sir Archibald Grant returned from Inverness bearing a letter from Lord Loudoun, dated the 30th of that month, expressing regret for detaining Sir Archibald, and stating that he was unable as yet to decide on any plan of operation, but would acquaint Mr. Grant if he found it necessary to undertake anything of importance.[1] Sir Archibald Grant's account of his reception at Inverness, and the cause of delay, was not altogether satisfactory. On his arrival there on 25th December, he waited on Lord Loudoun and the President, both of whom acknowledged Mr. Grant's good service, but regretted the deficiency of arms and money and power for employing the king's friends, though they daily hoped for a supply of all. They alleged also that it was necessary to see some consequences of the skirmish at Inverurie before new measures were resolved on. Lord Loudoun, however, desired Sir Archibald to remain one day longer in Inverness to give time to consider Mr. Grant's proposition. To this delay Sir Archibald consented, seeing the amount of business which occupied Lord Loudoun, and rendered full discussion of matters difficult. Consideration of the subject was deferred from day to day, until, on 29th December, Sir Archibald Grant wrote a remonstrance to Lord Loudoun, and begged for his own dismissal, with some answer to Mr. Grant. He expressed sympathy with the difficult situation in which Lord Loudoun was placed, but could not see any good to be gained by delay. Lord Loudoun then wrote the answer communicated to Mr. Grant, as above. From it and Sir Archibald's report, Mr. Grant entertained the hope that the town of Elgin and neighbourhood would be effectually protected, but did not think he was at liberty to take any further steps without authority from Lord Loudoun.[2]

Mr. Grant's opinion as to the conduct of the rebels was happily confirmed by intelligence received on the 2d of January 1746, that the party at Strathbogie had on the preceding day suddenly marched off to Aberdeen. Mr. Grant at once transmitted the letter containing this

[1] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 208.

[2] MS. narrative by Sir Archibald Grant.

information to Lord Loudoun, with renewed assurances of his readiness to act in the service of the Government, and suggesting that among other advantages to be gained by this movement of the rebels, opportunity might be taken to hem them in more closely than before.[1] Lord Loudoun replied that he thought it would be necessary, before arranging any plan of operations, to learn what was being done in the south, that there might be proper co-operation.[2] Mr. Grant also at this time received a short letter from Macleod at Forres, expressing obligation for the concern Mr. Grant had shown on behalf of him and his men.

Renewed attempts to tamper with the allegiance of Mr. Grant's tenants in Urquhart caused Mr. Grant to write urgently to Lord Loudoun a few days later, the letter being conveyed by his Chamberlain. After stating the uneasiness he had regarding affairs in Urquhart, notwithstanding all his endeavours to prevent the tenants there joining the rebels, and also explaining why he sent his Chamberlain in person to Lord Loudoun, and referring to some items of news, Mr. Grant proceeded thus :— "I think it my duty to take notice to your Lordship that the rebels are exerting themselves in every corner of the north to encrease their army. I therefore think it absolutely necessary that all the friends of the Government should use their outmost efforts to disconcert and disperse them. I had a meeting yesterday with all the gentlemen of this country, and I can assure your Lordship we wait only your orders and directions, and there is nothing in our power but we will do upon this important occasion for the service of our King and country. I wish it was possible to assist us with some arms, and money to be sure also would be necessary, but give me leave to assure your Lordship that the last farthing I or any of my friends have, or what our credite can procure us, shall be employed in supporting of our men upon any expedition your Lordship shall direct us to undertake for this glorious cause we are engaged in. I wish to God your Lordship and the Lord President would think of some measure of conveening the whole body of the King's friends in the north together, and I would gladly hope we would form such a body as would in a great measure disconcert and strike a damp upon the army of the

[1] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 209. [2] *Ibid.* p. 210.

rebels in the south, and effectually put a stop to any further junctions they may expect benorth Stirling, and at the same time surely we might prevent their being masters of so much of this north coast, and also hinder many of the King's subjects from being oppressed by the exorbitant sums of money the rebels are presently levying from them."[1]

In reference to the first part of this letter, Mr. Grant shortly after had the satisfaction of knowing that his own instructions to his Chamberlain sufficed to keep the people in Urquhart to their duty, without any aid from the King's troops, which was very readily offered by Lord Loudoun, and also without marching men from Strathspey to compel them, which Mr. Grant had determined on, rather than permit any of his tenants to join the rebellion.

Mr. Grant wrote also on the 13th January giving later intelligence of the grievances inflicted by the rebels remaining in Aberdeenshire. Lord Loudoun replied to both letters at once, on the 16th January, approving of Mr. Grant's scheme for relieving the low country, but declining to undertake the matter until he received further instructions and more certain knowledge of the motions of the rebels, as he was afraid of the latter gaining possession of the forts. Lord Loudoun promised that as soon as instructions arrived, he would communicate with Mr. Grant, and consult as to the most effectual way of serving the Government.[2]

Thus Mr. Grant's efforts to strengthen the hands of the Government were once more brought to a check, and he felt that nothing remained to be done by himself or his friends, unless some special occasion arose, but to encourage and confirm the well affected, and enlighten and inform the disaffected, whether actually concerned in the rebellion or not. This was done by publishing true narratives of the state of affairs, of which the country was extremely ignorant, and confuting the falsehoods which were industriously propagated. Mr. Grant and his friends also circulated papers adapted to the circumstances and genius of the people and country, containing clear and plain reasonings against the mistaken principles of politics and religion which misled and deluded them. At this time also frightful

[1] Copy letter, dated 9th January 1746, in MS. narratives by Sir Archibald Grant and Lachlan Grant.

[2] MS. narratives by Sir Archibald Grant and Lachlan Grant.

accounts were given both in the public prints and private letters of a threatened invasion by foreign troops, and these reports were used by agents of the rebels to intimidate the King's friends. Mr. Grant and his friends therefore agreed that Sir Archibald Grant of Monymusk should write to the Lord President proposing to him and Lord Loudoun to associate the loyal clans in the north, in a solemn manner, by an address to the King, which should express their loyalty and bind them to service.[1] A letter was accordingly drawn up on the 21st January 1746, and sent to the President, but there is no evidence that any special notice was taken of it or the sentiments it contained.

For some weeks after this, no events of any special interest took place in the north. Mr. Grant received from time to time intelligence of the military movements in the south, among others of the defeat sustained by the Royal troops at Falkirk.[2] It would appear that by this time Mr. Grant was becoming pressed for money, owing to the non-payment of rent by the tenantry during the disturbed state of the country. Mr. Grant, writing to his father, Sir James, on 14th January, thus informs him of this fact :— "Since you left this countrie, I have not seen one farthing from Urquhart ; the people there won't pay. I have gott non from Mulben, and not above fiftie pound from the Chamberlane of Strathspey, and I assure you I see noe prospect of anie. This being the plain case, you may judge what situation we will soon be in if the Government don't releive us. . . . I assure you I don't see what way we can expect monie soon from the tenants, as they have had noe mercatts this year, and as all their neighbours, or most of them, have entered into rebellion."[3]

Three weeks later, Lord Loudoun wrote to Mr. Grant that the rebel army had abandoned the siege of Stirling Castle, and had begun their march northward. Lord Loudoun begged that Mr. Grant would send out some men to gain intelligence of the movements of the insurgents, part of whom were said to be marching towards that neighbourhood. His Lordship hoped also that Mr. Grant would have his people ready, so that he and Mr. Grant might act together and support each other.[4] Mr. Grant again gathered his

[1] MS. narrative by Sir Archibald Grant. [2] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 214. [3] *Ibid.* p. 213.
[4] Letter dated 7th February 1746, *ibid.* p. 224.

men to the number of about six hundred, and disposed them in the best manner for gaining intelligence of the rebels and their movements. He communicated various items of news to Lord Loudoun almost daily, and made urgent requests for arms, with which he assured Lord Loudoun his men were very ill-provided, most of their weapons being very bad, and some being armed only with corn-forks, etc. Mr. Grant admitted that it was commonly reported that his people were well armed, a belief he had encouraged as contributing to their safety from attack, but that the reverse was really the fact, and he begged to be supplied with at least 400 guns and flints.[1] It was Mr. Grant's hope that with a good supply of weapons his men would be in better spirits, and be more willing to serve his purpose, either to co-operate with Lord Loudoun, or, failing that, if the rebels should prove too strong for his own party, to retire in a body and prevent as far as possible the destruction of the country or forcing of recruits by the insurgents.

Intelligence of the rebel movements continued to be sent by Mr. Grant to Lord Loudoun regularly until the 15th of February 1746, when he had a letter from his Lordship, thanking him for his news. Lord Loudoun wrote also that he expected large reinforcements, and that if the rebels did come to Inverness, he hoped to give them a warm reception. He was unable to send a detachment with arms for the men under Mr. Grant, but if the latter would send down three hundred men, they would be provided as well as possible.[2] This was the last letter Mr. Grant had from Lord Loudoun while the latter was at Inverness. On the 16th February Lord Loudoun, learning that Prince Charles Edward was to pass the night at Moy Castle, near Inverness, marched a party to surprise and capture the Prince, but this attempt was foiled by the precautions taken, and ended in the ludicrous failure known as the "Rout of Moy." Prince Charles with his force then advanced to Inverness, from which Lord Loudoun and the Lord President retreated, leaving the independent company of Grants, and one company of Macleods, with eighty regular soldiers, to defend Fort George, of which, however, the rebels gained possession after a siege of two days.[3]

[1] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 230. [2] *Ibid.* p. 234. [3] Browne's History of the Highlands, vol. iii. pp. 210, 211.

Sir James Grant had in the meantime been in communication with the authorities in London and elsewhere, and on the 15th February Mr. Grant was gratified by receiving from the Duke of Cumberland, who had now assumed command of the troops in Scotland, instructions to raise his clan in arms for the King, and to furnish all intelligence in his power of the movements of the insurgents. He replied in a letter to Sir Everard Falkener, sending information he had obtained, and stating that, if he had a proper supply of weapons, he could furnish five or six hundred men in addition to those then under arms. In the information forwarded to the Duke, Mr. Grant stated that it was not yet certain that the rebels would attack the Grants, but such dispositions for defence had been made as the bad arms they possessed would permit. He had also received threatening orders, issued by the rebels for taxes and men, some of which were directed specially against the Grants for appearing in arms against the Prince, but these had no effect in altering the conduct of Mr. Grant or his clan towards the Government.[1]

In the expectation that the Duke of Cumberland would press on in pursuit of the Highland army, Mr. Grant kept his men together until the 23d of February. On that date he received a letter from Murray of Broughton, secretary to the Prince, reproaching him for assisting the Government (which the rebels had learned through intercepted letters), and ordering Mr. Grant to send in all the arms in the country, with six gentlemen as hostages for the good behaviour of the clan. Mr. Grant thereupon mustered all his men at Castle Grant. He had intelligence that the Macphersons and others were in Badenoch, that Gordon of Glenbucket, with three hundred men, was in Strathavon and Glenlivet, and that other parties of rebels were marching towards Strathspey by the lower district. He was also informed that the Duke of Cumberland was still at Perth. In these circumstances Mr. Grant felt that he was not able alone to oppose the rebel forces, and, as Castle Grant would not stand a siege, he determined to force his way through Strathavon, and join the royal army at Perth. Mr. Grant, therefore, with his wife and daughter, accompanied by Lord and Lady Findlater, and about four hundred men, left Castle

[1] Vol. ii. of this work, pp. 235, 236.

Grant on the 24th February, while the rest of the clan were instructed to defend the house and neighbourhood as well as they could.[1]

As Mr. Grant with his party advanced through Strathavon, Gordon of Glenbucket retired, and the latter having set at liberty an intercepted messenger from Lord Justice-Clerk Milton, this man came to Mr. Grant and informed him that the Duke of Cumberland was at Aberdeen. This intelligence so far changed Mr. Grant's plans, that, on his arrival at Newe, out of danger of any large body of rebels, he sent back the greater part of his men to take care of their houses and goods, retaining only about one hundred and fifty as an escort for himself and family to Aberdeen, which he reached on the 1st of March. There he awaited the Duke's orders. During his stay at Aberdeen, Mr. Grant contrived to forward some money to his father Sir James, as the latter was greatly in need of funds, but in the state of the country it was almost impossible to obtain payment of money.[2]

On the 9th of March Mr. Grant was ordered to proceed to Inverurie, whither his men had gone, and from there to march slowly towards Strathspey, to act as an advance guard for the royal troops in their march towards Strathbogie. He was also to furnish, if possible, daily information of the number and position of the rebels. On the 10th, Mr. Grant received intimation of an intended march of the troops, but so much snow fell on the 9th and 10th that the military movements were delayed, and Mr. Grant, instead of advancing, was ordered to remain at Inverurie. He found that about three hundred rebels under Gordon of Glenbucket were still hovering round Strathavon, and that a larger party lay between Strathbogie and Keith. A considerable body of their troops also were quartered round Fochabers and on Spey-side.[3] Mr. Grant sent regular information of such matters to head-quarters, much to the satisfaction of the Duke of Cumberland.[4]

Several regiments marched from Aberdeen on the 12th, and took possession of Inverurie and other places near it, Mr. Grant and his party advancing towards Strathbogie. On or about the 16th Mr. Grant took

[1] MS. narrative by Lachlan Grant; vol. ii. of this work, p. 241.

[2] Vol. ii. of this work, pp. 241, 242.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 246.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 248.

possession of Forbes Castle.[1] This was fortunate for himself, as the rebels, knowing that he had only a small force (about one hundred and forty men), sent out a party to intercept him, but as the place was strong, and the rebels had no artillery, their expedition failed.[2] The rebels themselves were nearly surprised at Strathbogie, from which they were compelled precipitately to retire, by the troops under General Bland, who followed very close on Mr. Grant's party, and had been ordered to attack them.

Another party of the rebels, under Lord George Murray and Lord Nairn, accompanied with two 9-pounders, marched into Strathspey, and on the 14th March, went to Castle Grant, threatening to batter down the house if resistance was offered. Seeing the cannon, the garrison surrendered and opened the gates, and Lord Nairn took possession, while Lord George Murray marched towards Athole to besiege Blair Castle. On learning of the retreat from Strathbogie, Lord Nairn and his party quickly evacuated Castle Grant. In the meantime Mr. Grant and his men marched from Castle Forbes to Balvany, where they meant to quarter in the old castle, but finding it in a ruinous condition, they occupied the new building. Here they were alarmed at midnight by intelligence that a party of the rebels were within an hour's march, which occasioned their departure to Ballindalloch, but they were prevented from reaching Castle Grant by the presence of several parties of the rebels in the neighbourhood. After waiting three days at Ballindalloch, Mr. Grant's party returned to Strathbogie, where they determined to remain until the Duke's army advanced.[3]

Soon after leaving Aberdeen, Mr. Grant, to his great regret, received intelligence that some gentlemen of his clan had signed what they called a treaty of neutrality with the rebels. It would appear that a few days after Mr. Grant left Castle Grant, two of these gentlemen, Grant of Rothiemurchus and Grant of Dellachaple, had gone to Inverness to contrive the escape of their sons, who had been taken prisoners, and had prevailed upon Grant of Tullochgorm to accompany them. While at Inverness, they were seized by the rebels, and detained as hostages for the good behaviour of their friends in Strathspey. A day or two after they were apprehended,

[1] Vol. ii. of this work, pp. 248, 249. [2] Browne's History of the Highlands, vol. iii. p. 219.
[3] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 253.

these gentlemen signed a treaty, and engaged to get two others to join them, upon condition that their sons were released, and that they themselves were exempted from money levies for the Prince.[1] The alleged defence of those gentlemen was, that finding their country threatened to be burnt, and no prospect of immediate relief, they considered the most prudent means of averting ruin was to treat with the rebels and so gain time until the royal army should come up. They therefore sent three of their number to Inverness as deputies, who, on their arrival, were forthwith made prisoners, the rebels insisting that other two gentlemen should come before concluding any treaty. They thereby got the matter delayed for several days, after which a written paper was presented to the prisoners for their signatures, in which they were made to promise that neither they nor their dependants would take up arms against the rebels. This they all absolutely refused to sign; but being threatened with imprisonment in dungeons, and Lord George Murray being ordered to Strathspey, with two thousand men and some cannon, to destroy the country, their resolution gave way, and they signed the treaty, believing, however, while doing so, that, in strict honour, they could not be bound to perform a promise extorted from them in such circumstances.[2]

Notwithstanding these excuses, Mr. Grant considered the signing of such a document a deep insult to himself and the other gentlemen of his clan, and expressed great indignation. He communicated the facts of the case and all the papers to the Duke of Cumberland, who replied through Lord Findlater, animadverting strongly on the folly of those who, in the face of Mr. Grant's promise to compensate their losses, had thus committed high treason by treating with the rebels. The Duke also declared that he and those under him would use as rebels all those gentlemen who chose to treat with the insurgents and refused to obey Mr. Grant in serving king and country. Lord Findlater hoped this, and other inducements, would tend to keep the clan loyal, and that they would wipe off the disgrace put upon their name.[3] Before passing from this, it may be stated that some time before the royal army crossed the Spey, three of the gentlemen implicated in the

[1] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 253.
[2] MS. narrative by Lachlan Grant.
[3] Letter, the Earl of Findlater to Mr. Grant, at Castle Grant.

treaty were allowed to return home, and when Mr. Grant, shortly before the battle of Culloden, came to Castle Grant, these three joined him and were very active in mustering the clan.[1]

Mr. Grant and the men under him remained at Strathbogie until about the 10th of April, and joined the Duke's army at Cullen next day. His party then proceeded to Elgin, while he himself resolved to return home and raise the rest of his clan to join the royal forces. He sent forward a party under Alexander Grant of Dalrachnie, who reported that the country round Castle Grant was free from the insurgents. Letters were also sent to the gentlemen of the district to meet Mr. Grant on the 15th and gather their men for the 16th April.[2]

As the battle of Culloden took place on that date, and Mr. Grant's clan did not reach the Duke of Cumberland's head-quarters at Inverness until after the 20th April, they had no share in the victory of the King's troops. On their way to Inverness they captured a number of prisoners, among whom were the brave Lord Balmerino, who, it is said, delivered himself up on the advice of Mr. Grant, younger of Rothiemurchus,[3] and also Major Glasgow, an Irish officer in the service of France, with whom they marched towards Strathnairn. Mr. Grant himself went to Inverness, and received instructions to deliver up his prisoners to a party of dragoons, whom he was personally to conduct for this purpose to the Water of Nairn.[4] He was then to make a search for rebels and arms in Strathnairn and the Mackintosh country, and destroy their ploughs and other implements of husbandry. To do this he divided his men into several parties, each of which explored a large tract of country, but with little success. The Grants were afterwards ordered to the north of Inverness, and thence to the Aird, the country of the Frasers, where several prisoners were taken, and a number of people who had been forced into the rebellion were prevailed upon to surrender at discretion, and marched under a strong guard to Moy, whither, on April 24th, a detachment was sent by the Duke to receive the Laird's spoils of war.[5]

[1] MS. narrative by Lachlan Grant.

[2] Letter from Alexander Grant, at Castle Grant.

[3] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 259. Browne's History of the Highlands, vol. iii. p. 274.

[4] Life of William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, by A. Campbell Maclachlan, p. 295.

[5] *Ibid.* pp. 301, 302.

By this time, however, Lord Loudoun had returned from the West with the independent companies under his command, and as General Campbell had a number more, the Duke of Cumberland, in view, also, of the scarcity of provisions, considered that there was no further occasion for the militia. He accordingly disbanded them, the Strathspey men among others, their arms, whether furnished by the Government or taken from the rebels, being delivered up. The Duke expressed himself satisfied with the appearance that the clan had made, and required Mr. Grant to re-establish the original independent company, which was done.

After the disbanding of his men, Mr. Grant proceeded to London,[1] to resume his Parliamentary duties as member for Morayshire, and probably also, in concert with his father, Sir James, to press upon the King's attention the great expenses which the family had incurred on behalf of the Government. This was the more necessary, as no rent had been paid during the time the rebels were active, and Mr. Grant had been specially recommended to apply to the King in person.[2]

While in London Mr. Grant frequently received intelligence of the disorganised state of the country. He had also reflections cast upon his own conduct by the friends of Grant of Sheuglie, a gentleman in Urquhart, and one of the early correspondents of Prince Charles Edward, who had been made prisoner at Inverness. In a letter to the Duke of Newcastle, then secretary of state, Mr. Grant related the circumstances of the case, and showed how Sheuglie had exerted himself in stirring up his neighbours and tenants to rebellion, notwithstanding his own efforts to the contrary. Mr. Grant also besought his Grace to interest himself on behalf of a number of men from Glenmoriston and Urquhart, who had been induced by Mr. Grant's representations to surrender at discretion. He pleaded that many of them had deserted from the rebels, and had no wish to continue in rebellion; that they were the first who surrendered, without making terms, and that others who had surrendered since had been allowed to live in their own neighbourhood.[3] Mr. Grant's anxiety for his clansmen arose from the fact that through some misunderstanding they had been treated not as persons who had surrendered, but as prisoners of war, and had been

[1] Vol. ii. of this work, pp. 262, 264. [2] *Ibid.* p. 261. [3] *Ibid.* pp. 265, 267.

placed among those confined on board the King's ships, where they endured great suffering, and who were afterwards transferred to Tilbury Fort. It does not appear, however, that Mr. Grant's appeal had any effect upon the rigorous dealing of the Government with these unfortunate men.[1]

On the death of his father, which took place on 16th January 1747, Mr. Grant succeeded to the estates of Grant, and became Sir Ludovick Grant of Grant, Baronet, as the eldest surviving heir-male of the body of his father, to whom the Baronetcy was limited by the regrant made by Queen Anne. Sir Ludovick continued his duties as a member of Parliament, and as such was appealed to for his interest on behalf of more than one Jacobite prisoner, especially the Master of Lovat and Macdonell of Glengarry.[2]

Sir Ludovick also took a deep interest in anything that affected his name or family. When John Grant, Baron Elchies, decided to sell the estate of Easter Elchies, Sir Ludovick was anxious to purchase it, that it might still belong to a Grant.[3] Although at the time he was disappointed, as the estate was sold to the Earl of Findlater, Easter Elchies reverted to the family of Grant, on the succession of Sir Ludovick's grandson to the titles and estates of Seafield in the year 1811.

Having fallen into a weak state of health, Sir Ludovick resigned his seat in Parliament in 1761,[4] and was succeeded in the representation of Morayshire by his son James. After his retirement from Parliament, Sir Ludovick lived for twelve years. He died at Castle Grant, 18th March 1773, after an illness of eight days, and was interred in the family burial aisle at Duthil parish church.

He was much lamented, and feeling tributes to his memory were made, both in prose and verse, in contemporary journals. The following lines appear deserving of a place in this memoir of the Chieftain :—

> Like shadowy forms that flee the solar ray,
> On Time's swift pinions, mankind soon decay,
> Unmark'd the place where erst they flaunting play'd
> Along the plain or darken'd in the glade.
> But while the mean thus share a vulgar fate,
> Must dull oblivion shroud in night the great ?

[1] The Chiefs of Colquhoun, by William Fraser, vol. i. p. 341.
[2] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 268. [3] *Ibid.* p. 269. [4] *Ibid.* p. 270.

Must those bright souls, who living glorious shone,
Fall unlamented and to fame unknown?
Involv'd in darkness, circumscrib'd their lot,
Must all their virtues sleep in dust forgot?
They must not: fragrant as the gales that blow
From vernal flowers, beyond the tomb they glow;
Impartial time its plausive voice shall raise,
And deck their virtues with unenvy'd praise.
Thee too lov'd chieftain shall await that meed,
These grateful honours that embalm the dead:
Grav'd on the heart thy virtues long shall live,
Thro' years and ages undecay'd survive.
For thine each winning, each endearing art
That or attracted or engag'd the heart.
Charm'd sense of pain could anxious thought beguile
Bid festive mirth and pleasure round thee smile;
Bid rising comfort glad the pensive brow;
And joy illume the languid face of woe.
How didst thou shine, view'd in that milder light
Where no false glare deceives the dazzl'd sight,
But where unveil'd the native soul appears,
And every feature bright or gloomy wears!
There thou wert all that cheers or softens life;
The fondest husband of the loveliest wife;
The tend'rest parent, past a parent's name,
Whose breast e'er kindled with that sacred flame;
The kindest master and the friend most true,
By time unmov'd, chang'd by no partial view;
The frankest landlord, gave the gen'rous bowl,
The best companion breath'd a social soul.
Nor here alone beam'd thy diffusive mind,
But, raying wide, embrac'd the human kind;
For other's bliss that joying learn'd to glow,
For other's sorrows bade the tear to flow.
Cheer'd from thy table, from thy lib'ral door,
Rejoicing hie'd the stranger and the poor:
Oft were they heard along the road prefer,
With grateful hearts for thee the ardent prayer,
That on thine house heaven's blessings might descend,
And guardian angels still thy race attend.
Let others boast assume the borrow'd name
Here rest nor feel the energetic flame;

But thine was Virtue's sacred power confest,
The active flame that kindles in the breast;
Above th' applause paid by the giddy crowd,
Content in secret to be truly good.
Benign, in death, the heav'nly form was seen;
Light the fix'd eye-ball and serene the mien;
Faith, Love, and Hope, that in her train attend,
There beam'd expressive, and their smiles did blend;
Bless'd harbingers of that eternal day,
That now is thine secur'd beyond decay.

Strathspey. J. G.[1]

By his first marriage with Marion Dalrymple, Sir Ludovick had a daughter, Anne, who died unmarried in December 1748, at the age of nineteen years, and another child who died in infancy.[2]

On the occasion of Sir Ludovick's marriage with Lady Margaret Ogilvie, the celebrated Lord Lovat wrote more than one of his characteristic letters. In the first, dated 31st October 1735, and addressed to the bridegroom himself, Lord Lovat expresses the "reall joy" which the news of the marriage gave to him. He speaks of Lady Margaret as "a lady not only beautifull in her person, but much more by the singular character she has of good sense and understanding, and of a sweet and angelick temper." He prays that the heirs of the marriage may be "great, numerous, and flourishing," and that they may reign in Strathspey and other territories "as long as there is a stone subsisting in Castle Grant, or a drop of water in the river of Spey." He regrets his own inability to be present at Castle Grant, pleading that the wheels of his chariot are broken, and the new set not yet arrived from Edinburgh, while to ride would endanger his "health and life, that I am fully resolved to employ to serve your person and family as long as there is breath in me." But failing his personal presence on the occasion, he says, "I will solemnise in the most conspicuous and best manner I can. I will have all my friends here to-day to dine and sup with me, and in the evening I will have a bonefire on the Castlehill, where I will drink with my friends 'health and prosperity to the bridegroom and bride,' under the discharge of some plattoons; and

[1] Scots Magazine, vol. xxxv. p. 154.

[2] Account of funeral charges for a child of the Hon. Mr. Colquhoun of Luss, dated 7th December 1733, at Castle Grant.

I have sent my officers through all the parishes this side of Lochness of the lordship of Lovat, to order every tennent to make a bonefire in the most conspicuous place about his house this evening, at the same time that my bonefire is to be put on, so that all the Aird, and the barrony of Beaulie, will be better illuminate this night than the city of London was last night for King George's birthday. I wrote to John Grant to Urquhart that he may have his bonefires this night, and I have writt to Stratherrick and Abertarf that they may have their bonefires on Munday at the same time with Glenmoristone, so that in five or six days there will be six countrys illuminated of above a hundred miles circumference with bonefires, and since the memory of man there has not been such a joyfull and publick solemnisation of any marriage in the Highlands of Scotland."[1]

The next day, 1st November 1735, Lord Lovat wrote to Sir James Grant giving a graphic narrative of how he carried out his part of the rejoicings. He says, "I got here last night my best friends of the Aird and Stratherick, and put on a very great bonefire on the Castle hill, and there drank heartily to the bridegroom and bride, and your health and my Lord Findlater's, and, in short, to all the healths that we could think of that concerned the family of Grant, and than had a ball, and concluded with most of the gentlemen's being dead drunk. We fired a random platoon at every health was drank at the bonefire, where I stood an hour and a half, and drank my bottle without watter, and while my bonefire was burning." In another letter he says that above twenty platoons were fired, and that he drank a bottle of wine for his own share. He also, in referring to the bonfires, says, "I had at once in this country above 200 bonefires, which made as prety a figure as ever I saw of fireworks," and piously adds, "After our earthly rejoiceings we should all thank heavens for this happy event."[2]

The only son of this marriage was James, who was born on 19th May 1738. He succeeded his father in the title and estates of Grant. A memoir of him is given in the next chapter.

The daughters of the second marriage were :—

1. Mariana, who died unmarried 28th March 1807.
2. Anna-Hope, who married, 3d April 1781, the very Rev. Robert

[1] Vol. ii. of this work, pp. 335-337.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 337, 338.

Darly Waddilove, D.D., Dean of Ripon, and died in 1797, leaving issue.

3. Penuel, who married, on 6th January 1776, Henry Mackenzie of the Exchequer in Scotland, author of the "Man of Feeling," and other popular works, and had issue. One of their sons became a Lord of Session under the title of Lord Mackenzie.
4. Mary, who died unmarried, on 12th December 1784.
5. Helen, who married, on 9th September 1773, Sir Alexander-Penrose-Cumming Gordon of Altyre and Gordonstoun, Baronet. When this match was announced to Mrs. Penuel Grant of Ballindalloch, the aunt of Helen Grant, she wrote to Penuel Grant, sister of Helen, on 31st August 1773: "I have not for a great while heard anything which gave me such joy, and it makes me particularly happy to hear he is a young man much to her brother's mind, which circumstance weights like heavy gold with me for hopes of success and good luck in every part in the intended match."[1] Lady Cumming died 1st January 1832, leaving issue.
6. Margaret, born in 1753. Died unmarried.
7. Elizabeth, who died unmarried on 27th March 1804.

[1] Original Letter at Castle Grant.

Lud Grant

Marion Dalrymple

My Dearest Yours

Marg. Grant

XVIII.—SIR JAMES GRANT OF GRANT, Baronet, commonly called "The good Sir James."

JANE DUFF (of Hatton), his wife.

1773–1811.

This Laird of Grant was one of the most amiable of his race, and is still affectionately remembered in Strathspey as "the good Sir James." His correspondence, which was very extensive, bears witness to his high character, his personal worth, benevolent disposition, and patriotic public spirit, which are also commemorated by the universal tradition of the country. His death was considered as a calamity to Strathspey, and his funeral, the largest ever seen in that country, was attended by miles of mourners, all testifying their devoted attachment to the chief whom they loved so dearly.

Of a family of twelve children which Lady Margaret Ogilvie bore to her husband, Sir James Grant was the only son. He was born on 19th May 1738. His father, Sir Ludovick Grant, while representative in Parliament for the county of Elgin from 1741 to 1761, resided much in London, and young James was educated at Westminster School. His studies were superintended by a tutor who lived with him, Mr. William Lorimer, an eminent scholar from Lord Findlater's country, who, not only then, but during the whole course of his life, took a warm interest in his pupil and all his affairs. Mr. Lorimer's letters to Sir Ludovick Grant, when he went north to Scotland, report the satisfactory progress of his pupil in his studies, and his exemplary conduct.

In what year James Grant first went to school has not been ascertained. The earliest reference to his education is in 1749, his eleventh year, when Mr. Lorimer wrote to Sir Ludovick of his son's proficiency, and the commencement of the holidays which the pupil and his tutor intended

SIR JAMES GRANT OF GRANT BARONET,

B. 19TH MAY 1738. M. JANUARY 1763. D. 18TH FEBRUARY 1811.

JANE DUFF OF HATTON

WIFE OF SIR JAMES GRANT OF GRANT BARONET.

M. JANUARY 1763. D. 15TH FEBRUARY 1805.

to spend at Kensington.[1] In 1754, he reached the sixth form under the care of Dr. Markham, regarding which the Earl of Findlater and Seafield wrote to Sir Ludovick on 8th June :—"Your son is in as good a way as you can desire, both as to health and strength, profiting in his learning, and growing in favour with Dr. Markham, and with all who know him. Since he got into the sixth form his diligence rather increases, and, I believe, in another year, he will be as well advanced in the Greek and Latin languages as any young gentleman of his standing, at the same time that he is improving in some other branches of knowledge likeways, and I do not observe him falling into any sort of bad practices."[2]

From Westminster the young Laird went to Cambridge, and while there was under the immediate tuition of Dr. Beilby Porteus, afterwards Bishop of Chester.[3] While at Westminster, Mr. Grant had formed a friendship with Thomas Robinson, afterwards second Baron Grantham. They were also fellow-students at Cambridge, and the friendship then contracted continued during the remainder of their lives. In obedience to his father's wishes, James Grant left Cambridge in January 1758, in order to complete his education by travelling on the Continent. This elicited a letter from Dr. Porteus to Sir Ludovick Grant, in which he regrets Mr. Grant's unexpected departure from the University. The writer commends his pupil's sweetness of temper and goodness of heart. Referring to Mr. Grant and his friend, Dr. Porteus says :—"They are as inseparable in my heart as in their friendship, and it is hard to say which deserves the most, when both deserve so much. Mr. Grant leaves behind him an unblemished character in the University, nor do I think there ever was any one of his rank and age more universally belov'd. . . . His conduct here gives the strongest assurance that he will acquit himself with equal applause in every other part of life. He will, I am convinc'd, be an honest, a sensible, and

[1] Original Letters at Castle Grant, dated in August 1749. After Mr. Lorimer retired from his office of tutor to Mr. Grant, he was allowed a life annuity of £100 by Sir Ludovick Grant. Mr. Lorimer died between 6th December 1764, when he made his will, and 15th March 1765, when it was proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury. The will contains the following legacy:—"I humbly entreat Mrs. Grant of Grant will accept of my best blood-stone seal, as a small testimony of my sincere and great regard for her and her amiable husband, formerly my pupil."—[Commissariot of Edinburgh Testaments, vol. 121, 28th June 1768.]

[2] Original Letter at Castle Grant.

[3] Letter from Dr. Porteus, 28th February 1756, *ibid.*

a benevolent man; and, if his great tenderness and sensibility doe not make him feel too deeply the miseries of others, he can want nothing but health (which I hope he will never want) to make him a happy man too."[1]

Mr. Grant went abroad in the same year in which he left Cambridge. He wrote to his father, from Geneva, on 20th December 1758, but his movements previous to that date, and for some time afterwards, cannot be clearly ascertained. From a book at Castle Grant, containing a few scattered notes of his journey, it appears that Mr. Grant left Geneva on 8th October 1759, on his way to Italy. He travelled by Annecy, Chambery, and other small towns, reaching Susa, near the foot of Mont Cenis, on 13th October. From Susa he went to Turin, and stayed in that town nearly a month, leaving it on 12th November for Genoa, where ten days were agreeably spent. From Genoa, the route was again northward to Milan, which was reached on 1st December. From Milan Mr. Grant seems to have proceeded to Florence, and thence to Naples, where he and his party arrived on 1st January 1760. How long Mr. Grant remained at Naples is not certain, for after recording visits to Mount Vesuvius, Pompeii, and other places of interest, the notes suddenly break off, without any reference to Rome, or his visit there. That Mr. Grant did pass some time in Rome is evident from a correspondence addressed by Abbé Peter Grant[2] to his young chief. The first letter, dated from Rome, 17th May 1760, regrets Mr. Grant's short stay in Rome, and expresses the Abbé's sincere regret at his departure, "there being in us Highlanders . . . a certain innate love and respect for our chiefs which never can be effaced."[3] The letters of the Abbé between May 1760 and 1765, contain frequent references to works of art, engravings, etc., purchased for Mr. Grant, and also to various pictures commissioned by him, among these being a large painting by Gavin Hamilton, a talented artist, representing the grief of Achilles over the death of Patroclus. The Abbé's letter announcing the completion of this work is dated 12th September 1763, and his opinion of the artist's produc-

[1] Original Letter, dated 10th January 1758, at Castle Grant.

[2] Abbé Grant was one of the family of Grant of Blairfindy. In June 1765, he wrote to Mr. Grant on behalf of his brothers, James and Alexander Grant, who leased Blairfindy from the Duke of Gordon. He also had a nephew a colonel in the French service, who took the title of Baron de Blairfindy.

[3] Original Letter at Castle Grant.

tion may be quoted. After stating that the picture was finished, he says, "All I shall say of it is that it is, without any comparison, by many degrees the best thing he has ever yet done; the composition is truely masterly, and the colouring is most delightfull. I call frequently to see it, and it never fails to enchant me. It is more than you can conceive superior to what he did on the death of Hector."[1] The picture contained seven full figures, besides several half figures, and was valued at 350 guineas.[2] Other details in this and others of the Abbé's letters, show that Mr. Grant had a love of art, and also a kind heart and liberal hand towards rising artists. He left Rome, with regret, in May 1760, and travelled homewards by Verona, Munich, etc., but of his northward journey there is no record.

Abbé Grant's letters, apart from what may be called a natural enthusiasm for his young chief, which shows itself in a tendency to flatter, give clear evidence that Mr. Grant, even when he was only twenty-two years old, made a favourable impression upon all with whom he came in contact. This evidence is corroborated by a letter from Mr. Grant himself, written on his journey homewards, and addressed to his intimate University friend, Mr. Robinson. The letter, which indicates a mind highly imbued with moral principles, is otherwise also worth quoting, as showing Mr. Grant's high ideal of the duties and responsibilities of a member of Parliament, for which in his sojourn on the Continent it was intended by his father he should prepare himself.

After dwelling on the pleasure of Mr. Robinson's friendship, and expressing a hope that it might continue amid all differences of opinion, Mr. Grant says: "Reflecting upon these things, a thought struck me to examine narrowly into the character most consistent with the man of honour as representative of his country in the House of Commons. Many

[1] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 537. In reference to this second picture, Mr. Cumming of Altyre, on 8th April 1776, writes to Sir James Grant, "You 'll be pleased to hear I am now the possessor of Hamilton's famous picture of 'Andromache lamenting the death of Hector;' 'twas knocked down to me at a sale of Lord Grosvenor's pictures, for 35 pieces; when 'twas knocked out, people stood astonished; it certainly is as extraordinary a thing as ever happened. I have allowed it to remain a few days at Christie's, for the entertainment of the curious." [Letter at Castle Grant.]

[2] When the picture arrived in London, Mr. Grant's uncle, the Earl of Findlater and Seafield, wrote to him, begging that the work, which was said to be "finely executed," might be shown at the Exhibition of Paintings. Mr. Grant's reply has not been found, but no doubt the picture was exhibited. It is now at Cullen House. It was engraved, and a copy of the engraving is at Castle Grant.

are the duties to which he is bound, and it requires great learning as well as principle to put them always in execution. When we cannot absolutely reach that, let us at least do our utmost. He should have studied thoroughly the real advantages or disadvantages that attend every form of Government. He should consider what laws, what method of levying taxes, in short everything that regards the internal police is most consistent with each, what laws are suitable to the commercial and what to the warlike nation, how far to an extensive or small dominion; he should be master of the law of nations in general, as well as of those particular treaties which subsist between different powers. He should be capable of distinguishing when it is necessary to incline the balance towards the executive part of the Government and when to the people, as he should curb the licentiousness of the latter and ambition of the former, which, if the legislative power does not do their duty, are equally apt to encroach and endanger the constitution. He should consider any bill that is offer'd in Parliament in the most extensive light, weigh all its consequences, and be carefull least in endeavouring to remedy any small disadvantage he should introduce a precedent which may be detrimental in the main. In short, every great quality that our nature is capable of, ought to be aimed at by him. He should be a father to his family and tenants, a sincere and true friend, a modest and open companion; he should be as cool and unprejudiced in his determinations, as expeditious and resolute in executing them; to sum up his character in a few words, he should be slave to his *country* and subject to his *king*, and friend to all mankind."[1]

With this lofty view of what a statesman and patriot should be, Mr. Grant entered on public life. He made it the standard of his own conduct, and how successfully he strove to act up to it is evinced in the memories cherished of him, and will also appear in the following pages. In this endeavour he was greatly aided by his wife.

This lady was Jane Duff, only daughter and heiress of Alexander Duff of Hatton, by Lady Anne, eldest daughter of William Duff, first Earl Fife. Their marriage-contract was signed at Bath on 4th January 1763, and the ceremony was performed on the same day at that then fashionable resort.

[1] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 431.

Founded on mutual affection, this marriage proved a very happy one. Following the example of the first Sir James Grant, Sir Ludovick shortly afterwards gave up the active management of the Grant estates to his son.

After his marriage, Mr. Grant resided chiefly at Castle Grant, and devoted himself to the interests of his large estates and numerous tenantry, whose prosperity was his constant care. Letters written by him, or in his name, about this period show how anxious he was that good cultivation of land, after the best models, should prevail on the Grant estates, not only for his own sake, but as leading to improved manners and a higher civilisation. In 1765 and 1766, he set about carrying into effect a project which he had much at heart,—the founding of the town of Grantown, which became what has been called the capital of Strathspey.

From a paper drawn up about 1792 for the information of the Highland Society of Scotland, then lately established, and of which Sir James was one of the original members, it would appear that the site of the village was marked out in lots, in the year 1766, upon a barren heath moor. Some of these lots were built on during the same year, and others had since been occupied. Sir James Grant had expended above £5000 sterling in promoting the growth and welfare of the place. Every encouragement had been given to various kinds of trade. In special, a linen manufactory had been started, and an establishment for wool-combing and making stockings. These were still carried on in 1792, but not so vigorously as formerly. Sir James Grant had also erected a town-house and jail, and, at considerable expense, had introduced water into the village, built a good stone bridge, and laid out roads in various directions. He had also erected apparatus for a bleachfield which had been converted into a lint mill, and tenants renewing their leases were taken bound to sow lint-seed. In 1792 the village is described as being in a thriving condition, with a number of resident tradesmen, a school for girls, a physician, etc. The population was estimated at above 300, many being in easy circumstances.[1] For his exertions and public spirit in this matter, Sir James Grant claimed the premium offered by the Highland Society to those who promoted improvements.

[1] Draft Memorial to Highland Society, at Castle Grant.

Mr. Grant himself prepared a series of regulations for the village of Grantown providing for cleanliness, proper fencing of the various holdings, and care of the march fences, repair of broken windows, etc., also against immorality, under penalties of five shillings for each offence.[1] Among other schemes for the welfare of the inhabitants, Mr. Grant projected a school or "asylum for the education of children," in which, apparently, not only an ordinary English education was to be given, but the children were to be instructed in various arts and trades. This plan, however, was discouraged by Lord Kames, who suggested to Mr. Grant that the preferable mode of giving technical instruction would be found in filling the town "with the best artists that work in such things, for which there was a demand in the Highlands, wheel-wrights, plough-wrights, house carpenters, etc., smiths, masons, weavers," and his Lordship promised aid from the Annexed Estates' fund to provide for apprenticing children to such trades. He advised Mr. Grant against being too precipitate in his schemes.[2]

Of the village of Grantown in 1785, Mrs. Grant of Laggan, authoress of "Letters from the Mountains," thus writes:—"Strathspey is quite a civilised country compared to this (Laggan), and has a good neat village in it, where the father of the district has been cherishing some exotic manufactures, which do not seem to find the soil congenial. In fact a Highlander never sits at ease at a loom; 'tis like putting a deer in the plough."[3] The same writer, in a later work, repeats her statements as to the unfitness of Highlanders for a manufacturing calling, and deprecates enforced residence in villages, while, at the same time, she pays a high tribute to the memory of Sir James Grant, then lately deceased.[4]

After his efforts had brought the village of Grantown into a thriving condition, Mr. Grant resolved to extend similar advantages to his dependants in Urquhart, and in 1769 he had plans prepared for the erection of a town there, to be called Lewistown. The site selected was a moor near the Castle of Urquhart, and the town was to consist of one great street about sixty feet wide, and other smaller streets about twenty-four feet

[1] Draft Regulations at Castle Grant.

[2] Letter dated 31st August 1767, vol. ii. of this work, p. 450.

[3] Letters from the Mountains, vol. ii. p. 103.

[4] Essays on the Superstitions of the Highlanders, 1811, vol. ii. pp. 142-151.

wide, the lots to be smaller than those in Grantown, as there was less space available. It would appear that various parties in the neighbourhood had been dispossessed of their holdings by a new set of leases, and Mr. Grant indicates his desire to prefer them to possessions in the proposed town. Every encouragement was to be given to tradesmen, and the terms of occupation were to be economically stated, so that "the poorest individual, provided he is a man of good character, may be settled, and have an opportunity of maintaining his family, availing himself of his industry, and bringing up his children in such a manner as to be of use to themselves and their country."[1]

On the death of his father, Sir Ludovick Grant, on 18th March 1773, Sir James Grant succeeded to the Grant title and estates. From that time, for many years, Sir James maintained an even course of life, making no obtrusive figure in public affairs, but yet ready to do his duty to the party he supported. While in Parliament as representative of the county of Moray from 1761 to 1768, Sir James supported the Government of Mr. Pitt, and he was the friend and correspondent of Mr. Dundas, afterwards Lord Melville. Much of his attention was also given to his estates, with a view to improving the state of agriculture in Strathspey and Urquhart. Notwithstanding Sir James Grant's earnest desire that all his dependants should be comfortable, matters did not altogether work smoothly. In 1780 a correspondent of Sir James Grant comments on the turbulent state of the district of Urquhart, and also on the difficulties encountered there and in Strathspey, in obtaining punctual payment of rents.[2] A few months previous, on 16th December 1779, Mr. Macgregor, Sir James Grant's factor, had been stabbed in the side just after a rent collection. No cause was assigned for the assault, except, apparently, that the assailant (Allan Grant) was intoxicated.[3] The factor recovered, and Allan Grant was tried before the Circuit Court, but received a comparatively light punishment.[4]

Sir James Grant's efforts for the good of his estates were much hindered by the large encumbrances which burdened his property. These

[1] Draft scheme as to Lewistown, *c.* 1769, at Castle Grant.

[2] Letter dated 4th May 1780, vol. ii. of this work, p. 469.

[3] Letters at Castle Grant.

[4] Letter dated 17th June 1780, vol. ii. of this work, p. 471.

were inherited by him with the Grant estates, the first accumulation having begun with the great-grandfather of Sir James, Ludovick Grant of Grant, who was declared by the Scots Parliament of 1695 to have incurred a loss of £150,486 Scots, or about £12,540 sterling, in the service of the Government.[1] To this burden were added further expenses sustained in 1715 by Brigadier-General Grant, and in 1745 by Sir Ludovick Grant, amounting in each case to nearly £2000 sterling. This heavy debt due by the Government was in 1785 estimated to amount with interest to £71,800. With such a charge upon the estates, and the lawful debts due by his father, Sir Ludovick Grant, and himself, Sir James Grant found himself in 1774, the year after his succession to his ancestral domains, with an estate, the supposed value of which was £123,100, while the charges upon it amounted to upwards of £130,000. The yearly rental of the lands was in money £6652, while the interest payable, added to the expenses of management, reached £6750, thus making an annual balance of £97 against Sir James.[2]

Such a condition of affairs might have overwhelmed any ordinary man, or indeed most men. But the heroic character of Sir James Grant, uniting, as it did, some of the sterner with the gentler virtues, enabled him not only to face and endure his difficulties, but ultimately to overcome them. He gradually redeemed wadsets on his Strathspey lands as they expired. As a chief means of relief, Sir James determined to sell all the outlying portions of his possessions, retaining in the family only their territories in Strathspey. It is stated also that when he discovered the true state of his affairs, he voluntarily gave up his seat in Parliament for the county of Elgin to avoid the expense of living in London with his family, being resolved to submit to every inconvenience, and to adopt the strictest economy, in the view of doing full justice to his father's creditors.[3]

The estates sold between 1774 and 1785 were Moy, Mulben, Westfield, Dunphail, and Achmades, lands then representing a value of £52,500. There had previously been sold by his father, Sir Ludovick, and his grand-

[1] Vol. iii. of this work, p. 482.

[2] State of Affairs, dated 1774, at Castle Grant.

[3] Memorandum by Colquhoun Grant, W.S., Edinburgh, agent for Sir James, 22d May 1782, at Castle Grant.

father, the first Sir James, the estates of Pluscardine, Allachie, Allanbuie, Ballintomb, and Arndilly for £24,000. The total land sales of Grant estates amounted to £76,500, which, with £20,000, the price of Lady Grant's own estate, also sold, made the whole sales £96,500.

The law-agent of the family, in a state of the sales of land, dated November 1785, takes a gloomy view of the Grant affairs, by adding, "the plain consequence is, that the family of Grant has been ruined by the Revolution, and by its constant and uniform adherence to Revolution principles, and the present royal family during the rebellions of 1715 and 1745." [1]

But while Sir James Grant did not hesitate to part with a large portion of his possessions to disencumber the Grant estates, he made strenuous effort to obtain from Government some compensation for the large sums expended by his family in the public service. Yet, though the justice of the claim had been admitted by successive administrations, and various small sums as arrears of feu-duties and bishops' rents had been from time to time remitted to him, Sir James experienced no little difficulty in obtaining any substantial recognition from Government. In the words of his friend Lord Grantham, "Lord North (then Premier) was difficult to deal with, and without parliamentary interest applications were not much attended to." [2]

Sir James Grant's brother-in-law, Mr. Henry Mackenzie, author of the

[1] In Sir James Grant's management of his estates, he was much assisted by his law-agents, all of whom were prominent in their profession, and merit a short notice. They were—(1.) Lachlan Grant of Gartenbeg, writer in Edinburgh, who acted as agent for Sir James's father and grandfather, and who has already been referred to as the writer of the account of the part taken by the Laird of Grant in the suppression of the rebellion in 1745. (2.) Ludovick Grant, a writer in Edinburgh, who was the chief legal adviser of Sir James Grant, after the death of Lachlan Grant. (3.) Colquhoun Grant, W.S., who chiefly aided Sir James in his affairs between 1773 and 1788, was a well-known figure in Edinburgh society. His portrait and several curious anecdotes of his life are preserved in Kay's Biographical Sketches, vol. i. pp. 418-422. (4.) Isaac Grant, W.S., Edinburgh (also commemorated by Kay, vol. ii. pp. 147-149), was a son of John Grant in Ballintomb, and grandson of William Grant of Lurg. He was thus a descendant of the Grant family itself. Isaac Grant was a man of high character as a lawyer and conveyancer. He was long clerk to the Commissioners of Teinds, and died 27th December 1794. (5.) Alexander Grant, W.S., who was partner in business with Mr. Isaac Grant, W.S. (6.) Alexander Innes of Breda, an advocate, and commissary of the Commissariot of Aberdeen. The correspondence which Sir James Grant carried on with his different agents was both extensive and arduous, owing to the complicated state of his affairs.

[2] Letter, dated 12th May 1781, vol. ii. of this work, p. 474.

"Man of Feeling," interested himself deeply in this matter of the compensation, and had interviews with more than one influential person on the subject. Mr. Mackenzie's own opinion, which was confirmed by others, was that Sir James Grant could not expect "*specific compensation* for any claim whatsoever;" his petition was of so old a date that it was considered not to come properly before the Treasury as an official matter, but rather as a fit subject to be considered by the King as a matter of favour.[1] At a later date, Mr. Mackenzie advised that Sir James Grant should name a sum to be accepted in full of his claims.[2] These were submitted to the Barons of the Exchequer in Scotland to be reported on, and they reported that Sir James had a just claim for £12,540, for which no compensation had been made, save occasional releases of feu-duties, etc. Mr. Mackenzie suggested that Sir James should, in default of a fixed sum, accept as compensation an office or pension of £500 or £600 yearly.[3] The Grant papers and correspondence do not clearly show the result, but it is probable that the appointment of general cashier of the Excise for Scotland conferred upon and accepted by Sir James Grant in 1795, was intended as compensation for the losses of the family.

After his appointment to that office, Sir James Grant resided much in Edinburgh. At first he and his family occupied a house in the Canongate, at least from the year 1776 till 1783, if not later, but afterwards he removed to No. 64 Queen Street, a large and commodious mansion, which was subsequently for many years the town house of the Earls of Wemyss. In the time of Sir James Grant a large portion of the West Gardens in Queen Street was attached to the house as a garden and park.

In making his tour of the Highlands in the year 1787, Robert Burns paid a fleeting visit to Castle Grant, whither his fame had preceded him. The poet's own account of his journey, as contained in a letter to his brother Gilbert from Edinburgh, on 17th September 1787, is very short. He announces his arrival in the city after a tour of twenty-two days, his "farthest stretch was about ten miles beyond Inverness." He visited Crieff, Taymouth, Dunkeld, and Blair Athole. From the latter place he

[1] Letter dated 12th May 1781, vol. ii. of this work, p. 474.
[2] Letter, 22d August 1784, *ibid.* p. 484. [3] *Ibid.*

My dear Sir Sam.s, Edin.r 24 Aug.t 1787

This will be delivered by the Bard of Airshire Mr Burns, of whom you have heard a good deal, & with whom Louis was acquainted here. He is also charged with a Box directed for Miss Grant, I presume Miss Eliza, which came some time ago in the English Stage Coach & was omitted to be sent by Mr Laren — It consists of such light Materials as Poets sometimes present Ladies with. Mr Burns is accompanied in his Northern Tour by Mr Nicol with whom I have not the honor of being acquainted, but Louis, I presume, has a very pleasing Remembrance of him. You will find Burns not less uncommon in Conversation than in his Poetry, clever intelligent & observant, with remarkable Acuteness & Independence of Mind, the last indeed to a Degree that sometimes prejudices People against him,

tho

tho he has on the whole met with amazing Patronage & Encouragement. Louis will shew him the Lions of M. Grant; and as he is an Enthusiast about the "fortia facta Patrum" let him not forget, as in the case of L^d Monboddo, to shew him the large Gun.

Penie still holds out, tis very well settled in Brown Square whither we removed immediately after Dinner on the Day you set out. We hope you have by this Time finished your Journey successfully & found all well at home. Our Love to all.

Yrs most affectly
Henry Mackenzie

Sir James Grant of Grant
Bart
Castlegrant

(favor of
Mr Burns)

travelled "many miles through a wild country, among cliffs grey with eternal snows, and gloomy savage glens, till I crossed Spey, and went down the stream through Strathspey, so famous in Scottish music, Badenoch, etc., till I reached Grant Castle, where I spent half a day with Sir James Grant and family; and then crossed the country to Fort George,"[1] etc. In his Journal of his tour in the Highlands, Burns notices his visit to Castle Grant: "Strathspey, rich and romantic. Breakfast at Aviemore, a wild spot. Dine at Sir James Grant's. Lady Grant, a sweet pleasant body. Came through mist and darkness to Dalsie to lie." Burns was introduced to Sir James Grant by the following letter from Mr. Henry Mackenzie, which is also reproduced here in facsimile :—

Edinburgh, 24th August 1787.

My dear Sir James,—This will be delivered by the Bard of Airshire, Mr. *Burns*, of whom you have heard a good deal, and with whom Louis was acquainted here. He is also charged with a box directed for Miss Grant, I presume Miss Eliza, which came some time ago in the English stage coach, and was omitted to be sent by M^c^Laren. It consists of such light materials as poets sometimes present ladies with. Mr. Burns is accompanied in his northern tour by Mr. Nicol, with whom I have not the honour of being acquainted, but Louis, I presume, has a very feeling remembrance of him. You will find Burns not less uncommon in conversation than in his poetry, clever, intelligent, and observant, with remarkable acuteness and independence of mind, the last indeed to a degree that sometimes prejudices people against him, tho' he has on the whole met with amazing patronage and encouragement. Louis will show him the lions of Castle Grant; and as he is an enthusiast about the *fortia facta patrum*, let him not forget, as in the case of Lord Montboddo, to show him the large gun.

Penie still holds out, and is very well settled in Broun Square, whither we removed immediately after dinner on the day you set out. We hope you have by this time finished your journey successfully, and found all well at home. Our love to all.

Yours most affectionately,

Henry Mackenzie.

Sir James Grant of Grant, Baronet, Castle Grant,
per favor of Mr. Burns.

A few days later Mr. Mackenzie wrote again, referring to Mr. Burns's intended visit, and advising Sir James that the poet and his fellow-traveller "were to make a pretty long circuit by Stirling, etc."[2]

[1] Works of Rev. John Skinner, vol. ii. p. 105.

[2] Original Letter, dated 30th August 1787, at Castle Grant.

When, in 1793, France declared war against Britain, Sir James Grant's patriotism led him to be one of the first to make offer to the King of a regiment of fencibles. His offer was at once accepted, and, on Sir James appealing to his tenants and dependants to make good his engagements, so readily was he responded to, that in little more than three months after the declaration of war,[1] and less than two after the date of the warrant for raising the regiment, the Strathspey or Grant Fencibles, as they were called, mustered at Forres in full strength. The regiment, as authorised by Royal warrant, was appointed to consist of eight companies, each composed of three sergeants, three corporals, two drummers, and sixty private men, with two pipers attached to the grenadier company, and the regiment had also a sergeant-major and quartermaster-sergeant, with the usual commissioned officers. The regiment thus numbered about 500 men in addition to the officers, and it was stipulated that it was not to be sent out of Great Britain." [2]

Though the first muster of the Grant Fencibles took place in April 1793, it was not until the 5th of June that the regiment was finally inspected and embodied by Lieutenant-General Leslie.[3] The men were not all natives of the Highlands, some being drafted from the Lowlands of Scotland, while three were Englishmen, and two Irish. In August 1793, they were marched to Aberdeen, and were successively quartered in most of the principal towns in the south of Scotland, including Glasgow, Paisley, Linlithgow, Dumfries, etc. The general appearance of the regiment has been handed down to posterity in the collection of etchings made by John Kay, the well-known miniature painter and caricaturist in Edinburgh.[4] In his work the regiment is depicted in full Highland costume, drawn up in line, and receiving the word of command from Sir James Grant himself, who was their colonel. The etching represents the Grant Fencibles as a fine-looking body of men, and though their bearing is nowhere described in military annals, their appearance seems to have favourably impressed the inhabitants of the places where they were stationed. One local bard has

[1] War was declared on 1st February 1793.

[2] Printed copies Royal Warrant, dated 1st March 1793, at Castle Grant.

[3] Stewart's Sketches of the Highlanders, vol. ii. p. 312.

[4] Kay's Portraits, vol. i. p. 277.

recorded the effect produced by the Grants on the minds of the Paisley dames, and that the comparisons made betwixt the fencibles and a troop of horse who succeeded to their quarters, were very unfavourable to the cavalry. The Paisley bard's lines are more forcible than refined, and the first verse will suffice as a specimen :—

> There came the Grants into this town,
> They were all stout and gallant men,
> Their Commanders were of high renown
> As ever came to Paisley town.
> With a Fa, la, la, etc.[1]

After remaining for a time at Paisley, the Grant Fencibles are said to have marched to Dumfries, where, according to a chronicle quoted in Kay's Sketches, they took part in the "only *warlike* affray that occurred in Scotland during the whole volunteer and fencible era," and which is thus narrated :—"On the evening of the 9th June (1795) the civil magistrates of Dumfries applied to the commanding officer of the 1st Fencibles for a party to aid in apprehending some Irish tinkers, who were in a house about a mile and a half from the town. On the party's approaching the house and requiring admittance, the tinkers fired on them, and wounded Sergeant Beaton very severely in the head and groin ; John Grant, a grenadier, in both legs ; and one Fraser of the light company in the arm : the two last were very much hurt, the tinkers' arms being loaded with rugged slugs and small bullets. The party pushed on to the house ; and, though they had suffered so severly, abstained from bayoneting them (the tinkers) when they called for mercy. One man, and two women in men's clothes, were brought in prisoners. Two men, in the darkness of the night, made their escape ; but one of them was apprehended and brought in next morning, and a party went out upon information to apprehend the other. Fraser's arm received the whole charge, which it is believed saved his heart. Beaton, it is expected, will soon recover."[2] The sequel of the affair, however, was that one of the soldiers died of his wounds ; the leader of the tinkers, named John O'Neill, was

[1] MS. verses at Castle Grant, said to be "composed at Paisley on the Grant Fencible Regiment."

[2] Contemporary Chronicle quoted in Kay's Portraits, vol. i. p. 278.

brought to Edinburgh, tried, and condemned to be hanged, though he was defended by the celebrated advocate, Henry Erskine, but his sentence was commuted.

Shortly after the affair with the tinkers, and while the regiment was still at Dumfries, an unhappy state of insubordination broke out, which ended in the execution of two of the fencibles. Some of the men had been put in confinement and threatened with punishment, which then meant flogging. Such an indignity was so abhorrent to the mind of the Highlanders, that a party of them defied their officers and released the prisoners. At the first appearance of a mutinous spirit among the men, Sir James Grant was informed of the occurrence. He hastened to the regiment to put matters right, but he arrived too late, and the flagrant breach of military discipline which had taken place could not be overlooked. The regiment was marched to Musselburgh, and five men were tried and found guilty of mutiny. One, a corporal, was pardoned, and of the four others, who were privates, two were finally ordered for execution, which took place at Gullane Links on 16th July 1795, in the presence of all the regular and volunteer troops in the neighbourhood. After this affair the regiment, it it is said, was quiet, orderly, and attentive to duty, but their service was not of long duration.

In the royal warrant for raising the regiment it was stipulated that it should not be sent out of Great Britain, and the service of the Scotch fencible regiments was strictly confined to Scotland. But while the Grant Fencibles were stationed at Linlithgow in 1794, it was proposed to employ the men in service in England and Ireland. With a view to ascertain the feeling of the soldiers themselves, orders were directed to be issued to this effect, but misunderstandings arose and the proposal was abandoned.

In 1799 it was resolved to discharge all fencible regiments whose service did not extend beyond Scotland, and the Grant Fencibles were therefore disbanded, with several other regiments on the same footing.[1]

Sir James Grant's zeal for the service of the Government did not confine itself to raising troops who were to serve only within Scotland, but took a wider range. As soon as his fencibles were embodied, he proceeded

[1] Stewart's Sketches, vol. ii. p. 315 ; Kay's Portraits, vol. i. p. 279.

to raise a regiment for general service. This, however, was a more arduous undertaking, and, though the number of men required was quickly made up, they were not of the same high character as those composing the fencibles. The regiment was embodied at Elgin, and numbered the 97th. They served for a few months as marines on board Lord Howe's fleet in the Channel; but, in 1795, the men and officers were drafted into other regiments, and the two flank companies, consisting of the best men, went to form part of the 42d or Black Watch, then about to embark for the West Indies.[1]

As Lord Lieutenant of Inverness, an office to which he was appointed in 1794, Sir James Grant had also much correspondence with the Government as to the militia and volunteer companies.[2] The north of Scotland was divided into districts, each of which furnished one or more companies. The correspondence began in 1794, and enrolments were made in Badenoch, Rothiemurchus, and other places, in that year. The "Strathspey Volunteers" continued till 1815, when they were disbanded. On that occasion they were addressed by one of their chief officers, Major John Grant, Auchterblair, in Gaelic, who commended them highly for the alacrity with which they had come forward to the service, and for their good conduct while embodied. To this speech a sergeant replied, "We are ready to go to Paris with you, major, and we'll beat Buonaparte there."[3]

When he accepted the office of General Receiver and Cashier of the Excise in Scotland in 1795, Sir James Grant resigned his seat in Parliament, which he had occupied since 1790, as representative of the county of Banff. Between 1795 and 1811, the year of his death, Sir James Grant's life was comparatively retired, though he acted as Lord Lieutenant of Inverness, only resigning that office into the hands of the king in 1809.

To the great grief of her husband and family, Lady Grant, who had been the happy partner of Sir James for nearly half a century, died somewhat suddenly at Castle Grant, on 15th February 1805.[4] She is described as of character "too amiable not to acquire for her general esteem when

[1] Stewart's Sketches, vol. ii. pp. 215, 216.

[2] Letters at Castle Grant.

[3] This anecdote is furnished by Sir Patrick Grant, Governor of the Royal Hospital, Chelsea, son of Major Grant, who was present on the occasion.

[4] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 281.

alive, and general regret and lamentation when dead. In every condition of life she was a pattern to her sex. She was modest without affectation; she knew how to stoop without sinking, and to gain people's affections without losing their regard. Her piety was exemplary, and her charity universal. In a word, she was truly wise, truly honourable, and truly good."[1]

Although Sir James survived Lady Grant for six years, and bore his sore bereavement with christian resignation, he seems virtually to have ceased to take any part in public life after her death. He died on 18th February 1811, at Castle Grant, and was buried at Duthil, though his ancestors, for several generations, had been interred at Holyrood. In religion Sir James was a Presbyterian, and he regularly attended his own parish churches of Cromdale and Inverallan. Had Sir James lived eight months longer, he would have succeeded his cousin as fifth Earl of Seafield —the fourth Earl having died on 5th October 1811, when Sir James's eldest son, Sir Lewis, succeeded as Earl of Seafield. A contemporary journal, while recording the death of Sir James Grant, adds a panegyric, which sufficiently shows the high estimation in which he was held by his countrymen.

"The virtues of Sir James, as an individual, will long be cherished in the recollection of his friends; the excellence of his public character will be not less warmly remembered in the district over which he presided,—presided not so much by holding the property of the soil, as by possessing the attachment, the gratitude, and the confidence of its inhabitants. He had all the affections, without any of the pride, or any of the harshness of feudal superiority, and never forgot, in attention to his own interests, or in the improvement of his extensive estates, the interests or the comforts of the people. Amidst the varied situations, and some of the severe trials of life, he was uniformly guided by rectitude of principle, benevolence of disposition, and the most fervent, though rational piety. From these he derived support and resignation during the long progress of a painful disease, and felt their best consolations at the close of a life devoted to his family, his friends, his dependants, and his country."[2]

[1] Shaw's Moray, 1826, p. 41.

[2] The Edinburgh Evening Courant, February 28, 1811.

Mrs. Grant of Laggan, in her work, already referred to, on the Superstitions of the Highlanders, published a few months after Sir James Grant's death, thus refers to him:—"His native Strath still mourns the recent loss of a chief, who, with all the polish of the best modern manners, and all the meekness of the best Christian principles, retained as much of the affections of his people, and as entire controul over them, as was ever possessed by any patriarch or hero of antiquity, in the like circumstances. Gentleness and humanity were his distinguishing characteristics: yet his displeasure was as terrible to his people as that of the most ferocious leader of the ancient clans could have been to his followers. Banishment from the domains of such a paternal ruler was in itself most terrible: but here it was aggravated by disgrace; as his well-known probity and lenity warranted the inference, that it was no small misdemeanour that occasioned so heavy an infliction. . . . How pleasing to trace the wide and deep effects of those quiet, unpretending virtues more felt at home than heard of abroad, that made his people happy! How rich is the incense of praise that rises round his grave, from sincere and sorrowful hearts! and how superfluous to add, 'Peace be to his manes!'

'Farewell, pure spirit! vain the praise we give;
The praise you sought, from lips angelic flows.
Farewell, the virtues that deserve to live—
Deserve a nobler bliss than life bestows!'"[1]

The same authoress in the year 1803 published a volume of poems, in which there is one inscribed to Sir James Grant, the theme of which is himself as the Patriot Chief. The poem is printed at the end of this memoir of Sir James.

Colonel David Stewart of Garth, who wrote in 1822, also paid a tribute to the worth of Sir James Grant. He says, "This good man and patriarchal chief lived at Castle Grant, respected and beloved by all around him." Colonel Stewart further applies to Sir James the character bestowed by Lord Clarendon in his History upon King Charles the First, "He was the worthiest gentleman, the best master, the best friend, the best husband,

[1] Essays on the Superstitions of the Highlanders, 1811, vol. ii. pp. 151-154.

the best father, and the best Christian, of the district to which he was an honour and a blessing."[1]

Sir James and Lady Grant had a large family of seven sons and seven daughters. Of these several died young. The sons were—

1. Lewis Alexander, born 22d March 1767, who succeeded his father in the Grant estates in 1811, and in the same year succeeded his cousin, as heir-general to the title and estates of the fourth Earl of Seafield. Of him a brief memoir follows.
2. Alexander, "second son," the exact date of whose birth has not been ascertained, but who died in infancy on 21st March 1772.
3. James Thomas, born in August 1776, was educated at Richmond, near London; went to India in 1792. He became a magistrate at Furruckabad, and in 1801 was appointed Registrar of the Provincial Court at Benares.[2] He died in India, unmarried, on 28th July 1804.
4. The Honourable Francis-William, born 6th March 1778. In 1840 he succeeded his eldest brother in the Grant and Seafield estates, and also as sixth Earl of Seafield. A short memoir of him follows.
5. The Honourable Robert Henry, occasionally described as "fourth son," born 5th August 1783. He died, unmarried, on 11th February 1862.
6. Alexander-Hope, born in August 1784, died 22d August 1793.
7. Dundas-Charles, youngest son, born 21st October 1787, died 21st March 1788.

The daughters were :—

1. Lady[3] Anne Margaret, born 1764, died unmarried, at Grant Lodge, Elgin, on 23d November 1827, and her remains were interred in the family vault at Duthil church. Lady Anne figured prominently in the raid of the Strathspey Highlanders, who marched

[1] Stewart's Sketches of the Highlanders, vol. ii. p. 310.

[2] Vol. ii. of this work, pp. 517, 521.

[3] On 3d July 1822, King George the Fourth advanced the brothers and sisters of Lewis Alexander, then Earl of Seafield, to the same rank which they would have attained had their father, Sir James Grant, lived to be Earl of Seafield.

to Elgin for her relief in the year 1820, during a keen election contest. Of that formidable demonstration an interesting account is subjoined to this memoir, furnished for this work by a gallant General who took part in the campaign.

2. Lady Margaret, who married, 10th June 1795, Major-General Francis Stuart of Lesmurdie, and had issue. She died in 1830, and was buried at Elgin.
3. Jane, born 1st March 1774. She died at Grant Lodge, Elgin, 22d May 1819, aged 45, unmarried, and was interred in the family vault at Duthil church.
4. Lady Penuel, died, on 27th January 1844, unmarried.
5. Christina Teresa, died at Grant Lodge, Elgin, 16th July 1793, unmarried.
6. Magdalen, a daughter, living in 1796, unmarried.
7. Mary Sophia, died 26th February 1788, unmarried.

POEM ON SIR JAMES GRANT BY MRS. GRANT OF LAGGAN.

WHILE on the meadowy banks of *Spey*,
Slow steals along the rural muse,
And sees the bordering flowers display
Their native sweets and vernal hues:

And while she casts her pensive view
Where bold *Craigillachy* aspires,
Now deck'd with heath-bells fresh with dew,
Where blaz'd of old the warning fires:

With glowing heart and trembling hand
She strives to wake the plausive lay;
And wide o'er all her native land
The voice of grateful truth convey.

And while she consecrates the strain,
To worth beyond her humble praise,
The genius of thy native plain
Will smile indulgent on her lays.

Oh, form'd to prove each feeling dear
That heightens joy and sweetens care,—
The tender Parent, Friend sincere,
The Consort blest beyond compare:

The Patriot Chief, who dwells belov'd
Among the race his fathers sway'd;
Who, long his country's friend approv'd,
Retires in peace to bless the shade.

Who when the dreadful blast of war
With horror fill'd the regions round,
His willing people call'd from far,
With wakening pipe of martial sound:

The valiant clan, on every side,
With sudden warlike ardour burns;
And views those long-lov'd homes with pride,
Whose loss no exil'd native mourns.

From every mountain, strath, and glen,
The rustic warriors crowded round;
The Chief who rules the hearts of men
In safety dwells, with honour crown'd.

"For thee (they cried) dear native earth,
We gladly dare the battle's roar;
Our kindred ties, our sacred hearth,
Returning peace will soon restore.

No ruthless, mercenary swains
Shall ever quench our social fires;
Our labour on our narrow plains
Shall feed our babes and hoary sires.

And when each tender pledge we leave,
Our parent Chief, with guardian care,
Shall soothe their woes, their wants relieve,
And save the mourners from despair."

Beneath his mild paternal sway,
The pow'r of cultivation smiles,
And swelling, proud, impetuous *Spey*
Rejoices, while the peasant toils:

To see his banks on every side
With crowding population teem,
And cultur'd fields their yellow pride
Reflecting in his copious stream.

Well pleas'd he wanders near the dome
Where every milder virtue dwells;
Where all the gentler graces bloom,
And Painting speaks, and Music swells.

When frosts untimely check'd the spring,
And blasting mildews hover'd o'er,
And cheerful Labour ceas'd to sing,
And Plenty deck'd the plains no more:

To G[rant] she gave her teeming horn,
Well pleas'd he pour'd the bounteous store,
And Want no longer wept forlorn,
And fruitless Labour mourn'd no more.

To Woe, while Pity yields relief,
While Truth adorns the plausive lay,
Our vows shall bless the Patriarch Chief
Who rules the grateful banks of *Spey*.

MARCH OF THE STRATHSPEY HIGHLANDERS TO ELGIN IN 1820.

Lady Anne Grant was a lady of great personal beauty and accomplishments, and was looked up to with pride by every one on the wide-extended estates of Grant, and especially by the Highlanders of Strathspey, where from her infancy she had been well known and almost idolised. Proof of this was given in a remarkable manner in 1820, during a contested election of a Member of Parliament for the Burghs of Elgin, Inverurie, Banff, Kintore, and Cullen, commonly known as the Elgin burghs. In Elgin particularly, where Lewis Earl of Seafield, with his sisters Anne, Margaret, and Penuel, resided at their mansion of Grant Lodge, political feeling ran high. The contest lay between Mr. Farquharson of Finzean, brought forward by Lord Kintore to represent the burghs, and supported by the Earl of Seafield's interest, on one side, and General Duff, backed by Lord Fife, on the other, and the burghers of Elgin strongly favoured the cause of the latter. During the heat of the election the Grant ladies dared scarcely appear on the streets of the town without being annoyed by the rabble. Such conduct the high-spirited Lady Anne could ill brook, and on the morning of Sunday, 12th March, she communicated to her friends in Strathspey intelligence of the treatment to which she and her sisters were being subjected. What followed may be given in the words of one who was an eye-witness and actor in the proceedings.[1] Grant Lodge was completely beleaguered by the towns people, who were all on the Fife side—not a soul was allowed to go in or out of the house, and those of the Town Council who were favourable to Colonel Grant were carried across the Firth to Sutherlandshire in an open boat, frightening the poor bodies out of their lives. Lady Anne contrived the escape of one of her grooms

[1] General Sir Patrick Grant, Governor of the Royal Hospital, Chelsea, who has, at the age of 78, furnished an account of this episode with his own hand. At the time of the raid to Elgin he was only a boy of fifteen years. But although in the intervening period he has risen to high distinction in the military service of his country, his earliest campaign from Strathspey to Elgin remains still vividly impressed on his memory. With a touch of his youthful enthusiasm, Sir Patrick says, "It was my first campaign, and I look back to it with unmixed delight."

in the middle of the night, with a note to young Patrick Grant describing how they were situated, and saying she was sure his father's son,[1] mere boy though he was, would not hear of the daughters and sisters of his chief being insulted as they were without making an effort for them to gather men as quickly as possible and come to their relief. A similar note was written to Captain Grant, Congash, the factor of Strathspey. Accordingly instant steps were taken. A fiery cross was sent round, and, in the course of a few hours, some five or six hundred men were on their way from Strathspey to Elgin. Some of the people were assembling at their parish churches when the news reached them. But instead of worshipping, they all joined in the march for Elgin. They got there just at daybreak, and marched through the town to Grant Lodge, at the gate of which they found a party of the towns-people, who had provided themselves with baskets filled with broken bottles to hurl at any one who might attempt a rescue. Seeing the numbers and resolute bearing of the Highlanders, the burghers instantly fled. The Strathspey men entered the grounds, where they were joyfully welcomed—Lady Anne, queen-like as she was, going about with a word of grateful greeting to every one. Their blood was up, and the difficulty was to get their men away without sacking and burning the town of Elgin. It is said that the Provost of Elgin was so afraid of this, that he contrived to obtain access by a back entrance to Grant Lodge. He implored Lady Anne, on his knees, to induce the Highlanders to spare the town, and return to Strathspey. This appeal was backed by the Sheriff of the county, and the persuasions of these gentlemen, aided by the bagpipes, prevailed. The Highlanders then started for Strathspey. Lady Anne sent orders to Forres, and every inn on the road, to give the Highlanders anything they wanted. At Forres they made a regular night of it, eating and drinking and dancing till morning, and so on to Strathspey without a halt, so that the men from the remoter parts must have walked fully eighty miles without going to bed. Sir Patrick adds, "The news spread like wild-fire, and, had the struggle

[1] Sir Patrick was at this time "a little over fifteen years of age," and was the son of Major Grant, Auchterblair, who had held an active command in the Strathspey Volunteers, and had much intimate communication with Sir James Grant during the formation of the 97th Regiment or Strathspey Highlanders.

been protracted, we should have had the whole of the Highlands in the Lowlands—the Frasers in the Aird, the Mackenzies in Ross-shire, the Macphersons and Macdonalds in Badenoch and Lochaber, were collecting when the contest was ended" by the election of Mr. Farquharson as member for the burghs.

The "Raid of Elgin," as it was called, is rightly described by Sir Patrick Grant as a grand exhibition of the loyalty of Strathspey, and forms a testimony of no ordinary kind to the affection which the noble character of Sir James Grant called forth from his dependants, and was thus displayed towards his family long after his death. A sequel to this remarkable instance of attachment is told by a correspondent of the Banffshire Journal, writing on 23d November 1872, and affords an illustration of how the conduct of the Strathspey Highlanders was regarded even by the Sovereign himself. On the occasion of King George the Fourth's visit to Scotland in 1822—at one of the presentations which took place during his stay at Holyrood, or at the ball given to His Majesty by the Peers of Scotland,—the King asked one of the lords-in-waiting to point out the lady on whose account so many of the Highlanders went to Elgin two years before. The lady being pointed out, the King emphatically remarked, "Well, truly she is an object fit to raise the chivalry of a clan," the lord-in-waiting, or some other courtier, remarking that "it was questionable whether His Majesty could depend upon so spontaneous a demonstration in his favour from any quarter of His Majesty's dominions." The narrator of this anecdote, it is asserted, "happened to have, at the time this event took place, every facility to know its truth."

XIX.—1. SIR LEWIS-ALEXANDER GRANT of Grant, Baronet, afterwards Fifth Earl of Seafield, Viscount of Reidhaven, and Lord Ogilvie of Deskford and Cullen.

1811–1840.

Sir Lewis-Alexander Grant, the thirteenth Laird of Grant in actual possession, and who, as grandson of Lady Margaret Ogilvie, and heir of line of the Earl of Findlater and Seafield, succeeded to the honours and estates of Seafield, was born at Moy, 22d March 1767. He was the eldest son of Sir James Grant of Grant and Jane Duff, his wife, and apparently named after his paternal and maternal grandfathers. As he was the heir-apparent of the family of Grant, and the heir-presumptive of the family of Seafield, and gave proof of more than ordinary talent in early life, great hopes and expectations were formed of him in his opening career. If his health had not failed, he would have attained a very distinguished position.

Some thoughts were entertained of sending Lewis to school towards the end of 1775,[1] and this intention appears to have been carried out. In 1780, Sir James Grant was in London, among other things, urging his claims for compensation upon the Government, and wrote thence to Lady Grant about the progress of Lewis. He says:—"It would give you infinite pleasure to see Lewie, and to hear people speak of him; he is really growing very stout. I made strict enquiry as to the character of the different schools, and have at length fix'd him at Westminster. Every consideration induced me to wish to put him under the particular care of a friend who was a gentleman in his behaviour, spoke English and French perfectly well, and was otherwise accomplished. All these I found in Dr. Donald Grant, who has agreed to take care of him *these two years*, and they are warmly attached to one another, and as happy as possible. . . . It would give you infinite pleasure to see Lewie and him together. You will be surprised when I tell you that Lewie speaks French astonishingly, he holds a conversation with great ease in it. He and I talk'd a good deal

[1] Letter by Lady Grant, 3d November 1775, at Castle Grant.

upon the road, and he speaks and reads it constantly with Dr. Grant."[1] In a later epistle to Mr. James Grant, assistant minister at Urquhart, who had apparently acted as tutor to his young chief, Sir James Grant stated that Lewis was doing excessively well at Westminster. He also informed him of the arrangement made with Dr. Donald Grant, as he found his fears regarding the inexpediency of leaving a boy to himself confirmed.[2] Some months later Mr. Grant of Corriemony and Mr. Henry Mackenzie both wrote to Sir James Grant in complimentary terms of his son's progress and improvement in speech and carriage.[3]

In 1783 Lewis began to look forward to a profession, and, guided by his father's inclinations, chose to study for the Bar. In September of the following year, he wrote to his father that he had been working pretty hard at Blackstone, etc., and asks advice as to what classes he should attend at Edinburgh.[4] He resided at Edinburgh during the winters of 1784-5 and 1785-6 attending the University, and in May 1786, returned to London to keep his terms there, as he purposed to qualify both for the Scotch and English Bar. In the end of March 1786, Mr. Henry Mackenzie, writing to Sir James Grant, refers to his son's intended departure for London, and mentions in gratifying terms his constant unremitting attention, his eager desire of knowledge, and the acquirements of which, in consequence of these, he was possessed; but he adds, "he has more inclination than I could have wished for philosophy, and less than I could have wished for *law*." In July 1787 he passed his "private examination on the Civil or Roman Law with uncommon satisfaction to his examinators,"[5] and in October of the following year, he passed his Scotch Law trials successfully.

In the end of the year 1786, on the suggestion of several of Sir James Grant's friends, it was proposed by Mr. Mackenzie that Mr. Grant should become a candidate for Parliamentary honours, either in Banffshire or Moray. Mr. Mackenzie, however, doubted both the expediency and the practicability of the plan,[6] and though Mr. Grant's name was placed upon the rolls of freeholders in the various counties, the proposal was not carried out.

[1] Letter, dated 23d June 1780, at Castle Grant.
[2] Letter, Edinburgh, 2d September 1780, *ibid.*
[3] Letters in April and May 1781, *ibid.*
[4] Letter, dated 27th September 1784, *ibid.*
[5] Letter from Colquhoun Grant, W.S., 28th July 1787, at Castle Grant.
[6] Letter, dated 2d December 1786, vol. ii. of this work, p. 492.

During the year 1788, when he was only twenty-one years of age, Mr. Grant was elected Provost of Forres, an office which had been previously held by his father, Sir James, and his grandfather, Sir Ludovick. Mr. Mackenzie, on 20th September 1788, wrote to Sir James Grant, who was then at Peterhead, "I fancy you are not to be at the election at Forres, but that Lewis is, and we expect the honour of his company at Nairn on the 29th." On 2d October Mr. Mackenzie again wrote, "You would be glad to hear that every thing went smoothly and quietly at Nairn. Louis behaved *a merveille* in his new dignity, both at the election and at dinner. I will tell you the reason of his having that honour conferred on him in place of his father, when we meet."

Having finished his legal studies in Scotland, Mr. Grant was in January 1789 called to the Bar, and pleaded his first case before Lord Henderland, his client being a person of the name of Fennel. This, his first appearance in his profession, won for him very favourable opinions from the presiding judge and other friends. Lord Henderland, writing to Lord Findlater, says of Mr. Grant, "His appearance was so much superior to anything I had ever heard, that I was for some time lost in admiration —his pronunciation so perfectly English, his voice harmonious, his expression correct and elegant, his humour just, his wit pointed, his transitions proper, arguments solid, accompanied with such easy fluency and forcible eloquence, that I believe there were none who heard him but must have felt as I did."[1] Mr. Mackenzie also, who was not given to flattery, wrote to Sir James of his "joy and pride on Lewis's appearance in Fennel's case." "I," he says, "who have heard a good deal of Bar eloquence, will not hesitate to say that it was in a stile of elegance and animation much superior to the law oratory of modern times, and such as, with a proper degree of attention and application, must open to him the highest prospects in public life."[2] From other sources also, Sir James received letters congratulating him upon his son's appearance. One of these was from Mr. James Grant, younger of Corriemony, himself an advocate, and the author of several works on the Highlands, who thus wrote:—"He (Mr.

[1] Copy Letter, 2d February 1789, vol. ii. of this work, p. 504.

[2] Letter, dated 24th January 1789, at Castle Grant.

Grant) spoke for an hour, and delivered a speech superior in matter and stile to any pronounced within my recollection in the Court. As a first essay it was astonishing. He displayed a variety of classical learning, which was admirably applied. . . . The speech was replete with strokes of wit and humour. . . . A gentleman talking to me on the subject on Saturday, said that Mr. Dundas's compliment to Mr. Pitt, after he had finished a much applauded oration in the House of Commons, may be applied to Mr. Grant, 'Sir, if you keep clear of the dissipation of the age, you will some day rule this country.'"[1]

That there was, unhappily, some danger to Mr. Grant from the source mentioned by Mr. Dundas, the "dissipation of the age," may be gathered from several letters written to Sir James Grant by Mr. Henry Mackenzie. In one epistle he says, "Lewis gets on very well, and is concerned in several causes. His appearance and expectations of him have one inconvenience, however, that, by bringing him into request, he is too feté, and is worn down, as well as kept idle, with perpetual engagements, which he, very naturally, has not always fortitude enough to resist." Mr. Mackenzie adds that Lord Findlater had invited Mr. Grant to Cullen House, but he himself thought the young man should not go, but rather keep on in the current of business, now that he is in it, and go to London to keep a term; besides that he is engaged in a cause that will probably come on to be heard in the House of Lords early in the spring.[2] Mr. Grant himself seems to have thought differently on the subject of this visit north, for, in a letter to Lord Findlater a fortnight later than Mr. Mackenzie's, he wrote, "Both my reason and inclination induce me to believe that I may with propriety go north, and spend a short time with your Lordship and my other friends, and afterwards return to Edinburgh, there to continue the bulk of the vacation. . . . By remaining in Edinburgh during the dull season, I shall have perfect time to study law, and what I wish likewise to be acquainted with, the principles of commerce and politics. Nothing can be more necessary than the knowledge of these articles in the House of Commons, and I know not when I shall have so good an oppor-

[1] Letter, dated 26th January 1789, vol. ii. of this work, p. 502.

[2] Letter, dated 16th February 1789, at Castle Grant.

tunity of acquiring it, for my head will not then be as it is now, a perfect *whirligig* with balls, dinners, and suppers, and speeches, and law papers; and, as I am on an intimate footing with Adam Smith and all the philosophers in Edinburgh, I shall have every opportunity of acquiring information." He expressed his opinion that he might, with great advantage, remain in Scotland for some months.[1] This letter gives a glimpse of the temptations with which Mr. Grant was beset, and that they were viewed with grave anxiety by his friends, is shown by Mr. Mackenzie's repeated notes of warning to Sir James Grant.[2]

In the end, however, Mr. Grant did go to London, accompanied by Mr. Mackenzie, but returned in time to be present at the meeting of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in May 1789, an occasion made memorable by the contest between Dr. Alexander Carlyle of Inveresk and Professor Dalzel for the office of Clerk to the Assembly. Mr. Grant took part in the discussions, and won great praise from his friends. Mr. Mackenzie wrote to Sir James Grant, Lewis fully maintained his character as a speaker by his appearances at the General Assembly, though on the losing side.[3] The Moderator of the Assembly (Dr. George Hill), also, at a later date, wrote regarding Mr. Grant in complimentary terms.[4] Dr. Carlyle, who in the end retired in favour of his rival, Mr. Dalzel, wrote to Sir James Grant, explaining the cause of his retirement. After referring to some who had deserted his party, he writes, "But any failure in the clan was more than compensated by the young chief, your son, who really was the most admir'd speaker in the General Assembly. He gave some of my foes a dressing on Wednesday as made their faces look very long; I never in my life heard any thing superior to it. It was, indeed, a consummate specimen of popular eloquence. It made Harry Erskine knock under, for he had nothing to say in reply, but that the gentleman was too young to attempt to attack his superiors."[5]

In the following year, 1790, Mr. Grant and his father were returned as Members of Parliament, Sir James for Banffshire, and his son for the

[1] Letter, dated 2d March 1789, at Cullen House.

[2] Letter, 19th March 1789, vol. ii. of this work, p. 414.

[3] Letter, dated in May 1789, at Castle Grant.

[4] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 279.

[5] Letter, dated 29th May 1789, at Castle Grant.

county of Elgin. They were both present during the debates in the House of Commons on the impeachment of Warren Hastings. Mr. Grant spoke on that occasion for the first time in the House of Commons, and met with attention and applause.[1] He supported the constitutional side of the question of impeachment, and was complimented by so excellent a judge as Mr. Fox.[2] After this first success, however, Mr. Grant appears to have for the most part kept silence in the House, or at least to have spoken but little, a course which greatly commended itself to his friend, Mr. Mackenzie, who thought that he judged well in not being obtrusive with his speaking, and not speaking if he had not an opportunity of making himself master of the subject.[3]

Unhappily the brilliant career foreshadowed by Mr. Grant's early promise and undoubted talents was not fulfilled. In the summer of 1791 his health began to fail, and rest from study and Parliamentary labours not availing to restore him, he was compelled to retire from public life.

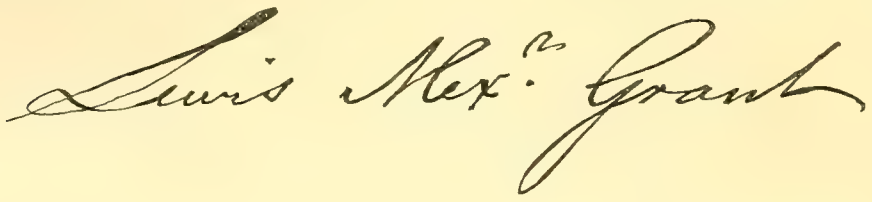
After his father's death, and his own succession to the estates of Grant, Sir Lewis chiefly resided in the north, and on his accession to the title and estates of Seafield, he seems to have taken pleasure in passing, for occasional residence, from one part of his extensive possessions to another, though his principal residence was with his sisters at Grant Lodge in Elgin. His brother, Colonel Francis-William Grant, took charge of the administration of the Earl's estates.

Sir Lewis-Alexander, fifth Earl of Seafield, died at Cullen House on 26th October 1840, in his seventy-fourth year, and was succeeded in the estates of Grant and Seafield by his brother, Colonel the Hon. Francis-William Grant, of whom a short memoir follows.

[1] Letter, Sir James to Lady Grant, 24th December 1790, vol. ii. of this work, p. 507.

[2] Letter, vol. ii. of this work, p. 208.

[3] Letter, dated 12th March 1791, at Castle Grant.



FRANCIS WILLIAM GRANT OF GRANT,
S. IN 1840 AS SIXTH EARL OF SEAFIELD,
D. 30TH JULY, 1853.

MARY ANN DUNN,
FIRST WIFE OF COL THE HONORABLE
FRANCIS WILLIAM GRANT OF GRANT,
M. 1811 D. 1840.

XIX.—2. SIR FRANCIS WILLIAM GRANT OF GRANT, Baronet, Sixth Earl of Seafield, Viscount of Reidhaven, Lord Ogilvy of Deskford and Cullen.

MARY-ANNE DUNN, his first wife.

LOUISA-EMMA MAUNSELL, his second wife.

1840–1853.

This nobleman was the fourth son of Sir James Grant by his wife Jane Duff, but owing to the decease of two elder brothers, he became the next in succession to his eldest brother. Owing to peculiar circumstances, Francis William Grant was at a comparatively early age brought into prominent and responsible positions as Lord Lieutenant of the great county of Inverness, representative in Parliament for the county of Elgin, and, above all, as curator for his eldest brother over the Grant and Seafield estates for well-nigh thirty years. In all these responsible positions his conduct was eminently wise, judicious, and successful.

Francis William Grant, who was popularly known as Colonel Grant till his accession to the title of Earl of Seafield, was born on 6th March 1778. The Grant papers do not clearly show where he was educated, but a considerable part of his early life was passed at Grant Lodge, the family residence at Elgin. He entered the military service when he was only fifteen years of age, his first commission being dated in 1793,[1] as Lieutenant in the Strathspey Fencibles, the regiment raised in that year by his father, Sir James Grant, for service within Scotland. In the following year he was appointed a Captain in the 97th or Strathspey Regiment.[2] At the same time he was made an Ensign in an independent company of foot about to be embodied, and on the 19th February received a lieutenant's commission in a similar company.[3] In 1794 he was appointed

[1] Commission, dated 1st March 1793, at Cullen House.
[2] Commission, 14th February 1794, *ibid.*
[3] Commissions, *ibid.*

Major in the regiment of fencibles raised by Fraser of Lovat, and in 1796, was made Lieutenant-Colonel in the same regiment,[1] to hold his rank only while the fencibles were embodied. On 23d January 1799, however, he received a commission as Lieutenant-Colonel in a regiment of fencibles commanded by Colonel Archibald M'Neill (of Colonsay), with permanent rank in the army.[2]

Colonel M'Neill's regiment, described as the Third Argyllshire Fencibles, differed from other fencible regiments in this, that their service was extended to any part of Europe, and in 1800 they were ordered to Gibraltar to relieve certain troops who were to proceed from that garrison to Egypt under Sir Ralph Abercromby.[3] Lieutenant-Colonel Grant accompanied his regiment to Gibraltar, and was there on 16th June 1801, when he wrote to his mother, Lady Grant, that his regiment as well as others had volunteered for Egypt.[4] Their services, however, were probably not required, as a few months later, in September, peace was concluded, and Colonel Grant's regiment was ordered home and reduced.

Lieutenant-Colonel Grant was elected by the Banff and Elgin district of burghs as their representative in the second Imperial Parliament which assembled on 16th November 1802, and continued for four years. In the succeeding Parliament Colonel Grant was elected in 1806 representative for the Inverness burghs. In the following year the Colonel was elected Member of Parliament for the county of Elgin, which he continued to represent till the year 1832; and in 1833, he was elected member for the united counties of Elgin and Nairn, which he continued to represent till his succession as Earl of Seafield in 1840.

Colonel Grant thus served in the House of Commons for the long period of thirty-eight years. During that period the agitation on the subject of the Reform Bill took place. Colonel Grant opposed the passing of this measure, but when the Bill became law, he frankly accepted it, and in his address to his constituents, in view of the dissolution of Parliament which followed, he declared that though he had opposed the Bill as inex-

[1] Commissions, 29th November 1794 and 1st October 1796, at Cullen House.

[2] Commission, *ibid.*

[3] Stewart's Sketches of the Highlanders, vol. ii. p. 398.

[4] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 519.

pedient and unjust to Scotland, yet it would be his utmost endeavour to render the Act productive of every benefit to the country.[1]

Though Lieutenant-Colonel Grant's regiment had been reduced, he still continued to serve in his military capacity, and in 1803 received from his father, as Lord Lieutenant of the county of Inverness, a commission as Colonel of the regiment of North British Militia, formed in Inverness-shire, in conjunction with the shires of Banff, Elgin, and Nairn.[2] This colonelcy had been held by Sir James Grant himself, but was resigned by him in favour of his son. In 1809 Sir James also resigned the lord lieutenancy of the county, which was conferred upon his son, who in the same year received full rank as Colonel in the army.[3]

The militia regiment which Colonel Grant commanded seems to have been quartered in Dundee in the latter end of 1803. A correspondent, writing to Lady Grant, informs her that on the regiment leaving the town "a dinner was given to the officers by the magistrates, as a mark of their respect, and the whole corps, officers and men, took their leave of Dundee regretted by the town, where the conduct of all had been exemplary." The same correspondent gives a sketch of the Colonel's character at this date (he was then in his twenty-sixth year), which may here be quoted as indicating his future career. "I cannot," the writer says, ". . . deny myself the pleasure of expressing . . . the gratification which I have felt in his being so near me even for this short time. Interested as I am about everything which concerns him, you may believe I have not been a superficial observer of the way in which he discharges his present important trust. As a commanding officer I find he is respected much by the regiment. His natural mildness does not, I was much pleased to observe, prevent him from keeping his proper place, and from repressing every attempt to encroach in the least upon his authority. To severity he is a stranger, but when discipline requires it, he

[1] Copy Address, 9th July 1832, at Cullen House.

[2] Commission, 20th June 1803, *ibid.* While acting in this capacity, Colonel Grant and his regiment were in 1804 stationed at Edinburgh. He was there made the subject of one of Kay's prints, in which he is represented as dressed in his uniform, standing by himself on a slight eminence, his men being drawn up in line some distance behind him.—[Kay's Biographical Sketches, vol. ii. p. 433.]

[3] Commission, 25th October 1809, at Cullen House.

is perfectly firm to his purpose, and I have seen him resist every solicitation to overlook when he thought the doing so would be injurious to the service. Of his principles as a man I am able to speak with still more precision than of his qualifications as an officer, because with regard to the latter I can speak only from the opinion of others. In private life, I will venture to say, from personal knowledge, that there is not a young man within the sphere of my acquaintance with less vice about him; his conversation and his ideas are uncommonly correct. . . . His manners, though completely those of a gentleman, are not, perhaps, very showy—he is naturally shy, and it is not easy to get the better of natural shyness—but he is one of those who improve greatly on acquaintance, and whom you like the more, the more you know of them. . . . He is a man of the strictest honour, integrity, and virtue, and earnestly do I pray that the Almighty may long spare him."[1]

The honourable character thus ascribed to Colonel Grant as a military officer was also fully manifested in another capacity. During the long term of twenty-nine years, he held the position of curator to his brother, Lewis Alexander, Earl of Seafield, and administered the extensive estates of the family, an arduous and delicate task, which he discharged with the highest honour to himself and the best results to the interest of his family and tenantry.

On the evidence of a contemporary chronicle, Colonel Grant found most happiness in his residence on the family estates and in caring for his dependants. He loved to superintend improvements on his estates and to promote the welfare of his tenants. It was while acting as curator for his brother that Colonel Grant took the lead in introducing in his own neighbourhood the plan of affording an allowance of so much per acre for all land reclaimed by tenants. This arrangement could not but have a most important effect on the progress of agriculture in the district. Many tenants took advantage of the terms offered, and under this plan many thousands of acres were added to the arable ground on the estates, a result not only

[1] Vol. ii. of this work, p. 523. The writer of this letter was the Rev. Francis Nicoll, D.D., minister of Mains and Strathmartine, afterwards Principal of St. Andrews. Principal Nicoll was for some time tutor in the family of Sir James Grant, and had thus the best opportunity of knowing the character of his pupils. The Principal named the Colonel one of the guardians of his children, and the Colonel accepted the office for the benefit of the children of his old tutor.

creditable alike to the liberality of the proprietor and to the enterprise of the tenantry, but also highly beneficial to the country. Under Colonel Grant's own directions, many hundred acres in the vicinity of Cullen also were improved, and where the people of this burgh were in use to cut their winter fuel, rich crops of grain may now be reaped.

Besides thus providing sustenance for the poorer classes at home, Colonel Grant was willing to encourage emigration. In February 1836, he was applied to by Sir John Franklin, the famous Arctic explorer, to use his influence on behalf of Lieutenant Kendall, agent for the New Brunswick Land Company. Lieutenant Kendall came to Scotland for the purpose of explaining the nature of the offers made by the Company to intending emigrants. Franklin begged Colonel Grant to give every aid in his power to the object in view. Colonel Grant requested his factor and others to show Lieutenant Kendall every attention, declaring his desire to oblige Sir John Franklin, and expressing his opinion that some of the people of Urquhart might usefully emigrate.[1]

After his accession to the title and estates, which took place on 26th October 1840, the Earl of Seafield continued, and if possible increased his efforts for the welfare of his extensive territories. He was known as the largest planter of trees in Britain in the course of the present century, the annals of the Highland and Agricultural Society of Scotland recording in 1847, that at that date, 31,686,482 young trees, Scotch firs, larch, and hardwoods, had been planted under the Earl's direction over an area of 8223 acres.[2] This extent, it is said, has not been approached by any British landowner since the plantations made by the Duke of Athole about the middle of last century. For these plantations, which were effected in the districts of Cullen, Moray, Strathspey, and Glen Urquhart, the Highland Society awarded to the Earl their gold medal. Under the influence of this Society and the encouragement offered by it for the introduction of new timber trees, a great spread of plantations had taken place throughout the country, but no proprietor had entered into the work so zealously or so extensively as the subject of this memoir.

[1] Letters, 18th and 19th February 1836, at Castle Grant.
[2] The Journal of Agriculture, etc., July 1847, pp. 37-44.

Besides these extensive plantations, which tended to beautify the more barren portions of his territory, the Earl of Seafield also employed his skill in embellishing the pleasure-grounds which surround Cullen House. His taste for ornamental landscape was of a high order, and the whole of the policies were re-arranged and remodelled under his personal directions. New gardens and hot-houses were built and stocked; thousands of young trees were planted, and trees of twenty years of age transplanted to more effective positions; new roads were made, and ornamental ponds formed, the result being the production of a scene of the highest sylvan and horticultural beauty.[1] Besides these improvements, the Earl also built an addition to Cullen House.

Lord Seafield, however, did not confine himself to the gratification of mere personal tastes, such as the adornment of his residence or the improvement of his estates. His beneficence took a wider range, and he showed that he was fully alive to all the best means of promoting the welfare of his district. Among other schemes of usefulness, the Earl made great efforts to improve the two harbours on his property, those of Cullen and Portsoy. On the latter it is said that a sum of about £17,000 was expended, though the good effect intended was somewhat neutralised by the force of the elements. The harbour of Cullen was altogether remodelled, greatly enlarged and deepened, and made of important service to the district by affording a ready outlet for produce, and promoting commerce.[2]

Among his other exertions for the benefit of the district, it has been remarked that Lord Seafield will be best known to posterity through the improvement he effected on the town of Cullen. "As the founder of the present town of that name, his Lordship will ever hold a certain historical importance. The present town is not much above thirty years old, and has

[1] As an illustration of the Earl's close observance of, and interest in, natural objects, it is related that on one occasion the chief gardener at Cullen House gave orders for removing the branch of a beech tree which impeded one of the approaches to the garden. The saw was about to be applied for this purpose, when the Earl, happening to come in sight, desired the woodman to desist, as the branch in question was the one which threw out the earliest buds in the grounds; and subsequent experience showed that this observation was perfectly accurate.

[2] The harbour of Cullen was undertaken so early as 1825. On 4th May of that year, the factor at Cullen House writes to Colonel Grant as to the progress made: "The contractors are getting on with the repairs of the Cullen Harbour in a very satisfactory manner. A considerable part of the head is already rebuilt, and the entrance and interior of the harbour completely clear'd, and accessible to vessels." [Letter at Cullen House.]

been entirely built since the estates were under his Lordship's management. Forty years ago (in 1813) the town occupied a position more to the west, and, royal burgh though it was, presented a miserable contrast as regards cleanliness, comfort, and indeed in every respect, to the present handsome town. The entire 'burgh' consisted only of one street, towards which the gables of the houses (mostly covered with thatch) were turned, while noxious gutters yawned on either side. The place was also poor. There were not perhaps half a dozen people in it who could have erected houses of a more substantial character than those of which the town then consisted. Under the auspices of his Lordship, then Colonel the Hon. Francis Grant, the old town was gradually removed, and on the present site there was laid out a new town, consisting of a handsome square and several spacious streets, crossing each other at right angles. The first house was erected in 1820; and under the encouragement given by his Lordship, building proceeded rapidly, until the burgh attained its present appearance, which, as respects architectural elegance and cleanliness, may vie with any town in the North. His Lordship's almost constant residence at Cullen House, and the improvements which he carried on, and the consequent large expenditure among tradesmen in the town, tended, in conjunction with the enterprise of the inhabitants, to promote the prosperity of the place; and it is now distinguished not more by the elegance of its buildings than by the comfortable position of its tradesmen and other inhabitants."[1]

Cullen was not the only burgh which received benefit from Lord Seafield. Elgin enjoyed some substantial results from the Earl, then Colonel Grant's, liberality, in the way of subscriptions to public rooms.[2] Literary societies in Banff and Inverness also received liberal recognition;[3] and his benevolence and public spirit were acknowledged by the towns of Cullen, Kintore, Forres, Elgin, Nairn, and Banff, from whom he received the freedom of a burgess. He was honoured in a similar way by the town of Kirkcudbright, where he was with the Fraser Fencibles in 1795.[4] It may also be of interest to note in this connection that while at Gibraltar, Lord

[1] Banffshire Journal, August 2, 1853.
[2] Receipts, 4th August 1820, at Cullen House.
[3] Diplomas, 11th September 1822, 30th October 1829, *ibid.*
[4] Burgess Acts, etc., of various dates from 1795 to 1817, *ibid.*

Seafield, then Lieutenant-Colonel Grant, was made a master mason in connection with the "Mother Lodge of St. John, No. 24."[1]

The year after his succession as Earl of Seafield, his Lordship was, at the general election on 5th August 1841, being the first after his succession, chosen one of the sixteen representative peers of Scotland, a position which he occupied until his death in 1853. In the House of Lords, Lord Seafield gave the same sedulous attention to his duties as he had done for so many years in the Lower House. Between the two Houses he acquired an almost continuous parliamentary experience of half a century. In politics his Lordship was a Conservative, and during his long public career loyally supported his party. He was a warm supporter of Sir Robert Peel in the early part of that statesman's career, and in 1829, when his kinsman Mr. Charles Grant, afterwards Lord Glenelg, Mr. Huskisson, and others seceded from the Wellington and Peel administration, Lord Seafield, then the Hon. Colonel Grant, steadily adhered to Sir Robert, though, in so doing, he sacrificed not a few friendships to what he deemed his duty. For this consistency to his party, it was proposed to honour him with a peerage, and had this intention been carried out, he and his successors would have sat in the House of Lords as Barons of Strathspey, thus anticipating the dignity which was afterwards conferred on his son and successor. But though the patent was prepared, and only the necessary arrangements required to be made, before these could be carried through, the ministry came to a sudden close. Before Sir Robert Peel returned to power, Colonel Grant had become Earl of Seafield.

Francis William, sixth Earl of Seafield, died at his favourite residence of Cullen House on the 30th July 1853, after a short illness of only a few days' duration. He was in the seventy-sixth year of his age.

The estimate formed of Francis William, Earl of Seafield, by his contemporaries, may in some measure be gathered from an article in a local journal, written a day or two after his decease. His character at the close of life agrees in a remarkable manner with the sketch given of his youthful promise in the letter of his tutor, Principal Nicoll, already referred to. In regard to his administration of his estates, extending over a period of forty-

[1] Certificate, dated 3d February 1801, at Cullen House.

two years, from 1811 to 1853, it is remarked: "This is a long period—in itself a generation, yet during all that time no case of hardship to a tenant can be charged against his Lordship. He instinctively recoiled from severe measures; and even when these would have been necessary, and where prudence might have counselled a resort to them, his Lordship invariably refused to adopt them. The consequence was, that throughout his wide estates no nobleman was more truly beloved or respected by his tenantry, who felt that they could always rely upon his indulgence. A prominent feature in his character was his love of justice and respect for his word. He was delicately alive to anything that could affect the interest or even the feelings of others; and, prudently cautious in giving a pledge, he was correspondingly punctual in its redemption. He was ever conscious of the responsibility of his high position, and sought consistently to perform its duties." Benevolence, it is said, was another strongly marked feature in Lord Seafield's character, and was evinced by the aid which he furnished to many a promising youth while progressing through school and college. He was a member of the Church of Scotland, and sat for many years in her chief court as representative elder of the Presbytery of Abernethy. In all the relations of private life Lord Seafield was "most exemplary, an affectionate husband and a kind and considerate parent."

"In person," it is added, Lord Seafield was "tall and of a commanding appearance. His disposition was gentle, and his manners retiring. His attainments in knowledge were of a high order, and tempered and modified by an enlarged practical acquaintance with the world and with human nature, acquired not merely at home, but during frequent residences for lengthened periods in various countries on the Continent. These qualities rendered his conversation peculiarly fascinating; and though of late years he seldom went into company, no one could make himself more agreeable."[1]

The remains of the deceased Earl were borne by his sorrowing relatives and friends from Cullen House to Castle Grant, to be deposited in the mausoleum erected by himself in the churchyard of Duthil. The funeral cortege left Cullen House at ten o'clock in the morning of the 2d August 1853, and arrived at Castle Grant the same evening at seven o'clock. At its

[1] The Banffshire Journal, August 2, 1853.

departure from the former place the hearse was accompanied for some distance by the Magistrates and Town Council of Cullen, members of the neighbouring Presbytery, and many of the tenantry and others, numbering about six hundred. At each place of importance on the way, Cullen, Fochabers, Elgin, and Forres, the procession was met and accompanied some distance by the principal inhabitants, while the bells were tolled, the shops closed, and every token of mourning and respect for the deceased was shown by all classes.

The body of the deceased Earl remained at Castle Grant over night, and on the morning of the 3d August was borne to its final resting-place. On its way thither it was met by the inhabitants of Grantown, who, forming into a procession, preceded the funeral cortege. After walking some distance, they paused and returned, while the hearse and carriages passed on, to be met once more near the gate of Duthil churchyard by a large body of people from the upper districts of Strathspey and Abernethy. Arrived at the gate, the coffin was, amid a special group of mourners, borne to its resting-place in the mausoleum.

"Thus," writes a contemporary, "followed to the grave by the tears of a beloved family, the regrets of an attached tenantry, the respect of his own class, and the sympathies of the population of a wide district, were deposited beside a long line of illustrious ancestors, the remains of a nobleman possessed of much public spirit and patriotism, distinguished by many personal virtues, and whose memory will long be gratefully cherished through the north."[1]

Lord Seafield was twice married. His first wife was Mary Anne, only daughter of John Charles Dunn of Higham House, Sussex, to whom he was married on 10th May 1811. She died on 27th February 1840, before the accession of her husband to the earldom. His Lordship married, secondly, on 17th August 1843, Louisa-Emma, second daughter of Robert-George Maunsell of Limerick. By this lady, who survived him, his Lordship had no issue.

By his first wife, Lord Seafield had a family of six sons and one daughter. The sons were—

1. James Grant, born 16th April 1812, at London; died there 15th March 1815.

[1] The Banffshire Journal, 9th August 1853.

2. Francis William, Master of Grant, born 5th October 1814. He was Member of Parliament for Inverness-shire for about two years. He died on 11th March 1840. Of him a brief memoir follows.
3. John Charles, born 4th September 1815. He succeeded his father as seventh Earl of Seafield. A memoir of him is also given.
4. James, born 27th December 1817. He married, first, on 6th April 1841, Caroline Louisa, second daughter of Eyre Evans of Ash-Hill Towers, Limerick. She died 6th February 1850. He married secondly, on 13th April 1853, Constance Helena, fourth daughter of Sir Robert Abercromby, Baronet, of Birkenbog and Forglen. She died 13th February 1872. Mr. Grant married, thirdly, on 15th December 1875, Georgiana Adelaide Forester, widow of William Stewart of Aldenham Abbey, and daughter of the late General Walker of Manor House, Bushey. By his first and second wives Mr. Grant has issue two sons and one daughter.
5. Lewis-Alexander, born 18th September 1820. He married, on 15th August 1849, Georgina, daughter of the late Robert George Maunsell of Limerick, by whom he has issue two sons and two daughters.
6. George Henry Essex, born 13th February 1825. He married, on 2d October 1855, Eleanora, fourth daughter of the late Sir William G. Gordon Cumming, Baronet. By her he had issue three sons and two daughters. He died 31st May 1873.
7. Edward-Alexander, born 17th June 1833; died 26th April 1844.

The daughter was—

Jane, who married, on 20th July 1843, Major-General Sir Edward Walter Forester Walker, K.C.B., and had issue. She died 16th September 1861.

XX.—1. FRANCIS WILLIAM GRANT, M.P., Master of Grant.

1814–1840.

This highly-popular and much-loved young chief, in whom so many hopes were centred, was unhappily cut off in the flower of youth. He was the second born, though, at the time of his death, the eldest surviving son of Colonel the Honourable Francis William Grant, and was born on 5th October 1814. Nothing has been ascertained as to his education and early life; but as his father was constantly in London attending Parliament, he was probably educated there. In 1833, when in his eighteenth year, he left home for a tour on the Continent. In the end of 1835 he was still abroad, and on the 19th December of that year he was at Suez, having just crossed the desert from Cairo, purposing a visit to Mount Sinai, from there to proceed by the old caravan route from Kosseir to the ruins of Thebes and up the river Nile.[1] On the occasion of a vacancy in the Elgin Burghs in 1838, through the appointment of Sir Andrew Leith Hay, the former member, as Governor of Bermuda, it was proposed that Mr. Grant should come forward as a candidate for the representation of these burghs. Mr. Grant did not think it prudent to entertain the proposal, and declined to stand.[2] He was afterwards, in the same year, elected for the county of Inverness, and sat in Parliament as member for that shire until his death on 11th March 1840, unmarried.

Like his father and his grandfather, Mr. Grant was warmly attached to the Church of Scotland. He was elected a representative elder to the General Assembly in 1839. In acknowledging receipt of his commission, he indicated his opinion of the state of feeling then in the Church. "I fear," he writes, "that some of our clergy are getting a little out of the way in their ideas about the independence of the Church. Although I am on very many subjects disposed to be liberal, there is nothing I should be more afraid of seeing than too much power given to the Church."

[1] Letter, Colonel Grant to the factor at Cullen, 13th January 1836, at Cullen House.

[2] Letters, 24th January and 1st February 1838, *ibid.*

Unhappily, the career of this excellent and amiable youth, as he was deemed by his contemporaries, was destined to an untimely end. The particulars of the death of himself and his mother are gathered from the journals of the day. His mother, Mrs. Grant, died in London on 27th February 1840. Her remains were brought from London by the "North Star" steamer to Burghead, and from thence to Castle Grant, the family seat most adjacent to the burying-place of the family at Duthil. For the purpose of attending the funeral of his mother, Mr. Grant, who was suffering from slight indisposition, hurried down from London in company with his next brother, Mr. John Charles Grant. They arrived at Cullen House on the 10th March. No apprehension was entertained by Mr. Grant's friends on account of his illness, which was attributed to the effect produced on his mind by his mother's death, and to the fatigues of a rapid journey. He retired to bed at the usual hour, only complaining of a headache, which it was hoped sleep would remove. But when his servant entered the apartment in the morning he was horror-struck to find that his master was dead. It is supposed that the immediate cause of death was obstruction about the heart. The news of the melancholy event excited the deepest feeling of awe and sympathy among all ranks, though at first the report was received with incredulity, the shock was so sudden and unlooked for. Such a stroke, had it occurred in the family of the meanest peasant, would have called forth the general sympathy of the neighbourhood; how much more when it visited a house connected by ties of respect and affectionate regard with so large a portion of the North of Scotland. Mr. Grant was only in the twenty-sixth year of his age when he died. His remains were removed from Cullen House to Castle Grant preparatory to their interment at Duthil. The new family mausoleum had only been completed by Colonel Grant in the preceding year. It was a trying occasion for a feeling husband and parent, and a spectacle of woe rarely witnessed, that he should perform the last earthly duties to his wife and his eldest son at the same time. The simultaneous funeral of mother and son has been fitly described in the following terms:—

> The scene was one which will be indelibly engraved on the memories of those who witnessed it, and will form the subject of a tale, that will be told with feelings of deep

interest, by sire to son, for generations yet to come. Over a wide tract of country, extending to many miles, and comprehending several parishes, all operations were suspended; and a mournful gloom, like a heavy cloud, hung over the district. Groups of people, of all ages, decently attired, were seen in different directions, wending their way towards the line of procession; while the tolling, at intervals, of the bells of the churches and public seminaries, rendered the event more striking and impressive.

At two o'clock the procession emerged from the policies of Castle Grant—the people on foot, assembled at this point, being in advance of the funeral, in marching order. The remains of the beloved lady, the hearse and horses decked out with black plumes, the driver, etc., wearing black crapes and weepers, followed the pedestrians; and the remains of the Master, the hearse and horses decked with white plumes, and the servants wearing scarfs of white crape, immediately followed the remains of his mother. While the immediate relations, followed by the factor and gentlemen in the employment of the family, the clergymen, gentlemen, and principal tenantry connected with the estate, in a line of vehicles, formed a procession extending, at some points, to about a mile in length. The effect produced on the feelings of the community who beheld this procession, may be more easily conceived than described. From the chief mourner to the humblest of his dependants, a mystic chord of affection, formed by acts of benevolence on the part of the family, and feelings of gratitude on the part of the clan, like an electric chain, touched and affected all, in a greater or less degree, along the line of procession.

On the closing scene, and the impressive solemnity which marked its proceedings, we shall not dilate; but all present felt a thankfulness to the great Disposer of events who gave power from above to the surviving parent to discharge in person a duty so trying even in contemplation, that nothing save that Christian faith and hope, which enables the mourner to look beyond the grave, could have supported him under such a weight of sorrow. But in a religious point of view, there could not have been a calamity of the same extent more susceptible of yielding Divine consolation to the mourner, while contemplating in review the life and death of the departed objects of lamentation. In reference to *her*, nothing could be more applicable than the announcement of the angel to Cornelius, "Thy prayers and alms have come up for memorial before the Lord." And in reference to *him*, the universal and just estimate of his character which burst from all parties on hearing of the tidings of his death—comprised in the words, "*That he was too good for this world*"—suggests to the bereaved and sorrowing mind the consoling thought that he had exchanged an *earthly coronet* for an *heavenly crown*.

After the tenantry assembled on the spot were permitted to take the last look of the remains, the gates of the splendid mausoleum (finished only last year) were closed on the *mother and son*, there to repose "in the sure and certain hope of a joyful resurrection."[1]

[1] Inverness Courier, 1st April 1840.

SIR JOHN CHARLES OGILVIE GRANT, BARONET,
SEVENTH EARL OF SEAFIELD, VISCOUNT OF REIDHAVEN, &c
FIRST BARON STRATHSPEY OF STRATHSPEY, K.T.
B. 1815. M. 1850. S. 1853. D. 1881.

CAROLINE COUNTESS OF SEAFIELD.

FIR TREES.— FOREST OF ABERNETHY.

XX.—2. SIR JOHN CHARLES GRANT OGILVIE, Baronet, Seventh Earl of Seafield, Viscount of Reidhaven, Lord Ogilvie of Deskford and Cullen, First Baron Strathspey of Strathspey, K.T.

The Honourable CAROLINE STUART, his Countess.

1853–1881.

The recent death of this nobleman, and the fact of his memory being still fresh in the hearts of those who knew and loved him, render the task of his biographer no easy one. It is proposed in this memoir merely to record some of the chief events in the life of the late Earl, and to preserve a few of the numerous contemporary testimonies given to the worth and nobility of his Lordship's character.

John Charles, seventh Earl of Seafield, was born on 4th September 1814, and was the third son of Francis William, sixth Earl of Seafield, by his wife Mary Ann Dunn. He adopted the navy as a profession, entering as a midshipman about the age of fourteen, and for some time served on board the vessel commanded by Sir John Franklin, from whom he received much kindness and attention.[1] After the death, in 1840, of his elder brother, Francis William, Mr. Grant retired from the navy, and a few months later, by his father's accession to the estates and honours of Grant and Seafield, he enjoyed the courtesy title of Viscount Reidhaven and Master of Grant.

In the following year, 1841, Lord Reidhaven contested the representation of Banffshire in opposition to Mr. James Duff, afterwards Earl Fife. In offering himself as a candidate, Lord Reidhaven avowed himself a Conservative, and also came forward as an advocate of protection for the agricultural interest. He was, however, unsuccessful, his opponent being elected by a majority of forty-three votes.

He succeeded to his father on 30th July 1853, as seventh Earl of

[1] Letter from Colonel Grant, dated 19th February 1836, at Cullen House.

Seafield, and in the same year was elected one of the representative Peers of Scotland. He held that position till 14th August 1858, when he was created a Peer of the United Kingdom, under the title of Baron Strathspey of Strathspey. Under that title he continued to sit in the House of Lords till his death.

Great rejoicings were held on the occasion of the granting of the dignity of Baron Strathspey, and a few verses extracted from a poem written at the time are here given :

Why are the hills of proud Strathspey
Crowned with a blaze of light?
Why do the dazzling fires burst forth
Amidst the calm of night?
Is it the beacon's warning gleam?
Is the invader near?
And doth the land call forth her sons
To aid with sword and spear?

The Chieftain of their ancient line
Has won another name,
A title dearer to his Clan
Than any he can claim;
The bells were ringing far and near.
The throng came forth to-day,
To render homage to their Lord,
The Baron of Strathspey.

He 's richer in these loyal hearts
Than in his princely lands.
They 're true and constant as their Rock,
Which ever firmly stands.
Titles and wealth, by royal might,
May be bestowed at will;
The choicest gift—a people's love—
Must flow spontaneous still.

But now the bonfires' ruddy glow
Streams all the country o'er,
From Tullochgorum's lofty height,
On Freuchie and Craigmore.
On Cromdale's Hill, on Garten's crest,
The rival flames ascend,
In honour of the Lord Strathspey,
The Chieftain and the Friend.

Lord Seafield, like his father, took a warm interest in the prosperity and happiness of his tenantry, and in their interest and that of the country effected extensive improvements on his estates, thus giving employment to a large number of the labouring classes. As a landlord, he commanded the respect and regard of all his tenantry, in whose affections he held a foremost place. He possessed in a large degree the spirit of kindness, justice, and liberality, and it was his sincere wish, as it was his constant endeavour, that every one of his numerous dependants should be happy and comfortable. He did not like changes on his estates, and when in the administration of these, any tenant objected to a renewal at a liberal valuation, no one regretted the fact more than the landlord. If any tenant fell into arrear in the payment of his rent, great consideration

was shown by Lord Seafield, who granted indulgence after indulgence, till better times came to the unfortunate tenant.

Lord Seafield's improvements on his estates took a very practical form, the erection of new steadings and farm-houses, the reclamation of waste land, and the construction of roads.[1] He also enlarged the extensive plantations made by his father, and in a recent journal devoted to agriculture, he is mentioned as the greatest planter of the district in regard to Scotch fir alone. The pine woods and plantations, it is also stated, already extend over 40,000 acres, and it is intended to increase the breadth of timber to 60,000 acres. The woods and forests are in three divisions, Grantown, Abernethy, and Duthil; the nursery of young firs at Abernethy is said to extend to thirteen acres, and to contain at that date about three millions of Scotch fir plants.[2] In another article on the same subject, it is stated that since 1866, fourteen millions of firs have been planted in the Duthil district, and a self-sown crop is continually coming on.[3] As a breeder of Highland cattle, Lord Seafield was unrivalled, so much so, that the Castle Grant herd everywhere received the highest awards. Though his Lordship sent his cattle to the annual shows of the Strathspey Farmers' Club, it was merely for exhibition, as the tenantry complained that otherwise it was of no use competing.

Besides setting before his dependants an admirable example in all branches of agriculture and farming, Lord Seafield delighted in presiding over and encouraging the sports of his dependants. Year after year the Highland Gathering in Strathspey brought to Castle Grant not only a succession of distinguished visitors, but a large concourse of the tenantry and others on the estates, all interested in the athletic sports, the reel-dancing and other games dear to Highlanders. And while the men rejoiced in displaying their strength and agility, the women were not forgotten, their contributions to an industrial competitive exhibition of native manufactures being encouraged and rewarded by liberal money prizes, which were usually presented by the hands of the young chief. All this was the result of Lord

[1] So extensive and liberal were the improvements made by Lord Seafield during his twenty-seven years' possession of the Grant and Seafield estates, that the sum expended by him amounted to upwards of half a million of pounds sterling.

[2] The Agricultural Gazette, January 1, 1877.

[3] *Ibid.*, March 5, 1877.

Seafield's kindly rule and fostering care. As illustrative of his love for Highland institutions, down even to the garb of old Gaul, at these gatherings Lord Seafield seldom failed to remind his countrymen how much he disliked their appearance in modern Lowland dress instead of the full Highland costume. His Lordship and the young chief invariably set the clan an example in that respect.

In other things, also, Lord Seafield was thoroughly sensible of the responsibilities of his high position. As a holder of many ecclesiastical preferments, he was always careful and conscientious in the exercise of his duties as patron, till the Act of 1874 abolished the exercise of these patronages. His Lordship was very successful in his anxious choice of presentees. He took also a deep and intelligent interest in all questions affecting the welfare and prosperity of the country. Especially was this the case as regards education. He was the patron of a large number of valuable bursaries, notably those of Redhyth, which were originally founded for the education of poor boys, by Walter Ogilvie of Redhyth, in the county of Banff, in 1678. The University Commissioners proposed, in 1862, to alter the destination of these bursaries. But Lord Seafield successfully opposed the change in the Privy Council as the court of review of the proceedings of the Commissioners. For that good service Lord Seafield earned the gratitude of the poorer class in his neighbourhood. A subscription was spontaneously entered into to present his Lordship with a public testimonial. But it was not accepted, and the money was applied for two Seafield gold medals at the University of Aberdeen, and a silver medal at the school of Fordyce.

In Parliament Lord Seafield took no very prominent part, his natural disposition not inclining him to the active turmoil of political life; but the weight of his position, his sound judgment, strong good sense, decided force of character, and transparent honesty of purpose, were ever at the service of his party, and available for the interest of the community at large. He was a staunch Conservative, and one of the chief supporters of his party in the north of Scotland. He was an office-bearer in the Established Church of Scotland, and a very regular attender on the services of his parish church. He was frequently returned as ruling elder to the

FIR TREE — FOREST OF DUTHIL

General Assembly, and attended their meetings in Edinburgh. When Lord Derby was Prime Minister, his Lordship made offer to Lord Seafield of the office of Lord High Commissioner to the General Assembly, but Lord Seafield, at the time, did not see his way to accept the honour.

In 1879, Her Majesty invested Lord Seafield with the Order of the Thistle.

When Lord Seafield was not in London attending Parliament, he resided at one or other of the three mansions which he maintained on his extensive estates. Cullen House was the largest of these mansions, and it received from his Lordship a wealth of improvement which gives it quite a palatial splendour and appearance. Castle Grant was his residence in Strathspey, and Balmacaan is the family residence in Glen Urquhart. All these mansions have ever been famed in the north of Scotland for their splendid hospitalities.

Lord Seafield's last illness was of comparatively short duration, and his death took place at Cullen House on the evening of the 18th February 1881.

After his decease, his widowed Countess and the present Earl received many spontaneous and gratifying proofs of the sympathy of the whole country with their bereavement. Upwards of thirty addresses of condolence voted at public meetings were forwarded to them, and in these the reference to the late Earl was as the "good Earl," the character of the grandfather as the "good Sir James" being thus inherited by, and attributed to, his grandson. To the nobility of Lord Seafield's character in every phase of life, testimony has already been borne in the introduction to this work, and it may suffice to add here only one or two sentences which the regret for his loss, coupled with the remembrance of his many sterling qualities, drew forth from some who knew his Lordship. "Rarely," says one, "shall we have to lament a man of more true and honest purpose, of kinder and more generous heart, more desirous of furthering the best interests of all over whom he was placed, or whose memory is more likely to be treasured in after-times, than he whose departure is now so deeply lamented over so wide and extensive a territory."[1]

[1] Edinburgh Evening Courant, February 19, 1881.

The pulpits of the country also re-echoed the universal sorrow in strains of mournful regret, blended with grateful recollections of that wisdom with which Lord Seafield exercised the noble gifts and talents conferred upon him by a bountiful Providence. One clergyman spoke thus:—"The late Earl was a nobleman of high honour, sterling integrity, and good sense. Not one who sought the voice of the people, he was real, without gilding or varnish of any kind, and one that hated show for the sake of show."[1] And another:—"What I have said of Lord Seafield in his public capacity is in entire harmony with the excellency of his private character, or rather an outcome of the true goodness of the 'inner man.' Naturally of a very retiring disposition, he was not known to the general public as he otherwise would have been. Devoid of everything approaching to ostentation, his religion was not of a demonstrative kind; but . . . in private and domestic life he was the pattern of all that is true and kind and just and good, animated by real Christian principles, and exemplifying in himself the character of true nobility."[2]

The funeral obsequies of Lord Seafield were celebrated on the 25th and 26th of February, and had there been no other testimony to his worth, the multitude who gathered to pay their last regards to his remains would, by their unfeigned manifestations of sorrow, have demonstrated what manner of man he was. Nearly ten thousand people assembled in the course of the funeral procession, and no such gathering as that which took place at Grantown on that occasion, was previously witnessed by the present generation in Strathspey.

The arrangements and progress of the funeral procession were somewhat similar to those already detailed in the memoir of Francis William, sixth Earl of Seafield. About two thousand people assembled to take a place in the cortege at its departure from Cullen House. As the funeral procession passed through the town of Cullen, the whole inhabitants turned out to witness it, while every token of respect was shown. At Keith, whence the body of the deceased Earl was conveyed by special train to Castle Grant, there was a great assemblage, while at Elgin and Forres

[1] Sermon at Deskford, reported in Banffshire Journal, March 1, 1881.

[2] Sermon in Fordyce Parish Church, reported in Banffshire Journal, March 1, 1881.

there were also public demonstrations of regard. At Castle Grant, his ancestral home, the Earl's remains lay during the night, and in the early morning many came desiring to look upon the coffin of their beloved chief.

Notwithstanding a heavy snowstorm, many hundreds assembled to offer the last tokens of respect, and to assist in performing the funeral rites. In this part of the proceedings, the scene, even more than on the previous day, represented a sorrowing clan mourning for their lost chief. The funeral cortege, as it moved from Castle Grant to Grantown, contained upwards of a thousand mourners, who walked slowly to the music of the "Flowers of the Forest," and the "Land o' the Leal," played by the pipers who headed the procession, though the Castle Grant pipes, which the late Earl had loved to hear, were on that day hushed and silent. At Duthil, amid the strains of the pipes, the body was borne to the mausoleum; and the latest Laird of Grant was then laid to rest with his fathers in the place which has been their burying-place for upwards of three hundred years.

The late Earl of Seafield married, on 12th August 1850, the Honourable Caroline Stuart, youngest daughter of Robert Walter, eleventh Lord Blantyre, who survives his Lordship. This is neither the time nor the place to speak of that happy union, which was unclouded to the end; and his last gentle sigh was breathed in perfect peace in the presence of his loving son and devoted wife, who through life had been such an helpmate to him. Their only child became the heir and representative of the long-descended Lairds of Grant, as well as of the noble house of Seafield.

LINES

WRITTEN AFTER SEEING LORD SEAFIELD'S BODY

As a humble tribute of affection to his memory.

What a brave look his face doth wear!
As calm in death he lies;
A look that 's wholly free from care,
And full of meek surprise.

Such look is his as knight might wear
Exploring dark recess,
Ready with sword in hand to dare
All danger and distress.

Of coward fear no trace is here,
And pride is absent quite;
A glory reigns around his bier,
Befitting stainless knight.

What sweetness dwells in mouth and eyes!
How placid is the brow!
The loving heart no longer sighs,
All, all is peaceful now.

So might have looked Sir Galahad
In quest of Holy Grail
As on he rode in heart right glad,
Knowing he could not fail.

His couch with flowers love's hand hath strewn;
Nor purer they than he;
The spirit from the clay that 's flown
Dearly them loved to see.

The Thistle, Scotland's emblem dear,
Right worthily he wore;
A knight without reproach or fear,
As bravest knight of yore.

His coronet the mountain pine
Delighted to adorn;
Its wreaths, alas! we now must twine
To deck this couch forlorn.

Firm as Craigellachie he stood,
Aye holding by the right;
That which was just, and true, and good,
Weighed more with him than might.

As Laird o' Grant, Chief of the Clan,
Grandly himself bore he—
A leal true-hearted Highlandman
Of noblest ancestry.

For him full many a tear 's been shed,
By those that loved him well;
But tears will not bring back the dead,
Though from the heart they well.

Strathspey, Glen-Urquhart, Cullen's stream,
Will miss his presence dear;
This world to me seems more a dream
Now he 's no longer here.

JAMES M'INTYRE.

Seafield Manse, 21*st February* 1881.

SIR IAN CHARLES GRANT OGILVIE BARONET,
EIGHTH EARL OF SEAFIELD &c.
SECOND BARON STRATHSPEY OF STRATHSPEY.
BORN 1851. SUCCEEDED 1881.

XXI.—SIR IAN CHARLES GRANT OGILVIE, Baronet, Eighth Earl of Seafield, etc., Second Baron Strathspey of Strathspey.

Born 1851. Succeeded 1881.

The present chief of the Grants represents the twenty-first generation in direct lineal male descent from Sir Laurence Grant, who was Sheriff of the county of Inverness in the year 1258. The Master of Grant was born in Moray Place, Edinburgh, on 7th October 1851. After being under the care of tutors, he studied for some years at Eton. His father having served in the navy and his grandfather having been long an officer in the army, following in the footsteps of the latter, the Master of Grant made choice of the army as a profession, and received his first commission as a cornet and sub-lieutenant in the First Regiment of Life Guards, on 8th December 1869. He became lieutenant in October 1871, and retired from the service in January 1877.

The day on which the present Lord Seafield attained his majority, 7th October 1872, was celebrated with great rejoicings throughout the length and breadth of the Grant and Seafield estates. On that occasion the young chief, then Viscount Reidhaven and Master of Grant, received from the tenants of the Strathspey estates a present of his own portrait, which was appropriately the work of the late Sir Francis Grant, the distinguished President of the Royal Academy. The widespread interest taken in this presentation,[1] even more than the words with which it was prefaced, show the deep attachment which the clansmen bore to the young chief, not only for his father's sake but for his own.

The task of making the presentation was devolved by the tenantry on the gallant General Sir Patrick Grant, who in performing his duty addressed his Lordship in the following felicitous terms:—"Master of

[1] The letter which offered the portrait for acceptance bore nearly one thousand signatures, the great proportion being of the name of Grant. [The account of the proceedings here given is quoted from the "Memorial of the Majority of the Right Honourable Viscount Reidhaven, Master of Grant:" Banff, 1872.]

Grant, I use that title as the most dear to all Strathspey men, I am deputed by the Strathspey tenantry, and by your clansmen elsewhere, to beg you to accept, on this auspicious occasion, a portrait of yourself, painted by an artist of world-wide fame, our clansman Sir Francis Grant. We beg you to receive this token of heartfelt regard from a tenantry and clan devoted to the family of their chief, for here in our native Strathspey, however it may be elsewhere, the grand old feudal feeling is as strong and enduring as ever. Master of Grant, never forget that this is the oldest possession of your race.

> Within the bounds of fair Strathspey our ancient clan reside:
> We have been here eight hundred years, eight hundred more we'll bide.

And, as in all time past, so in all time to come I trust it may be said of us, 'Cha neil Granndach aun Straspe, ach duine treun urramach.'[1] Master of Grant, may God's choicest blessings be showered upon you, and enable you to do your duty to your ancient name, and to the honoured parents who have so well done their duty to you; and when, in the fulness of time, you succeed to your princely inheritance—God grant that the day be far distant—may you tread faithfully in the steps of your fathers, and be, as they have ever been, a very father to your clan and people. Master of Grant, it is now my grateful privilege, as spokesman for Strathspey, to present yourself to yourself."

The portrait was then unveiled, and the Master of Grant acknowledged the gift in appropriate terms. "Sir Patrick Grant and gentlemen, I would that I knew of, or could for the occasion coin, a word of stronger, deeper meaning than gratitude; but even were there such a word, it would not, in the very least, express the very half of what my heart feels to you all for this magnificent token of goodwill and affection—affection to me as the son of your chief. The liberality and unanimity of the whole proceeding are all but unprecedented, and show how the Grants retain the old clan feeling, even to having my portrait painted by a P.R.A., himself a Grant, and with Craigellachie introduced into it, to remind me always to 'stand fast.' What you have done, and what Sir Patrick has to-day said, as spokesman

[1] Translation: "There is not a Grant in Strathspey who is not a valiant, honourable man."

for Strathspey, will, please God, make me more earnestly strive to pass my life so as best to repay the love of my parents, and the anxiety the clan have felt that I should follow in their footsteps, and endeavour to be a worthy inheritor of our grand old name, a name made famous by so many. And it shall be my earnest endeavour to uphold it. My father will, I am sure, be pleased to give the portrait a place amongst the many family pictures on the time-honoured walls of Castle Grant. My own is the first, I believe, ever presented by the clan and tenantry; but in the old days they had other things to think of, in defending their native strath, in going out to fight, and very often doubtless returning from a good foray laden with booty instead of a portrait. I must now again beg of you, Sir Patrick Grant, and Mr. Donald Grant, who has taken so prominent a part in this movement, and members of committee and all the subscribers, both present and absent, to accept my heartfelt thanks for the honour you have this day done me. Mo chairdean tha mi fad nar comuin."[1]

The tenantry and others in the Morayshire district of the Seafield estates at the same time made a handsome presentation of silver-plate, accompanied by an appropriate address, in which much kindly feeling and many good wishes were expressed to the young Chief. On the same day, and for several following days, every possible effort was put forth in Strathspey, Moray, Banffshire, and Glen Urquhart, wherever the Grant and Seafield estates extend, to do honour to the occasion, and the sincere expressions of attachment and respect which every reference to the Chiefs of Grant called forth, must have been extremely gratifying to the heir of that ancient line.

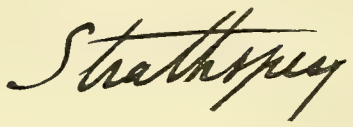
These presentations took place in a splendid pavilion which was erected for the occasion on the lawn opposite the front of the Castle. A banquet was given by Lord Seafield, the large number of guests invited to which tried the capacity of the pavilion, although it measured 120 feet in length by 60 feet in breadth. The whole arrangements for this auspicious occasion were carried out with complete success and entire satisfaction to all interested.

The bonfires were a great feature as well as the banquets, and set the

[1] Translation: "My friends, I am deeply indebted to you."

country ablaze. One of the largest was at Craggan, near Grantown. Sixty-three horses were employed in the collection of the materials for it. The bonfire at Carron, however, was probably the largest, its pile being one hundred and twenty feet in circumference, and forty feet in height. It illuminated the country for many miles around.

Since his retirement from the army, Lord Seafield has followed in the footsteps of his father and grandfather, and has taken a deep interest in the welfare of all on his estates. During the short time, also, that he has been a member of the House of Lords, he has been constant in his attendance, on all important questions acting loyally with his political party, and has uniformly applied himself with zeal to the duties which have devolved upon him.



ARMORIAL BEARINGS

AS IN CERTIFICATE OF MATRICULATION BY THE LORD LYON KING-OF-ARMS, IN FAVOUR OF LEWIS ALEXANDER, EARL OF SEAFIELD, 1ST JULY 1824.

Quarterly, quartered, first and fourth grand quarters, quarterly, 1st and 4th argent, a lion passant guardant, gules, crowned with an imperial crown, or; 2d and 3d argent, a cross engrailed sable, for Ogilvie; second and third grand quarters gules, three antique crowns or, for Grant. The shield is encircled with an orange tawney ribbon—pendant the badge of a baronet of Nova Scotia.

Crests.—On the dexter side on a torse argent and gules, a lion rampant guardant, of the second, holding in his paws a plummet or, and having above it upon an escrol *Tout Jour.* On the sinister side, upon a torse gules and or, a burning hill proper, having upon an escrol above it, *Craig-elachie.*

Supporters.—On the dexter side a lion rampant guardant, or, armed gules, and on the sinister a savage or naked man, bearing upon his left shoulder a club, proper, and wreathed about the head and middle with laurel, vert.

Motto.—Stand fast.

Badges for Grant.—Scotch Fir and Cranberry. For Ogilvie: the Evergreen Alkanet.

War Cry.—Craig-Elachie—the rock of alarm.

TOUT JOUR
CRAIG-ELACHIE
STAND
FAST
AVX MENTIS HONESTÆ GLORIA

PEDIGREES.

PEDIGREE OF THE CHIEFS OF GRANT.

I.—SIR LAURENCE LE GRANT, Sheriff of Inverness.
Appears as a witness, along with Robert le Grant, in an agreement between Archibald Bishop of Moray and Sir John Byset, 20th September 1258. Laurence le Graunt, as Sheriff of Inverness, rendered accounts to Exchequer in 1263 and 1266, and in the latter year also as "Bailie of Inverchoich." Of the date of the first of these accounts a question arose as to whether he or the Earl of Buchan is responsible for the feu of Invery.

Robert le Grant appears as a witness along with Laurence in the agreement dated 20th September 1258. In or about the same year he received a charter from John Prat of the lands of Clonmanache. [Coulmony on the Findhorn.]

II.—JOHN LE GRANT, first of Inverallan.
Taken fighting at Dunbar [with the Earl of Mar and others] in 1296, was imprisoned in Gloucester, and set free in 1297, on condition of serving the King against France, John Comyn, elder of Badenoch, and David of Graham being sureties for him. In 1316 he received a charter of the lands of Inverallan, in Strathspey. Between 1315 and 1325 he affixed his seal to a charter by Sir Patrick Graham of Lovat. He had issue.

Robert or Ralph le Grant, also taken at Dunbar, was liberated in 1297 from Bristol [one document says he was confined in Gloucester] on condition of serving the King in France, John Comyn of Badenoch being surety.

III. 1.—PATRICK LE GRANT or LA GRAWNT of Stratherrick.
He succeeded his father in the lands of Inverallan. In 1338 he witnessed a charter by Duncan Earl of Fife, and in 1346 a charter by John Earl of Moray; also as Lord of Stratherrick he granted, about the year 1357, to his son-in-law, William Pylche, burgess of Inverness, the lands of Kildreke and Glenbeg, lying within the lands of Inverallan, to be held by William Pylche and the heirs of his marriage with Elisabeth, daughter to Patrick le Grant. The latter had issue.

III. 2.—SIR JOHN GRANT, Knight.
Named as a prisoner at Halidon Hill in 1333. He was in the Earl of Moray's division, and he is probably the same John Grant who received a charter of the lands of Dovely from John Randolph, Earl of Moray, in 1346, with the custody of the Castle of Darnaway. He is repeatedly found in the train of the Earl of Mar, and had several safe-conducts backwards and forwards from England to Scotland on the Earl's business. In 1363 he received a safe-conduct for himself and *Elizabeth* his wife, and also for himself and his tenants of his town of Easter Gordon, in "le Merskes" in Scotland, to come into England with their goods, etc., and their business being done, to return. In 1364 he appears at Kindromy Castle as witness to a charter by Thomas Earl of Mar. In 1366 he had a safe-conduct to pass into England or across the sea. In 1368 he is a witness to a charter by Thomas of Baliol, brother to Thomas Earl of Mar, at Cavers. He married a lady whose Christian name was Elizabeth, but her surname has not been ascertained. He died about 1370.

IV.—MALCOLM LE GRANT,
Who in 1380 was present at certain proceedings between Alexander Stewart, Lord of Badenoch, and the Bishop of Moray, at the Castle of Ruthven. In 1394 he is named as the possessor of a 20 merk land near Inverness. He was probably the father of

Elizabeth le Grant, Lady of Stratherrick, *grand-daughter*, and, in 1433, nearest heir of Patrick le Grant. She married —— Mackintosh, and had issue a son, James Mackintosh, who, in 1419, had the lands of Stratherrick from his mother. Nothing further is known regarding him. Elizabeth le Grant had also a daughter, who married —— Seres, as in 1433, she disponed to *John Seres her grandson*, in "the direct line," all her lands. He had possession of Inverallan, and his son Patrick Seres, in 1482, disponed these lands to John Grant, son of Sir Duncan Grant of Freuchie.

Elizabeth le Grant, who married, about 1357, William Pylche, burgess of Inverness, afterwards knighted. They had issue.

Sir William Pylche, Lord of Culcabok, and part of Inverallan, who died before 1427. By his wife, Elizabeth Pylche, who survived him, dying before 1453, he had issue two daughters, Elizabeth and Marjory Pylche. They were, about 1427, infeft in their father's lands of Dreggie and Glenbeg, part of Inverallan. In 1482 they, in their widowhood, resigned (with reservation of liferents) their Inverallan lands, and also their lands of Culcabok, etc., in favour of Hay of Mayne, whose successors sold Inverallan in 1587 to John Grant, fifth of Freuchie.

THOMAS LE GRANT,
Appears as a witness to a charter of Nicholas Forays in 1363, and to one by Edua, Lady of Castlehill, in 1361. He received from King Robert II., on 10th November 1371, a charter, narrating the grants by successive Earls of Moray to the late John le Grant his father; and further, for the latter's service in defence of the kingdom, conferring and confirming to the said Thomas the lands of Dollynduff and Dovaly, and the office of Forester of the King's Park and Castle of Darnaway, with other privileges.

Robert Grant, Squire, had a safe-conduct into England and beyond sea in 1379. On 18th October 1380 he received a safe-conduct from the English King to fight a duel with Thomas del'Strother, an Englishman, at Liliattecrosse, on the Monday following the next St. Martin's day, the duration of the safe-conduct to be fixed by John Duke of Lancaster. On 18th February 1380 he received a safe-conduct into England to confer with Robert Hales, the Prior of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, in England, touching the affairs of said hospital. On 16th November 1385 he received £40 as his share of 40,000 francs sent from France to be distributed among the Scottish nobles. In 1391 he received a sum of money as his expenses while engaged in the affairs of the kingdom. In 1392 and 1394 he received a pension of £20, to be paid yearly, for his services in France and elsewhere. He was probably the father of

V.—JOHN GRANT, said to have been a knight, and Sheriff of Inverness in 1434. He is the reputed husband of Matilda of Glencarnie, who was the mother of

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VI.—SIR DUNCAN GRANT, KNIGHT, FIRST CALLED OF FREUCHIE.

As Duncan le Grant, he received a precept of sasine from King James the First, dated 31st January 1434, for infefting him as lawful heir of his deceased mother, Matilda of Glencarnie, in certain lands in the sheriffdom of Elgin. He was designed of Freuchie in 1453. He was retoured, first on 25th February 1464, and finally on 7th February 1468, as heir in the lands of Congash, of his grandfather Gilbert of Glencarnie, who is said to have died about thirty years before. In 1475, with consent of John Grant his son and apparent heir, he granted a precept for infefting James Douglas of Pittendriech in the lands of Sheriffston. He was alive on 15th September 1484, and died in the following year. He was succeeded by his grandson. He had issue one son and two daughters.

VII.—JOHN GRANT, YOUNGER OF FREUCHIE,

Who, on 8th September 1478, received a grant from George Earl of Huntly, of the liferent only of the Earl's lands of Fermestoun, Kinrara, Gergask, and others, and is there described as son and apparent heir of Duncan Grant of Freuchie. He predeceased his father Sir Duncan Grant, dying at Kindrochat in Mar, on 30th August 1482, and was buried in the Cathedral Church of Moray, leaving two sons.

CATHERINE, married Lachlan Mackintosh, called "Badenoch," and had issue. She is also said to have married Alexander Baillie of Dunean and Sheuglie, and had issue.

MURIEL, married Patrick Leslie of Balquhain, and had issue. She died *c.* 1472.

VIII.—JOHN GRANT, SECOND OF FREUCHIE, CALLED THE "BARD ROY."

Received, on 16th September 1483, a gift from George Earl of Huntly of the lands of Kinrara and others in liferent, for manrent service. On 15th September 1484 he entered into a contract of marriage with Margaret Ogilvy, daughter of James Ogilvy of Deskford. On 17th June 1489 he was infeft in the half lands of Freuchie and others, as heir of his grandfather, and on 20th June 1491 in the lands of Tullochgorm and others. On 4th January 1493, he, on his own resignation, received a charter from King James IV., erecting the whole of his lands into a barony, to be called the BARONY OF FREUCHIE. On 8th November 1508 he entered into a contract with John Cumming of Erneside for the marriage of Margaret Grant, his daughter, to Thomas Cumming, younger of Erneside. In 1509 he received a charter from King James IV. of the barony of Urquhart. On 22d October 1520 he contracted a marriage between his daughter, Agnes Grant, and Donald, son of the chief of Clan Cameron. He died on 1st May 1528. He left two sons and five daughters. He was succeeded by his eldest son.

WILLIAM, described as brother of John Grant of Freuchie, in a Royal remission, dated 13th February 1527.

IX.—JAMES GRANT, THIRD OF FREUCHIE, CALLED THE "BOLD,"

Who was retoured heir to his father in Freuchie and other lands in 1536 and 1539. He was bailie of the barony of Kinloss. He received, on 8th May 1546, a bond of maintenance from George, fourth Earl of Huntly. On 26th January 1552 he contracted his daughter Janet in marriage to Alexander Sutherland of Duffus. He died on 26th August 1553. He was apparently twice married; first, to Elizabeth Forbes, daughter of John, sixth Lord Forbes; secondly, to Christian Barclay, who survived him, and married Arthur Forbes of Balfour, without issue. He left four sons and five daughters. He was succeeded by his eldest son.

JOHN GRANT, who received, in 1509, a Crown charter of the lands of Corriemony. He was ancestor of the GRANTS OF CORRIEMONY, in Glen Urquhart. *See* separate Pedigree.

MARGARET, married, *c.* 1508, Thomas Cumming, younger of Erneside.

ANNE, who married, *c.* 1512, Hugh Fraser, Master of Lovat, and had issue.

AGNES, married Donald Cameron, younger chief of the Clan Cameron. Contract dated 22d October 1520.

ELIZABETH, married John Mackenzie, ninth of Kintail, and had issue.

CHRISTINE, named in her brother James's will, 1553.

JOHN GRANT, called John Mor, received a Crown charter of the lands of Glenmoriston in 1509. He was ancestor of the family of GRANTS OF GLENMORISTON. *See* separate Pedigree.

X.—JOHN GRANT, FOURTH OF FREUCHIE, CALLED THE "GENTLE,"

Who during his father's lifetime was designed of Mulben. He was retoured heir to his father in certain lands in 1553. He married, before 19th February 1539, Lady Margaret Stewart, daughter of John Earl of Athole, who, on that date, received a Crown charter of the lands of Mulben in liferent. On 9th July 1552 he received from Queen Mary a remission for joining Mathew Earl of Lennox on Glasgow Moor in May 1544. On 3d December 1562 he received custody of Drummyn Castle. On 16th November 1568 he contracted his daughter Barbara Grant to Robert Munro, younger of Fowlis; but apparently the marriage was not celebrated, as on 18th April 1572 a contract was ratified for her marriage with Colin Mackenzie of Kintail. On 17th November 1571 he contracted his daughter Helen Grant to Angus McAlester McKeane, younger of Glengarry. He died on 2d June 1585. Lady Margaret Stewart died in 1555. He married, secondly, before 1557, Lady Janet Leslie, daughter of the Earl of Rothes, who survived him, and married, before 8th August 1590, James Elphinstone, brother of Robert, third Lord Elphinstone. He had two sons and seven daughters. His eldest son,

WILLIAM, who received from the Bishop of Moray, in 1541, a charter of the lands of Finlarg or Muckrath. He died without issue before 22d December 1560, when his brother John received a precept, on which he was infeft in these lands, as his heir.

DUNCAN, who had a feu-charter of Easter Elchies in January 1542. He died in October 1580. *See* Pedigree of Grants of Easter Elchies.

ARCHIBALD, in Ballintomb, a son of the second marriage, who was the ancestor of the GRANTS OF MONYMUSK. *Vide* separate Pedigree.

ISOBEL, married, before 1543, Archibald Campbell, younger of Cawdor, and had issue.

MARGARET, married, *c.* 1549, Thomas Cumming, grandson and heir of Alexander Cumming of Altyre.

JANET, married (contract dated 26th January 1552) Alexander Sutherland of Duffus. She survived him, and married, secondly, before 10th January 1578, James Dempster of Auchterless. She died between 17th and 31st October 1600.

AGNES, married David Ross, son of Alexander Ross of the Holm. Contract dated 24th August 1558.

A daughter, married to Alexander Gordon of Strathavon.

XI.—DUNCAN GRANT, YOUNGER OF FREUCHIE,

Predeceased his father, dying in 1582, his testament being dated 19th February 1581. In 1580 he received a charter of the lands of Corriemony, on the resignation of John Grant of Corriemony. He married Margaret, daughter of William Mackintosh of that Ilk, who survived him, and married, secondly, before 1586, Alexander Gordon, younger of Abergeldie, and thirdly, before 1604, William Sutherland of Duffus. She was alive in 1627, when, as Lady of Duffus, she granted a discharge for 600 merks to Sir John Grant of Freuchie. Duncan Grant had issue five sons and two daughters.

PATRICK, ancestor of the GRANTS OF ROTHIEMURCHUS. *Vide* separate Pedigree.

ISOBEL or ELIZABETH, contracted to William Fraser of Strowie on 29th November 1561, married in 1564 to John Leslie, younger of Balquhain. Divorced from him she afterwards, in 1580, married William Cumming of Inverallochy.

GRISSEL, married (contract dated 30th November 1565) Patrick Grant, younger of Ballindalloch. She died before 1576.

MARGARET, married, *c.* 1568, Alexander Gordon, younger of Baldornye.

KATHARINE, alive in 1559.

MARJORY, alive in 1561.

BARBARA, contracted on 16th November 1568 to Robert Monro, younger of Fowlis. She married, contract dated 18th April 1572, Colin Mackenzie of Kintail.

HELEN, contracted on 17th November 1571 to Angus McAlester McKeane, younger of Glengarry.

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XII.—JOHN GRANT, FIFTH OF FREUCHIE,

Who was infeft in the lands of Corriemony and others in 1582. He succeeded his grandfather in the estate of Freuchie before 1586. In 1590 he and others were exempted from the Earl of Huntly's commission of justiciary. In 1590 he entered into a bond to keep good rule in the Highlands. In 1592 he received a commission of justiciary. In 1609, he acquired from James, Earl of Moray, the LORDSHIP OF ABERNETHY, and from Thomas Nairn of Cromdale, the lands of CROMDALE. He received numerous bonds of manrent from members of his clan, and entered into various similar contracts with neighbouring barons. In 1613 he took part against the Macgregors, and the same year he and his clan received a general remission for all offences. In 1620 he and his son, Sir John Grant of Mulben, were appointed deputy-commissioners against the gipsies. He died on 20th September 1622. He married Lady Lilias Murray, daughter of John, first Earl of Tullibardine, contract dated 15th April 1591, and by her, who survived him, and died in 1643, had issue one son and four daughters. He was succeeded by his son.

JAMES of Ardneidlie and Logie, ancestor of the Grants of Moyness. He married, in 1602, Katharine, daughter of William Rose of Kilravock. He died before 1623.

PATRICK of Easter Elchies. He had charters of Strome in 1589 and 1593. He was progenitor of the Grants of Easter Elchies. *See* separate Pedigree of that family.

ROBERT of Lurg, ancestor of the Grants of Lurg. On 7th June 1620 he had a lease of Clachaig to himself and his wife, Catherine Stewart. *See* separate Pedigree.

DUNCAN of Dandaleith. He died before 1620, leaving two sons, John, who succeeded him in Dandaleith, and James.

ELIZABETH, married, contract dated 27th April 1594, Alexander Cumming, younger of Altyre.

Another daughter mentioned in her father's testament.

XIII.—SIR JOHN GRANT, SIXTH OF FREUCHIE, KNIGHT,

Who during his father's lifetime was designed Sir John Grant of Mulben, being knighted by King James VI. He was born on 17th August 1596. In 1620 he was conjoined with his father in the commission against gipsies. On 19th February 1623 he was retoured heir to his father in the lands of Lethen. He received various commissions against rebels, and was commended to the Privy Council for his activity. He died in 1637, his testament being dated on 31st March in that year. He married, contract dated 11th December 1613, Mary, daughter of Lord Ogilvie of Deskford, who survived him. By her he had eight sons and three daughters. He was succeeded by his eldest son.

ANNAS, married (contract dated 16th August 1611) Sir Lachlan Mackintosh of that Ilk. She died in 1624, leaving issue.

JANET, married, contract dated 9th September 1612, William Sutherland of Duffus. The Laird of Duffus died 21st October 1626, leaving issue.

LILIAS, born 1599, married, before 1633, Sir Walter Innes of Balveny, and had issue.

KATHERINE, married Ogilvie of Kincairn, and had issue.

DUNCAN GRANT of Clurie, legitimated in 1615. He married, contract dated 4th July 1615, Muriel Ross, widow of Duncan Grant, apparent of Rothiemurchus. He was ancestor of the Grants of Clurie.

XIV.—JAMES GRANT, SEVENTH OF FREUCHIE,

Who was just of age when his father died, being born in 1616. He supported the Covenant in 1640, but afterwards joined the Marquis of Montrose, from whom he received a commission to raise men for the King's service. He and his clan joined in a solemn bond of combination on behalf of his Majesty, dated 30th March 1645. On 10th February 1657 he received from General Monck a permit for himself and his tenants to retain their arms. He died in September 1663. He married, in 1640, Lady Mary Stewart, daughter of James, second Earl of Murray, by whom he had issue, who survived him, two sons and three daughters. He was succeeded by his eldest son.

PATRICK, of Cluniemoir, a lieutenant-colonel. He was tutor of Grant after the death of his brother James in 1663. He married, first, —— Sutherland, daughter of the Laird of Duffus, by whom he had issue three daughters. His second wife was Sibilla, daughter of Kenneth Mackenzie, Lord Kintail. By her he had no issue. Mary, the second daughter, married Patrick Grant or Macalpin of Rothiemurchus.

ALEXANDER, who was living in 1665. He married Elizabeth Nairn, and had issue two daughters.

GEORGE, a major in the army. He was appointed Governor of Dumbarton Castle. He was alive in 1675, and died *s.p.*

ROBERT, who in 1640 witnessed the marriage-contract of his sister Anne. He died before 22d August 1653, leaving issue.

MUNGO, fifth son *alive* in 1654. He was twice married: first, to Margaret Gordon; second, to Elizabeth Grant of Gartinmore. In 1667 he acquired Kinchirdie. *See* separate Pedigree of GRANTS OF KINCHIRDIE, ETC.

THOMAS of Balmacaan, born 1637, married, in 1682, Mary, daughter of Colin Campbell of Clunes, and had issue.

MARY, married (1.), in 1644, Lord Lewis Gordon, with issue; (2.) James, second Earl of Airlie, without issue.

ANNE, married, contract dated 17th October 1640, Kenneth Mackenzie of Gairloch.

LILIAS, married Sir John Byres of Coates.

XV.—LUDOVICK GRANT, EIGHTH OF FREUCHIE AND FIRST OF GRANT,

Who was retoured heir to his father in 1665. He was fined by King James VII. in the sum of £42,500 Scots, for which he received a discharge, 9th January 1685. In 1689 he was appointed colonel of a regiment, and principal Sheriff of Inverness. He raised, in 1690, on behalf of the Government, a regiment of 600 of his clan. In 1694 he had his lands erected into the REGALITY OF GRANT. He was thereafter called GRANT OF GRANT. He died at Edinburgh in November 1716. He married, first, contract dated 20th December 1671, Janet, only child of Alexander Brodie of Lethen. By her, who died in 1697, he had four sons and four daughters. He married, secondly, in 1701, Jean, daughter of Sir John Houstoun of that Ilk, without issue. He was succeeded by his eldest son.

PATRICK, progenitor of Grants of Wester Elchies. In 1675 he is called brother-german of Ludovick Grant. *See* separate Pedigree of Wester Elchies.

ANNE, married, in 1664, Ogilvie of Boyne, county of Banff, and had issue.

MARY, married, before 1669, Sir Alexander Hamilton of Haggs, and had issue.

MARGARET, married Roderick Mackenzie of Redcastle, and had issue.

XVI.—1. ALEXANDER GRANT OF GRANT,

Who entered the army and rose to the rank of Brigadier-General. He was also Lord-Lieutenant of Inverness and Banff. He married, first, in 1699, Elizabeth Stewart, eldest daughter of James Lord Doune, son and apparent heir of Alexander, sixth Earl of Murray; and secondly, Anne, daughter of John Smith, Speaker of the House of Commons, but had no surviving issue. On his first marriage his father resigned the barony of Urquhart and other lands to him; and on his second marriage, in 1709, his father resigned, in 1710, all his estates to him. He succeeded his father in November 1716, and died at Leith on 14th August 1719. He was succeeded by his brother James.

XVI.—2. SIR JAMES GRANT OF GRANT, BARONET,

Who succeeded his brother as Laird of Grant, was born 26th July 1679. He married, on 29th January 1702, Anne, daughter and heiress of Sir Humphrey Colquhoun of Luss, Baronet, and succeeded his father-in-law in his estates and title in 1718. On his succession to the estates of Grant, he resumed his own surname, retaining the title of Baronet. He was an M.P. for many years, representing the county of Inverness, and died in London on 16th January 1747. By his wife, who died on 25th June 1724, he had issue six sons and eight daughters.

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LEWIS, a colonel in the army. Died in Kingston, in Jamaica, 11th March 1742. He left a daughter, Anne, married to Mr. Patrick Grant, minister of Logie Easter, but his property of Dunphail and all his estate went to his nephew, Sir Ludovick Grant of Grant.

GEORGE, otherwise Major George Grant of Culbin. He was appointed on 18th June 1743, Deputy-Governor of Inverness. He died in December 1755, *s.p.*, and his estate fell to his nephew, Sir Ludovick Grant of Grant.

ELIZABETH, married, in 1704, Hugh Rose of Kilravock, county of Nairn, and had issue.

ANN, married, in 1711, Colonel William Grant of Ballindalloch, and had issue.

JANET, married Sir Roderick Mackenzie of Scatwell, and had issue.

MARGARET, married, in 1716, Simon Lord Lovat, and had issue.

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HUMPHREY, who was born 2d December 1702, and predeceased his father, dying unmarried in September 1732.

XVII.—SIR LUDOVICK GRANT OF GRANT, BARONET.
Born 13th January 1707. He succeeded, in 1719, to his father in the name and estates of Colquhoun of Luss. He studied for the Scotch bar, and was admitted an advocate in 1728. In 1732, on the death of his elder brother Humphrey, he succeeded as heir-apparent to the Grant estates, and the estate of Luss devolved upon his younger brother James. During the rebellion of 1745, while Ludovick Grant, younger of that Ilk, he loyally supported the House of Hanover. In 1747, he succeeded to the Grant estates, and became Sir Ludovick Grant of Grant. He died at Castle Grant, 18th March 1773. He married, first, on 6th July 1727, Marion, daughter of Sir Hew Dalrymple of North Berwick, by whom he had issue one daughter; and secondly, Lady Margaret Ogilvie, daughter of James, fifth Earl of Findlater and Seafield. By her, who died in 1757, Sir Ludovick had issue one son, who succeeded him, and eleven daughters, of whom six survived their father.

ALEXANDER, born 8th October 1709, died 12th March 1712.

JAMES, born 22d February 1714. On his brother Ludovick's succession to the estate of Grant, he succeeded to Luss. He was created a Baronet of Great Britain on 27th June 1786. He married Lady Helen Sutherland, and had issue. He was ancestor of the present family of Colquhoun of Luss.

FRANCIS, born 10th August 1717. He became a General in the army. He married Catherine Sophia Cox, and died on 29th December 1781, leaving issue.

CHARLES-CATHCART, born 3d April 1723. Became a Captain in the Royal Navy. He died 11th February 1772, unmarried. His brother Sir Ludovick was served heir to him on 16th May 1772.

JANET, born 31st May, died 5th October 1704.

JEAN, born 28th September 1705. She married, in 1727, as his second wife, William Duff, afterwards Lord Braco and Earl Fife, and had issue.

MARGARET, born 19th January 1708, died 7th September 1709.

ANNE-DRUMMONDA, born 2d May 1711. She married (contract dated 9th October 1727) Sir Harrie Innes of Innes, ancestor of the present Duke of Roxburghe. She died in February 1771.

ELIZABETH, born 22d January, died 5th February 1713.

SOPHIA, born 12th January 1716, died unmarried on 25th March 1772.

PENUEL, born 12th August 1719. She married, in 1740, Captain Alexander Grant of Ballindalloch.

CLEMENTINA, born 12th April 1721. Married (contract dated 13th October 1737) Sir William Dunbar of Durn, in the county of Banff.

XVIII.—SIR JAMES GRANT OF GRANT, BARONET,
Was born 19th May 1738. He married, in January 1763, Jane, only child of Alexander Duff of Hatton, by Lady Anne Duff, eldest daughter of William Earl Fife. He represented in Parliament, at different periods, the counties of Moray and Banff. In 1773 he succeeded his father in the title and estates of Grant. In 1793 he levied the first regiment of fencibles, and in the following year he raised the 97th regiment. He held the office of General Cashier of Excise for Scotland, and was Lord-Lieutenant of Inverness-shire. He died 18th February 1811. By his wife, who died on 15th February 1805, he had seven sons and seven daughters, of whom several predeceased him.

ANNE, who died unmarried in London on 6th December 1748, aged 19.

MARIANA, died unmarried 28th March 1807.

MARGARET, born in 1753. Died unmarried.

ANN HOPE, who on 3d April 1781, married the Very Rev. Robert Darley Waddilove, D.D., Dean of Ripon, and died in 1797. Had issue.

PENUEL, married, on 6th January 1776, to Henry Mackenzie, author of "The Man of Feeling," and other works. Had issue.

MARY, died unmarried, at Edinburgh on 11th December 1784.

HELEN, married, on 9th September 1773, to Sir Alexander-Penrose-Cumming Gordon of Altyre and Gordonstoun, Baronet, and died in 1842.

ELIZABETH, died unmarried, 27th March 1804.

XIX.—1. SIR LEWIS ALEXANDER GRANT OF GRANT, BARONET.
Born 22d March 1767. In 1811, by the decease of James, seventh Earl of Findlater and fourth Earl of Seafield, without issue, Sir Lewis, as heir-general, succeeded to his estates, with the titles of EARL OF SEAFIELD, VISCOUNT REIDHAVEN, and BARON OGILVIE OF DESKFORD AND CULLEN. He then assumed the surname of Ogilvie in addition to his own. He died unmarried on 26th October 1840, aged 73, and was succeeded by his brother Francis William.

ALEXANDER, died young, on 21st March 1772.

JAMES THOMAS, born in August 1776, went to India in 1792. He was a judge at Furruckabad, and died in India, 28th July 1804, unmarried.

XIX.—2. FRANCIS WILLIAM GRANT,
Who was born 6th March 1778. He was M.P. for Elgin and Nairn shires from 1807 till 1840. He succeeded to his brother on 26th October 1840, and became SIXTH EARL OF SEAFIELD. He married, first, on 10th May 1811, Mary Anne, only daughter of John-Charles Dunn, of Higham House, Sussex, and by her, who was born 1st March 1774, and died 27th February 1840, in London, he had issue seven sons and one daughter. He married, secondly, 17th August 1843, Louisa-Emma, second daughter of the late Robert-George Maunsell of Limerick. He died 30th July 1853.

ROBERT HENRY GRANT, born 5th August 1783. Died unmarried 11th February 1862.

ALEXANDER HOPE, born on 21st August 1784, died 22d August 1793.

DUNDAS CHARLES, youngest son, born 21st October 1787, died 21st March 1788.

LADY ANNE MARGARET, born 1764, died unmarried at Grant Lodge, 3d November 1827.

LADY MARGARET, married, 10th June 1795, Major-General Francis Stuart of Lesmurdie, with issue; died 1830.

JANE, born 1st March 1774. She died unmarried at Grant Lodge, 22d May 1819, aged 45.

LADY PENUEL, died unmarried on 27th January 1844.

CHRISTINA TERESA, born 13th January 1781, died at Elgin 16th July 1793.

MAGDALEN, a daughter, living in 1796.

MARY SOPHIA, then youngest daughter, died 26th February 1788.

JAMES GRANT, born 16th April 1812, at London; died there 15th March 1815.

FRANCIS WILLIAM, Master of Grant. Born 5th October 1814. Was M.P. for Inverness-shire from 1838 till 11th March 1840, when he died, unmarried.

XX.—SIR JOHN CHARLES GRANT-OGILVIE, EARL OF SEAFIELD AND VISCOUNT OF REIDHAVEN, BARON OGILVY OF DESKFORD AND CULLEN, K.T.
Born at Cullen House, 4th September 1815; succeeded his father as seventh Earl, 30th July 1853; created, on 14th August 1858, BARON STRATHSPEY OF STRATHSPEY, in the United Kingdom. He married, 12th August 1850, the Hon. Caroline Stuart, youngest daughter of Walter Robert, eleventh Lord Blantyre. He died at Cullen House on 18th February 1881, and was interred at Duthil.

HONOURABLE JAMES OGILVIE-GRANT. Born 27th December 1817, he married, first, 6th April 1841, Caroline Louisa, second daughter of Eyre Evans of Ash Hill Towers, Limerick, who died on 6th February 1850; secondly, on 13th April 1853, Constance Helena, fourth daughter of Sir Robert Abercromby, Baronet, who died on 13th February 1872; thirdly, on 15th December 1875, Georgiana Adelaide Forester, widow of William Stuart of Aldenham Abbey, and daughter of the late General Walker of Manor House, Bushey. By his first and second wives he has issue two sons and one daughter.

HONOURABLE LEWIS ALEXANDER. Born 18th September 1820. He married, 15th August 1849, Georgina, daughter of the late Robert George Maunsell of Limerick, and has issue two sons and two daughters.

HONOURABLE GEORGE HENRY ESSEX. Born 13th February 1825, died 31st May 1873. He married, 2d October 1855, Eleanora, fourth daughter of the late Sir William G. Gordon Cumming, Baronet, and had issue three sons and two daughters.

HONOURABLE EDWARD ALEXANDER GRANT. Born 17th June 1833; died 26th April 1844.

LADY JANE, born at Cullen House, 8th September 1813; married, 20th July 1843, Major-General Sir Edward Walter Forestier Walker, K.C.B., and had issue. She died 16th September 1861.

XXI.—SIR IAN CHARLES GRANT-OGILVIE, EIGHTH EARL OF SEAFIELD, ETC., AND SECOND BARON STRATHSPEY OF STRATHSPEY.
Born 7th October 1851, was in the First Regiment of Life Guards, and retired in 1877. He succeeded his father on 18th February 1881.

PEDIGREE OF THE SECOND GRANTS OF WESTER ELCHIES, IN THE PARISH OF KNOCKANDO,

CADETS OF THE GRANTS OF GRANT.

I.—PATRICK GRANT OF WESTER ELCHIES.

Younger son of James Grant, seventh Laird of Freuchie, who, before his death, provided that his son's maintenance during his minority should be obtained from the rents of certain lands. In 1675, Ludovick Grant of Freuchie, the elder son and successor of James, calls Patrick Grant of Elchies his brother-german. He held the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel in the Laird of Grant's regiment. He married Janet, daughter of Forbes of Newton, who survived him. He died in January 1693, leaving one son and three daughters, all in their minority.

II.—CAPTAIN JAMES GRANT OF WESTER ELCHIES.

Mentioned in his father's testament in 1693 as eldest lawful son. In 1698 he obtained a precept of *clare constat* in his favour upon the lands of Wester Elchies, and on 22d June 1713 received a crown charter of confirmation of these lands. He married a daughter of Ogilvie of Kincairne. He died in October 1740.

ELIZABETH.

ANNA.

JEAN.

III.—LEWIS GRANT OF WESTER ELCHIES.

Who, on 17th March 1749, was retoured heir special to his father, James Grant of Wester Elchies, in the lands of Wester Elchies. He married Ann Ogilvie, who survived him. He died in January 1757.

IV.—JAMES GRANT OF WESTER ELCHIES.

Who was a minor in 1757 when his father died. On 6th April 1767 he was retoured heir to his father in Wester Elchies. He died in April 1783, leaving a son and only child, also in his minority.

LEWIS GRANT, mentioned in his brother's testament as brother to the defunct. In a letter from Magoby Estate, Hanover, Jamaica, 15th June 1774, to Sir James Grant, asking for the loan of money to start in the plantation business, he says he had been "sunk by the misfortunes of an unlucky brother, who it seems has been the bane of our almost extinct family."

ELIZABETH, called in her brother's testament sister to the defunct.

ANNA GRANT, mentioned in her father's testament as second daughter. She married John Grant, minister of Dundurcos, and died in April 1764.

KATHERINE, called in her brother's testament sister to the defunct. She married, in November 1769, Lieut. Grant in Greenburn.

V.—LEWIS GRANT OF WESTER ELCHIES.

Only child of James Grant of Wester Elchies. On his father's death the testament was given up by the factor *loco tutoris* for Lewis. He died in September or October 1783.

CADETS OF THE GRANTS

MUNGO GRANT of Kinchirdie. In a discharge, dated March 1654, to his eldest brother, James Grant of Freuchie, he styles himself fifth lawful surviving son of Kinchirdie, a disposition of the lands of Kinchirdie, and also of Avielochan and Delnahaitnich. He was for some time factor and chamberlain to Grant of Gartinmore, who survived him. He had issue by both wives. His testament is dated at Kinchirdie, 28th December 1679.

JOHN GRANT in Tomdow, eldest son by first wife. He was served heir-general to his father on 14th June 1695, and in 1697 disponed the lands of Avielochan and Delnahaitnich to his brother Robert. No further trace of him has been found.

JAMES GRANT of Gellovie, was second son of the first marriage, and is called in a disposition by his brother John to Robert Grant of Kinchirdie, "his brother-german," in which he is said to have had possession of the writs of the subjects disponed since the death of their father. He witnessed a discharge by Robert Grant of Auchterblair on 21st February 1679, in which he is called lawful son to Mungo Grant of Kinchirdie. In 1697 he was appointed overseer to the children of Patrick Grant of Wester Elchies. He died before 1710.

LUDOVICK GRANT, who is described in his father's testament as eldest son of the second marriage. As such he was heir of provision to the lands of Kinchirdie, but he appears to have died before coming of age, and his brother Robert succeeded to the lands.

LACHLAN GRANT of Gellovie, so designed in 1716 in a discharge granted by him to Colonel William Grant of Ballindalloch. He died in 1732.

LUDOVICK GRANT of Knockando, called second lawful son of James Grant of Gellovie. He appears frequently in transactions with Colonel William Grant of Ballindalloch, and others, between 1710 and 1736. On 22d June 1713 he obtained a charter of resignation and adjudication under the Great Seal of the lands of Knockando. He married (contract dated 23d February 1710) Jean, eldest daughter of John Macpherson of Invereshie, and died on 14th January 1751.

MUNGO GRANT of Knockando, who was 5th April 1709. He disponed Knoc daughter of Ludovick Grant of Gl Ludovick, second son to the late Jan tion Mungo is called brother-germar as Mungo Grant of Knockando, he younger, for £2394, 6s. 8d.

JOHN GRANT of Gellovie, who, as eldest lawful son, gave up his father's testament in 1732, and is then designed "OF GARTINBEG." He was writer of the discharge of 1716 above mentioned. In 1740 he is mentioned as heritor and elder of Duthil. He entered into an agreement with Sir Ludovick Grant of Grant respecting the lands of Gartinbeg and Gellovie in 1752. He died at Gartinbeg on 7th March 1759, at the age of seventy-one.

JAMES GRANT, who is designed lawful son to Lachlan Grant of Gellovie, in a bond, dated 3d June 1727, wherein he lends £1000 Scots to Colonel William Grant of Ballindalloch.

JAMES GRANT of Knockando, succeeded his father. He is mentioned as a debtor in the testament of Lewis Grant of Wester Elchies in 1757. In a letter, 6th June 1760, he promised to pay Major Grant of Ballindalloch's expenses for going to Germany to secure a company in Colonel Morris's regiment for his son. He died on 24th April 1769, and was succeeded by his eldest son.

HELEN GRANT, who married, on 15th August 1751, James Grant of Clury. She is called youngest daughter of the deceased Ludovick Grant of Knockando.

CAPTAIN LEWIS GRANT of Grantsfield. He was for some time in Bengal, but returned to Scotland in 1775. In letters Captain Ludovick Grant of Knockando frequently calls him his cousin.

CHARLES GR who, as son Captain Al ander Grant Grantsfield, on 11th Au (1753?), retou heir-general t mother Marga

LACHLAN GRANT of Gartinbeg, writer in Edinburgh, and agent there for the family of Grant. As eldest lawful son of John Grant of Gartinbeg, he received, in September 1763, from James Grant of Grant, a precept of *clare constat* for his infeftment in the lands of Gartinbeg and Gellovie. In 1774 he was one of the Commissioners of Supply for Elgin and Forres. He died, unmarried, at Edinburgh on 15th August 1775, and his testament was given up by his brother, John Grant of Gellovie, on 14th February 1776. But his brother and four sisters, with the husbands of two of them, declined to be confirmed as executors, and renounced their claims in favour of Sir James Grant of Grant, on 21st July 1778.

JOHN GRANT of Gellovie, who appears to have obtained the lands of Gellovie from his brother. He was a Commissioner of Supply for the county of Elgin and Forres in 1774. He married Elizabeth Lime (?), said to be a niece of Lord Elchies, who survived him, dying at Keith on 18th April 1812, in the 87th year of her age. John Grant died at Easter Elchies on 28th June 1780. He left issue.

ELIZABETH GRANT, who married Sueton Grant of Milntown at Fleeness.

ANN GRANT, who married Lieut. Allan Grant at Lynchurn.

MARJORY GRANT, who, along with her sister Margaret, continued in possession of Gartinbeg, and, as the Misses Grant of Gartinbeg, were in 1783 involved in a dispute about the marches of their lands and those of George Grant of Tulliochgorm, which was referred to the arbitration of Sir James Grant of Grant.

MARGARET GRANT.

CAPTAIN LUDOVICK GRANT of witness to a document on 30 1780 by Captain John Mac calls him his "cousin." On retoured heir-male general January 1774 heir special to in Knockando and Broadlanc he obtained from James Gra the lands of Ardfour, and in 1 sioners of Supply for Elgin a 27th July 1771, at Hampstead Guyon of Hampstead, who Elgin on 5th February 1784. 1786, the estate of Knockand Grant, ancestor of the present

LIEUTENANT JOHN GRANT, who was paymaster of the 71st regiment, designed eldest son of John Grant of Gellovie. He died at Edinburgh on 24th April 1783.

LACHLAN GRANT, who went to Jamaica, and is mentioned in letters from that Island.

JAMES GRANT, who also went to Jamaica. He is called third son.

LIEUTENANT LEWIS GRANT, called in letter 23d March 1792, Gellovie's son.

ELIZABETH.

HELEN.

ANN.

MARGARET.

MARY, who married, 1st July 1808, Dr. James Gordon of Keith.

PENUEL.

All named as children of John Grant of Gellovie, and as giving up the testament of their brother John on 24th July 1784.

ALEXANDER GRANT, mentioned in a letter by his mother, Mrs. Ann Grant of Knockando, to Sir James Grant of Grant, dated 24th October 1787, in which she solicits his interest for a naval appointment to him. He was then a midshipman.

ELIZABETH C daughter, August 17 9th Nove Joseph Park R.N. On 1808, she w heir-general sion to her

STUART COLQUHOUN GRANT.

ALAN CO

IE GRANTS OF GRANT.

he deceased Sir John Grant of Freuchie. He is designed "OF DUTHEL" in 1663, also "OF GELLOVEY" in 1667. He obtained, on 11th June 1667, from David Cumming s nephew, Ludovick Grant of Freuchie. He was twice married, first, to Margaret Gordon, who died before 1664; secondly, in 1664, to Elizabeth, daughter of John

ROBERT GRANT of Kinchirdie, second son of the second marriage. He succeeded on the death of his brother to the lands of Kinchirdie, and a small part of Avielochan. On 12th January 1697 he received from his brother John a disposition of the rest of Avielochan and Delnahaitnich. On 8th November 1699 he obtained from the Laird of Grant a charter of *novodamus* of these lands. He is named, in 1710, as a cautioner in the marriage-contract of his nephew, Ludovick Grant. He was dead in 1724. He married Anna Grant, who survived him, and as relict executrix, gave up his testament on 17th March 1725.

PATRICK GRANT, third son of the second marriage, also designed "brother-german of Kinchirdie" on 22d May 1714, when he is called also one of the creditors of Colonel William Grant of Ballindalloch.

MARGARET, eldest daughter of second marriage.

JEAN, second daughter of second marriage.

ELSPET, third daughter of second marriage.

All mentioned in their father's testament.

oured heir-general to his father on do, in 1713, to Ann Grant, second , who in turn disponed them to Grant of Gellovie. In the disposi- Ludovick. On 14th October 1707, nted a bond to the Laird of Grant,

CAPTAIN ALEXANDER GRANT of Grantsfield, mentioned in 1710 as brother-german to Ludovick Grant of Knockando. In 1727 he obtained a charter of resignation of the lands and barony of Ballogie, now Grantsfield, in the county of Aberdeen. There is a portrait of him at Castle Grant. He died on 28th April 1776. He married, in December 1739, Margaret, daughter of P. Farquharson of Inverey. She died at Grantsfield on 3d April 1753.

JAMES GRANT of Kinchirdie, designed eldest lawful son and heir of Robert Grant of Kinchirdie. On a precept of *clare constat* by Sir James Grant of Grant, dated 6th January 1731, he was infeft in all the lands held by his father. He obtained, in 1727 and 1751, prorogations of the redemption of the wadset of his lands held from the Lairds of Grant.

COLONEL JAMES GRANT, of 49th Regiment, who died at Dorchester on 17th August 1801.

MR. ROBERT GRANT of Kinchirdie, who, on 2d July 1757, as eldest son and heir of his father, obtained a precept of *clare constat* from the Laird of Grant for infeftment in the lands of Kinchirdie, Delnahaitnich, Avielochan, and others. He studied for the church, was licensed on 30th November 1756, and upon a presentation by Sir Ludovick Grant of Grant, was ordained minister of Duthil on 19th April 1758. He died on 12th March 1759, *s.p.*, and was succeeded by his brother John.

CAPTAIN JOHN GRANT of Kinchirdie, brother-german of Mr. Robert Grant of Kinchirdie, who, on 28th December 1759, obtained from Sir Ludovick Grant of Grant, a precept of *clare constat* for infeftment in the lands held by his brother. On 26th September 1770, he disponed Kinchirdie to Alexander Innes of Breda, by whom it was redisponed to Sir James Grant of Grant. From this Laird of Grant he received, in 1773 and 1774, dispositions of the lands of Bolladern and Lethindy, but he renounced these lands in 1780. He was a Commissioner for the county of Elgin and Forres in 1774, but is stated in 1786 to be "denuded as a freeholder" in Elgin. In 1797 he was deputy-lieutenant for the third district of Inverness-shire. He is stated to have qualified in 1817 for the office of J. P. He married Ann, daughter of Robert Grant of Lurg, by whom he is said to have had issue seven sons and seven daughters. Of these are known—

MARY GRANT, who married John Stewart, Tytonlish, Deputy-lieutenant of Inverness-shire. She died on 10th April 1782, leaving issue.

ockando, so designed as a October 1767, and also in son (of Invereshie), who th December 1769 he was this father, and on 17th grandfather, Ludovick, On 21st September 1772, of Grant a disposition of was one of the Commis- Forres. He married, on una, daughter of Stephen vived him. He died at er his death, on 2d March as purchased by Robert ily of Wester Elchies.

CHARLES GRANT, mentioned in a letter by John Duff to Major William Grant of Ballindalloch, 9th December 1769, as about to set out for Bengal. And another letter states that Knockando and his brother had left for London, "Charles, *en route* for India."

GRACE GRANT, who married, on 18th April 1769, Patrick Grant, minister of Cromdale. She died at Curr, 30th December 1795, leaving an only son James.

ROBERT GRANT, who is mentioned in a letter to Lady Grant of Grant, dated 10th October 1803, as having been killed at the siege of Agra, in India.

COLQUHOUN GRANT. He is recorded in parish register of Duthil as having been baptized there on 15th October 1784. He is described in 1838 as a surgeon in the 74th Regiment. He married Mary Anne, daughter of Colonel Harris Hailes of Frederickton, New Brunswick. He died at Corfu in 1847, leaving issue.

JAMES GRANT, mentioned in letter to Sir James Grant, 30th March 1792.

ALEXANDER GRANT.

ANNE GRANT.

MARGARET GRANT, twin sister with Anne.

ELIZABETH GRANT.

JANE DUFF GRANT, twin sister with Elizabeth.

MARY GRANT, who married Alexander Cumming, Docharn, without issue.

PENUEL GRANT.

BARBARA GRANT, who married Major Patrick Cruickshanks, without issue.

NT, elder n 25th married, r 1805, surgeon, h July toured provi- er.

GRACE GRANT, called the youngest daughter of the late Captain Ludovick Grant of Knockando, married, 14th September 1809, at Bristol, Captain Joseph Spear.

GREGORY COLQUHOUN GRANT, Lieutenant-Colonel Bombay Staff Corps, and Session Judge, Kurrachee, Sinde. He married Constance Georgina, daughter of Henry Alexander of Forkhill, county Armagh, Ireland, and has issue.

ISABELLA ANN GRANT, unmarried.

MARY ANN GRANT, who married the Hon. A. C. Hobart, R.N. (Hobart Pasha). She died without issue.

ELIZABETH AUGUSTA GRANT, who married first, William Dundas Boyd, 14th Dragoons; secondly, John Hurly of Fenil, county Kerry, Ireland, and has issue.

JANE GRANT, who married Colonel Richard Fielding Morrison, and has issue.

BARBARA MARIA GRANT, who married John Gordon Asher, M.D., Bombay Staff Corps, and has issue.

LOUISA GRANT, who married Colonel Newman B. Thoyts, and has issue.

AN COLQUHOUN GRANT.

ROSE LOUISA VERE GRANT.

PEDIGREE OF THE GRANTS OF EASTER ELCHIES

IN THE PARISH OF KNOCKANDO, IN STRATHSPEY.

JAMES GRANT, called THE BOLD, third Laird of Freuchie (1528-1553), had, with other issue (*vide* Pedigree of the Chiefs of Grant)

JOHN GRANT, who succeeded his father in Freuchie as fourth Laird, and besides other issue (*vide* Pedigree of the Chiefs of Grant) had as his eldest son

I.—DUNCAN GRANT OF EASTER ELCHIES.

He received, on 16th January 1542-3, from Patrick, Bishop of Moray, a charter of the lands of Easter Ellochy or Elchies, to him and his heirs-male, and was afterwards designed of EASTER ELCHIES. He joined with James Grant of Wester Elchies in a submission to arbitration of a dispute concerning their respective marches in 1568, and in the following year received a pardon for taking part in the rebellion of the Earl of Huntly. He died in October 1580, leaving one son.

DUNCAN GRANT, younger of Freuchie, who married Margaret, daughter of William Mackintosh of that Ilk. She survived him, and married, secondly, Alexander Gordon, younger of Abergeldie. Duncan died in 1582, *v.p.*, leaving several sons, the third of whom

II.—JAMES GRANT OF EASTER ELCHIES.

Who, as son and executor, gave up his father's testament on 26th October 1602. He was a member of the juries for the retour of John Grant of Freuchie in 1582 and 1589, and came under obligation with others of the Clan Grant to defend the Laird of Freuchie as their chief. In 1594 he entered into a voluntary obligation with other Grants in his neighbourhood to keep the peace, under penalty of £1000 Scots in case of breach thereof. He died before 1620, and apparently *s.p.*, as the lands appear to have reverted to the Lairds of Freuchie as heirs of tailzie, and were bestowed upon a younger son.

MARY GRANT of Elchies, who, about 1570, is said (in the History of the Family of Leslie) to have married a son of Leonard Leslie, Abbot of Cupar.

I.—PATRICK OIG GRANT OF EASTER ELCHIES,

Appears frequently as a witness in 1620 under that designation. Previously to this, in 1593, he received a charter of the lands of Strome from his brother, John Grant of Freuchie. In 1622 he was appointed one of a commission to deal with Allan Cameron of Lochiel for his submission. On the death of his elder brother, Mr. James Grant of Logie, he was appointed curator and tutor to his children; and he and his son James granted a bond to Sir John Grant of Freuchie for his relief as security to him as curator to them. He sat on the inquest for the retour of Sir John Grant of Mulben in Lethen on 19th February 1623-4; entered into a contract for the marriage of his daughter in 1634; and in a document dated in 1640, relating to the tocher of 1000 merks, which should have been paid on that marriage, he is referred to as deceased. He married Margaret, daughter of Sir Robert Innes of Balvenie.

II.—JAMES GRANT, FIAR OF EASTER ELCHIES.

Who appears frequently as a witness, between 1618 and 1627, as son and apparent heir of Patrick Grant of Easter Elchies, and as fiar of Elchies. He was a party to the bond by his father to Sir John Grant of Freuchie in 1623. He married Katherine, daughter of Patrick Grant of Ballindalloch, who survived him, and married, secondly, James Dunbar. James Grant predeceased his father in October 1629.

GRISSEL GRANT, who married (contract dated 21st July 1634) John, son and heir of William Innes of Tombrekachie.

III.—ROBERT GRANT OF EASTER ELCHIES.

Who succeeded his grandfather. In a discharge by his friends and nearest of kin, dated 8th August 1640, to James Grant of Freuchie for the key of Patrick Grant's "charter kist," Robert Grant is called "sone and air of wmq[ll] James Grant, fiear of Elcheis, and oye to wmq[ll] Patrick Grant of Elcheis." He joined in a bond of combination between James Grant of Freuchie and friends, and the men of Badenoch, Rothiemurchus, Strathavon, and Glenlivet on 30th March 1645. He married, before 1654, Margaret, daughter of William Mackintosh of Kyllachie, and widow of John Grant of Lurg, and appears to have been alive in 1661.

PATRICK GRANT of Hillhall or Edinvillie. On 4th May 1654, he received from John Gordon, and on 27th June 1677, from John Grant, dispositions of the lands of Edinvillie and Keithock. He died before 29th July 1693. He married Marjory, daughter of Duncan Grant of Balintomb, and had a daughter, Margaret, who married (contract dated 24th June 1679) James Grant of Lettoch.

DUNCAN GRANT, who appears as a witness to Grant documents in 1657 and 1661, in which he is designed brother to Robert Grant of Elchies.

IV. 1.—PATRICK GRANT OF EASTER ELCHIES.

Was retoured heir-male to his uncle, Patrick Grant of Edinvillie or Hillhall, on 29th July 1693. He disponed these lands, on 5th September 1688, to his brother John, with a clause for infefting the latter as heir to their uncle Patrick. He witnessed a discharge granted by his brother William on 14th February 1691. He appears to have died *s.p.*, and to have been succeeded by his brother, Captain John Grant.

IV. 2.—CAPTAIN JOHN GRANT OF EASTER ELCHIES.

So designed in a document dated 19th December 1696, to which he was a witness, and so in other documents later. On 5th September 1688 he received from his brother Patrick a disposition of the lands of Edinvillie, which was confirmed by charter from Alexander Duff of Braco on 30th September 1697. In 1711 he purchased the barony of Rothes from John, ninth Earl of Rothes. Captain John Grant is mentioned as a cautioner for the executors of the deceased Ludovick Grant of Dalvey in 1712, when the testament of that gentleman was recorded. He married Elizabeth, daughter of John Grant of Ballindalloch, and died before 21st June 1718.

JAMES GRANT, who, in a document dated 10th March 1687, to which he was a witness, is designed brother-german to John Grant of Easter Elchies.

WILLIAM GRANT, who, on 14th February 1691, granted a discharge to Patrick Grant of Rothiemurchus, in which he is designed "sometime in Easter Elchies, now in Tomden of Knockandell." His brother, Patrick Grant of Easter Elchies, is a witness.

MARGARET GRANT, who married Murdoch Mackenzie of Ardross, and had issue. She survived her husband, and died in 1729.

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V.—PATRICK GRANT of Easter Elchies, Lord Elchies.

Only son and heir. He was a distinguished advocate, and became one of the Senators of the College of Justice in 1732. He was known on the Bench by the title of Lord Elchies. He was also appointed one of the Judges of the Court of Justiciary in 1736. In 1709 and 1714 he is styled younger of Elchies, and on 21st June 1718 was retoured heir-general to his father, John Grant of Easter Elchies. He married (contract dated 19th May and 6th June 1713) Margaret, daughter of Sir Robert Dickson of Inveresk, receiving from his father a settlement of the whole estate. On 16th June 1733 he disponed the estate (with the exception of Easter Elchies) in favour of himself in liferent, and his eldest son, John Grant, in fee, reserving power to alter; and on the 22d of same month he obtained a charter of resignation under the Great Seal of the lands of Edinvillie. He died at the house of Inch, near Edinburgh, on 27th July 1754, in the sixty-fourth year of his age. Mrs. Grant died at Edinburgh on 8th December 1746. They left issue.

VI.—JOHN GRANT of Easter Elchies, Advocate, afterwards Baron Grant.

He was appointed Sheriff-depute of Elgin and Nairn in 1748, and in October 1755 a Baron of Exchequer in Scotland in room of Sir John Clerk of Pennycuik, deceased. On 26th July 1751 he obtained a charter of resignation of the lands of Easter Elchies. Very shortly after succeeding his father he sold all his lands of Easter Elchies, Rothes, Edinvillie, and Keithock, to James, fifth Earl of Findlater and Seafield, by disposition dated 9th December 1758, recorded the 13th of the same month, and to complete his title, Baron Grant was served nearest heir-male to his grand-uncle, Patrick Grant, in the lands of Edinvillie and Keithock, on 27th March 1759. The estates were sold with consent of his wife only. He married, on 11th April 1750 (contract dated 3d April 1750), Margaret, eldest daughter of Andrew Fletcher of Salton, Lord Milton. In the contract his father, Lord Elchies, settled his estates upon his son John. Mrs. Grant died at London on 6th April 1775. Baron Grant died at Grenada, where he had extensive sugar estates, on 12th November 1775. He had no issue, and left all his estates to his only surviving brother Andrew. Easter Elchies and Rothes still remain the property of the Earls of Seafield, but Edinvillie or Hillhall was acquired by Robert Grant of Wester Elchies, under a disposition dated 20th February and 2d March 1790, and recorded on 9th March same year.

Captain Robert Grant, second son of Patrick Lord Elchies, entered the navy, and was appointed lieutenant in April 1741. He rose to the rank of captain, and was in command of one of the British ships stationed in the East Indies, when he died in 1759 without issue.

David Grant, who died at Edinburgh on 11th March 1749, without issue.

James Grant, mentioned by Shaw in his History of Moray as at one time mortgagee of Achnahyle, in the parish of Kirkmichael.

Andrew Grant. He was for some time a banker in Edinburgh. Surviving all his brothers, he became heir to the property of Baron Grant in 1775. He married Allan, eldest daughter of Thomas Fordyce of Ayton, and died in the Island of Grenada on 27th November 1779, leaving issue.

Helen Grant. She married, on 24th December 1746, Patrick Grant, younger of Rothiemurchus, whom she survived, and died without issue, at Edinburgh, on 12th March 1791.

Isabella Grant, mentioned in the testament of Mrs. Helen Grant, relict of Patrick Grant in 1791, as sister-german of defunct and only executor-dative *qua* nearest in kin. She is then said to be residing in South Hanover Street, Edinburgh.

John Grant, who in a deed of entail made by Patrick Grant of Rothiemurchus, of date 28th November 1787, is designed eldest son of the deceased Andrew Grant, late merchant in Edinburgh, who was son of the deceased Patrick Grant of Elchies, one of the Senators of the College of Justice.

Allan Grant, designed in the Rothiemurchus entail as second son of the deceased Andrew Grant.

Robert Grant, also called in the said entail, and designed third son of Andrew Grant.

Captain Charles Grant, R.N., C.B., who, in the entail of Rothiemurchus, is designed fourth and only other son of Andrew Grant. On 29th January 1816, he obtained a patent of arms to him and his heirs-male. He was then the only surviving son.

PEDIGREE OF THE GRANTS OF LURG, IN ABERNETHY, STRATHSPEY,

CADETS OF THE GRANTS OF GRANT.

ROBERT GRANT of Lurg, a younger son of Duncan Grant, Younger of Freuchie. In 1613 he was fined for the reset of the Macgregor outlaws. In 1620 he obtained from his brother, John Grant of Freuchie, a lease of the lands of Clachaig, to him and his spouse. In 1628 he was appointed by Sir John Grant of Freuchie, his nephew, bailie of the Grant baronies, and joint chamberlain of his estates, and held these offices till his death in 1634. He married, before 1620, Catherine, daughter of Stewart of Kilcoay (? Calcowy), who survived him, and was alive in 1662, and left issue.

JOHN GRANT of Lurg, who frequently was a witness to documents under the designation of son and apparent heir to Robert Grant of Lurg. He succeeded his father in 1634. In 1647 he was one of the securities for Gartinmore that he and his wife would perform the usual services to the Laird of Freuchie. He is referred to as deceased on 15th January 1653. He married Margaret, daughter of William Mackintosh of Killachie, who survived him, and married, secondly, Robert Grant of Easter Elchies. In 1654 she engaged in litigation with Catherine Stewart the other dowager, about their respective terces, in which decision was given against her. She was alive in 1667, and is then mentioned as paying cess for Clachaig and Lurg.

AGNES GRANT, eldest daughter, who married (contract dated 20th November 1629) James Grant of Auchterblair.

WILLIAM GRANT of Lurg, son lawful to John Grant of Lurg, was in 1653 under curators. In 1667 he paid cess for the lands of Rothiemoon, and frequently appears as a witness to documents in the Grant Charter-chest. On 14th July 1698 he obtained a wadset of Clachaig from Ludovick Grant of Grant, and, on 16th August 1709, with consent of his eldest son John, he disponed his estates to his second son Robert. He married Helen, younger daughter of Archibald Grant of Ballintomb.

JOHN GRANT, who, in 1709, consented to the disposition of the estates by his father to Robert Grant, the younger brother of John. He appears to have afterwards resided in Ballintome. He married Helen, daughter of John Leslie of Trows (of the family of Bardonside).

ISAAC GRANT, W.S., Edinburgh, afterwards of Hilton, a distinguished feudal conveyancer. He was retoured heir of line and of provision general to his father on 9th November 1751. On 28th August 1782 he was also retoured heir of provision general to William Grant of Hilton. He matriculated his arms in the Lyon Office on 25th September 1788. He died on 27th December 1794, without lawful issue.

ROBERT GRANT of Lurg, who received a disposition of Lurg from his father in 1709. He was commonly known as "Old Stachan," or the Stubborn, and a portrait of him is at Castle Grant. He obtained a prorogation of the wadset of Clachaig in 1727. He married before 1709, but the name of his wife has not been ascertained. He died on 12th May 1771.

LILIAS. She married John Grant of Burnside, and had issue.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL JOHN GRANT of Lurg, who, on 2d May 1772, as eldest lawful son gave up his father's testament. He is frequently mentioned as a witness. In 1751 he obtained a further prorogation of the wadset of his lands, and in 1774 was appointed a Commissioner of Supply for Elgin and Forres. He died before 15th July 1786. He married Anne, daughter of Colonel John Grant of Carron, who predeceased him, dying on 15th April 1777.

GREGOR GRANT, mentioned in a letter, dated 30th April 1770, as having in the previous March died of fever in Antigua, where he had gone two years before.

ANN GRANT, who married John Grant of Kinchirdie, and had issue.

LIEUTENANT JOHN GRANT of Lurg, who, on 15th July 1786, gave up his father's testament, and on 11th August 1791 was retoured heir to his grandfather, Robert Grant of Lurg. He was a Commissioner of Supply for Elgin and Forres in 1774, and in 1777 obtained from Sir James Grant a lease of the lands of Delnabo.

PEDIGREE OF THE GRANTS OF ROTHIEMURCHUS

IN THE PARISH OF ROTHIEMURCHUS AND COUNTY OF INVERNESS.

I.—PATRICK GRANT of Muckerach, afterwards of Rothiemurchus.

Second son of John Grant of Freuchie (No. X. of Pedigree of the Chiefs of Grant) and Lady Margaret Stewart. In 1570 he received from his father a charter of the lands of Muckerach and others, and in 1580, upon his own resignation he received another charter of the same lands, in which he is designed "of Rothiemurchus." He appears as a witness to the testament of his elder brother Duncan in 1581, and in 1585, when his father died, he was appointed one of his nephew's curators. In June 1592, along with Lord Fraser of Lovat and others, he received a commission from King James the Sixth to act against certain Highland rebels and marauders; and in the same year he joined with John Grant of Freuchie in a mutual bond of manrent with John Dow M'Gregor. In 1597 he is named as an arbiter in a similar bond between the Lairds of Freuchie and Glengarry, and in 1599 he holds a like position in a bond of submission between Lord Fraser of Lovat and John Grant of Freuchie. Along with the Laird of Freuchie and others he received a commission in 1602 from King James the Sixth to try persons accused of witchcraft. On 11th October 1608 he appears as an arbiter in a dispute between the Grants of Tullochgorm and Wester Elchies. In 1610 he obtained a grant of the lands of Hempriggs, in the barony of Kinloss, to him and his spouse Jean Gordon. He died before 7th June 1617. He married Jean Gordon, said to be daughter to the Laird of Echt, and by her had two sons, Duncan, who predeceased, and John, who succeeded him.

Duncan Grant, designed "eldest lawful son, apparent of Rothiemurchus," who predeceased his father. He appears in 1606 as a witness to a discharge granted by the Laird of Glengarry to the Laird of Freuchie. In 1613 he was fined 2000 merks Scots for resetting, supplying, and intercommuning with the Clan Gregor. He died before January 1615. He married (contract dated 1st October 1606) Muriel, daughter of George Ross of Balnagown. She survived him, and married Duncan Grant of Clurie, son of John Grant, fifth of Freuchie, and died before 11th February 1623. Duncan Grant, younger of Rothiemurchus left four daughters.

Jean Grant, who married, before May 1626, Alexander Gordon of Kilhuntin.

Marjory Grant, who married Alexander Porterfield, son of Patrick Porterfield of Whytmire (contract dated 2d May 1628).

Katherine Grant, who married (contract dated 29th November 1630) Alexander Shaw, son of John Shaw of the Dell of Rothiemurchus.

Grizel Grant, died before 11th February 1623.

II.—JOHN GRANT,

Who succeeded to his father, as his brother left only female heirs. As John Grant of Rothiemurchus he witnessed an agreement between the Lairds of Grant and Mackintosh and Cameron of Lochiel, on 21st November and 10th December 1623. He married Margaret Dunbar, daughter of Mr. Thomas Dunbar, Dean of Moray. By her, who survived him, and married, secondly, William M'Intosh, he had two sons. He died before 1651.

III.—JAMES GRANT,

Who succeeded his father. He died in 1677, his testament being dated 6th April in that year. He married Grizel Mackintosh (Killachie), who was called Grizel More, from her size and abilities. She bore her husband three sons, and survived him.

Patrick Grant, named in his brother's testament in 1677.

IV.—PATRICK GRANT, *alias* MACALPINE.

He was born in the year 1665, and succeeded his father in 1677. He was a contemporary and friend of Rob Roy, from whom he received the right to call himself Macalpine. In 1713 he received a charter from Alexander Grant, younger of Grant, of the kirk lands of Rothiemurchus, comprehending the lands of Baluespick, croft of Ardinch and Dell. He died before 1744, being about eighty years of age. He was twice married, first, to Mary Grant, daughter of Patrick, Tutor of Grant; and secondly, at the age of seventy, to Rachel Grant of Tullochgorm, who survived him. By his wives he had eight sons and one daughter.

Colonel William Grant of Ballindalloch. *Vide* Pedigree of the second Grants of Ballindalloch.

John Grant.

Robert Grant, mentioned in his father's will to receive 100 merks.

V.—JAMES GRANT, the "Spreckled Laird,"

Who succeeded. On 24th October 1720, as younger of Rothiemurchus, he sat on the inquest for the retour of Alexander Grant of Grant. He was Deputy-Governor of Fort-George during the rebellion of 1745, but abandoned it to the rebels, for which he was tried by court-martial. On 5th February 1755, he matriculated his arms in the Lyon Office. He married Jean Gordon (of Park), and by her, who died 18th March 1782, aged ninety-five, had issue four sons and two daughters.

John Grant in Corrower, at head of Loch Ennich. He was for some time in the 42d Regiment of Foot.

Patrick Grant in Tulligrew, who, in 1720, was designed the third son. In 1734 he obtained a lease of the lands of Pitchaish from the Laird of Ballindalloch. He married Anne Grant, and had issue three daughters, Jean, Grace, and Mary, who, in 1792, were infeft, on a precept of *clare constat* by Sir James Grant of Grant, as heirs-portioners to an annual rent of 300 merks. Jean was then married to Donald Macpherson in Laggan of Badenoch, and Grace to her cousin, Lieutenant (afterwards Captain) James Cameron of Kinrara, son of Achnatallach. Mary died unmarried.

William Grant, ensign in the Highland Regiment in 1745, and major in 1774. He is named in the entail of Rothiemurchus in 1787 as uncle of the entailer.

Lieutenant George Grant, in Kinrara, married Anne Grant. He is called in his nephew's entail of 1787. He died 10th June 1788, and was buried in Rothiemurchus churchyard.

Captain Lewis Grant, indentured to the merchant trade by his brother James in 1744. He was afterwards in the army, and rose to the rank of captain. He outlived all his brothers, dying at Inverdruie on 19th November 1813, in the eighty-sixth year of his age.

Lachlan Grant. He served in the 42d Regiment of Foot, was killed in action, and buried in Nairn churchyard.

Gregor Grant.

Grace Grant, who married

Cameron, Achnatallach, Lochaber, and had issue.

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VI.—PATRICK GRANT, THE "WHITE LAIRD," Who succeeded. On 24th December 1746, he married Helen Grant, daughter of Patrick, Lord Elchies, and at that date is designed "younger of Rothiemurchus." He was a lieutenant in Loudoun's Fencibles. In 1746 he raised a Rothiemurchus company for the Laird of Grant, which company he commanded as captain. On 22d June he granted a charter of resignation of his lands in favour of himself and the heirs-male of his marriage with Helen Grant. He died at Elgin on 17th May 1790. He made an entail of Rothiemurchus in 1787. By his wife, who died at Edinburgh on 12th March 1791, he had no issue, and was succeeded by his nephew, the son of his brother William.

WILLIAM GRANT, M.D., of Lyme Street, London. After retiring from practice he resided at the Doune of Rothiemurchus. He married Elizabeth, only child and heiress of John Raper of Thorley Hall, in Herts, and Twyford, Essex. He died on 31st December 1786. He left one son and a daughter.

GEORGE GRANT, also an M.D. at Kingussie. He married Isabel Innes. As he is not mentioned in the entail of 1787, he probably died before that date *s.p.*

The Rev. ALEXANDER GRANT, in holy orders in the Episcopal Church, who married Diana Neale, an English lady, and had seven sons, all of whom predeceased their father.

HELEN GRANT, who married Alexander Cumming of Logie, and had issue.

HENRIETTA GRANT, who married Patrick Grant of Glenmoriston, and had issue.

VII.—SIR JOHN PETER GRANT, M.P.

He was born on 21st September 1774, and served heir-general to his father, Dr. William Grant, on 24th September 1788, and to his uncle Patrick, as heir-male and of tailzie and provision general, on 16th March 1796. He was admitted Advocate at the Scotch Bar, 28th June 1796, and called to the English Bar, 29th January 1802. He was elected M.P. for Grimsby, Lincolnshire. He was Puisne Judge in the Supreme Courts of Bombay and Calcutta, and afterwards Chief-Justice of the latter. He made considerable improvements on the estates and mansion-house since his succession in 1784. He died in July 1848, and was buried in the Dean Cemetery at Edinburgh. By his wife, Jane, daughter of the Rev. Edmund Ironside, Rector of Houghton-le-Spring, county of Durham, he had issue two sons and three daughters.

ELIZABETH RAPER GRANT, who married, 30th June 1806, George Frere of Roydon, Norfolkshire, and had a numerous issue.

VIII.—1. WILLIAM PATRICK GRANT, An English Barrister, and Master in Equity in Calcutta, who was born on 30th September 1798. He succeeded his father in 1848. He died on 26th May 1874. He married Sarah Siddons, grand-daughter of the famous actress, but had no issue, and was succeeded by his brother.

VIII.—2. SIR JOHN PETER GRANT, K.C.B., G.C.M.G., ETC.

Born 23d November 1807. He was a Member of the Council of India from 1854 to 1859, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal from 1859 to 1862, and Governor of Jamaica from 1866 to 1873. On 16th February 1835 he married Henrietta Chichele, second daughter of Trevor Chichele Plowden, Bengal Civil Service, by whom he has issue five sons and three daughters.

ELIZABETH GRANT, who married Major-General Henry Smith of Baltiboys, county Wicklow, Ireland, and has issue, a son John, and two daughters, Jane and Anne, both married with issue.

JANE GRANT, who married, first, Colonel Pennington; secondly, James Thomson Gibson-Craig, W.S. She died on 25th April 1863, without issue to either husband.

MARY FRANCES GRANT, who married Thomas Gardiner, Bombay Civil Service. She died on 31st July 1844, leaving issue.

JOHN PETER GRANT, born 17th February 1836, in Bengal Civil Service. He married, on 24th May 1859, Marion, second daughter of Richard Rowe, London, and has issue.

TREVOR-JOHN-CHICHELE-GRANT, born 26th April 1837, in Bengal Civil Service. He married Letitia Clementina Gouldisbury, and has issue.

GEORGE-FRANCIS-MYTTON GRANT, born 26th November 1844, Captain in Bombay Civil Service. He married Isabel-Margaret-Corbet-Singleton, and has issue.

CHARLES GRANT, born 13th April 1853, Lieutenant in the 102d Regiment of Foot. He married Agnes-Georgina Isaacs, and has issue.

BARTLE GRANT, born 16th September 1856, Lieutenant in 8th Hussars.

FRANCES ELINOR GRANT, married, on 13th April 1857, the Right Hon. Sir James Wedderburn Colville of Ochiltree and Craigflower, who died in December 1880. They had issue one son, Andrew John Wedderburn, who died on 5th November 1876, aged seventeen.

JANE MARIA GRANT, married, on 4th January 1859, as his second wife, Lieutenant-General Richard Strachey, R.E., C.S.I., and has issue.

HENRIETTA-ANNE GRANT, born 5th October 1843.

JOHN PETER GRANT, born 29th February 1860. He married, on 27th September 1882, Edith Mary Brewster, youngest daughter of the late Lieutenant-Colonel Macpherson of Belleville, parish of Alvie, and grand-daughter of Sir David Brewster, and Juliet, daughter of James Macpherson (Ossian).

WILLIAM-PATRICK GRANT.

ALEXANDER LUDOVIC CHARLES GRANT.

Both died young.

CHARLES-HUGH GRANT, born 15th May 1871.

COLIN GRANT, born 13th November 1872.

ELINOR-BEATRICE HENRIETTA GRANT, born 23d March 1864.

MARION-EDITH GRANT, born 29th July 1867.

SARAH FRANCES ISABELLA GRANT, born 31st January 1869.

JANE MARIA GRANT, who died young.

MARGARET-ADELAIDE GRANT, born 26th August 1876.

PEDIGREE OF THE GRANTS OF BALLINDALLOCH, IN PARISH OF INVERAVON, COUNTY OF ELGIN.

CADETS OF ROTHIEMURCHUS.

I.—COLONEL WILLIAM GRANT OF BALLINDALLOCH.

Second son of James Grant, third of Rothiemurchus, and Grizel Mackintosh (*vide* Rothiemurchus Pedigree). He entered into a contract of marriage on 30th October 1711 with Anne Grant, second daughter of Ludovick Grant of Grant, and about the same time acquired the estates of Ballindalloch, Tullochcarron, and others, from John Grant of Ballindalloch and his creditors. He raised one of the independent Highland companies which were afterwards incorporated into the 42d Regiment of Infantry, known as the "Black Watch." On 13th February 1727 he obtained a charter of resignation of the lands of Ballindalloch, and of the hereditary office of Bailie of the regality of Grant. In 1731 he matriculated his arms in the Lyon Office. He died in May 1733, leaving issue. Anne Grant predeceased him in 1732.

II.—CAPTAIN ALEXANDER GRANT OF BALLINDALLOCH.

Succeeded his father in 1733, to whom he was also served heir, on 4th February 1736. On 12th February 1733, he received a crown charter of resignation of the lands of Ballindalloch, etc., and Struthers, etc. He was appointed a Captain in Brigadier St. Clair's regiment of Scots Royals in 1739. He married (contract dated February 1740) Penuel, the fourth surviving daughter of Sir James Grant of Grant, by whom he had issue. He died on 24th January 1751. Penuel Grant survived him, and received in 1766 from her son a bond of annuity of 600 merks. She was alive in 1798, the last codicil to her will being dated 13th July in that year. She died at her house in George Square, Edinburgh.

II.—GENERAL JAMES GRANT OF BALLINDALLOCH.

A distinguished soldier in the West Indian service. With an inferior force, he defeated the French General, Count d'Estaing, conquered St. Lucia in 1779, and was for many years Governor of Florida. On the death of his nephew William, in 1770, the succession to the family estates devolved upon him, and he was served heir to them on 29th January 1772. In 1804 he made an entail of the estates of Ballindalloch, etc., in favour of George Macpherson, his grand-nephew, and others. He was appointed Governor of Stirling Castle. He left no issue, and at his death on 13th April 1806, the estates passed to the grandson of his sister Grace, George Macpherson of Invereshie.

ANDREW GRANT, who appears to have died young.

ANNE GRANT, eldest daughter. She married (contract dated 2d June 1735), John Forbes, younger of Newe, and had issue. She died in July 1775. Her grandchildren by her second daughter and the third daughter are named in General Grant's entail of 1804.

GRACE GRANT, second daughter. She married (contract dated 18th December 1731), George, second son of John Macpherson of Invereshie. He succeeded to the lands of Invereshie and Dalraddie and became Chief of the "Slioch Gillies." She died in 1749, leaving issue two sons and four daughters.

HENRIETTA GRANT, youngest daughter. She married in 1754, Alexander Brodie of Lethen. She survived her husband and two sons and a daughter, and died in 1779, leaving issue two daughters.

III.—MAJOR WILLIAM GRANT OF BALLINDALLOCH.

He succeeded his father, being served heir to him on 18th July 1751. On 26th July of that year he received a charter of resignation of the lands of Ballindalloch and others, which all were amalgamated with the barony of Tullochcarron, and erected into the barony of Tullochcarron, with the manor place of Ballindalloch as the principal messuage. He married Elizabeth, second daughter of Ludovick Grant of Grangegreen, afterwards of Dalvey, but on account of incompatibility of temper they separated in 1764. He died in July 1770. He was survived by his wife, who obtained from General James Grant the sum of £6000 in place of liferent.

Daughters, whose names are unknown, but who were dead in 1766.

WILLIAM MACPHERSON of Invereshie, succeeded his father, but dying unmarried, 12th April 1812, was succeeded by his nephew George.

CAPTAIN JOHN MACPHERSON. He married, on 10th October 1778, Isabella, daughter of Thomas Wilson, of Witton-Gilbert, in county of Durham, and by her (who died 3d March 1784) had issue. He died on 9th May 1799.

ISABEL MACPHERSON. She married (contract dated 28th Nov. 1754) Andrew Macpherson of Banchor, and had issue.

ANNE MACPHERSON. She married Dr. John Mackenzie of Woodstock, and had issue. Her three daughters, Anne, Penuel, and Margaret, are named as heirs of entail in 1840.

JEAN MACPHERSON. She married (contract dated 14th February 1760) William Grant of Burnside, and had issue.

MAGDALENE MACPHERSON. She married, first, Malcolm Macpherson of Messintullich, to whom she bore a daughter, Isabel, who married Alexander Grant of Bolladern; secondly, Rev. William Gordon, minister at Alvie.

IV.—SIR GEORGE MACPHERSON GRANT, FIRST BARONET OF BALLINDALLOCH.

He was born on 25th February 1781. He was retoured heir of taillie and heir-general of provision to his father's maternal uncle, General James Grant, on 28th April 1806. For many years he sat in Parliament as Member for Sutherlandshire. In 1838 he assumed the surname of Grant, and was created, on 25th July of that year, a Baronet of the United Kingdom. He matriculated his arms in the Lyon Office on 5th June 1806. He married, on 26th August 1803, Mary, eldest daughter of Thomas Carnegie, of Craigo, Forfarshire, and died on 24th November 1846. She survived her husband, dying on 31st August 1854. They had issue.

WILLIAM MACPHERSON, born 2d February 1782. He was Lieutenant in the 11th Regiment of Infantry. He died unmarried at Martinique on 10th August 1800.

ISABELLA-AGNES MACPHERSON, born before 1780. She married, on 1st March 1803, David Carnegie, of Craigo, Forfarshire.

V.—SIR JOHN MACPHERSON GRANT, SECOND BARONET OF BALLINDALLOCH.

He was born on 3d August 1804, and was for some time Secretary of Legation at Lisbon. He married, on 7th September 1836, Marion Helen, eldest daughter of Mungo Nutter Campbell, of Ballimore, in Argyllshire. He died on 2d December 1850. Lady Grant survived him till 5th June 1855. They had issue.

CAPTAIN JAMES MACPHERSON GRANT, born 28th March 1811. He was a Captain in the 93d Sutherlandshire Highlanders. He died on 27th November 1847, unmarried.

WILLIAM MACPHERSON GRANT, born 21st August 1812, died 5th March 1813.

THOMAS MACPHERSON GRANT, W.S., born 30th June 1815. He died on 23d September 1881, unmarried.

MARY ELIZABETH, died unmarried on 12th June 1862.

ISABELLA AGNES.

GEORGIANA WILLELMINA, who died unmarried on 3d June 1877.

VI.—SIR GEORGE MACPHERSON GRANT, THIRD BARONET OF BALLINDALLOCH AND INVERESHIE.

J.P., Deputy-Lieutenant for the counties of Banff, Elgin, and Inverness, Convener of the county of Banff, Member of Parliament for the counties of Elgin and Nairn. He was born 12th August 1839, and succeeded his father in the family estates in 1850. He married, 3d July 1861, Frances Elizabeth, younger daughter of the Rev. Roger Pocklington, Vicar of Walesby, Notts, and has issue.

CAMPBELL MACPHERSON CAMPBELL GRANT, of Ballimore House, Argyllshire, born 9th March 1844.

JOHN MACPHERSON GRANT, born 11th February 1851, lately a Lieutenant in the 92d Highland Regiment of Foot.

HELEN ANNE AMELIA.

MARY ELIZABETH. She died at Clifton on 25th January 1863.

SUSAN ELIZABETH. She died at Madeira, 22d August 1864.

JOHN MACPHERSON GRANT, younger of Ballindalloch, born 22d March 1863.

GEORGE BERTRAM, born 26th January 1868.

ALASTAIR, born 29th September 1875.

FRANCES MARION, died in infancy, 11th August 1864.

EVA, who died at London, 2d May 1882, aged 11 years.

MABEL LUCY.

VIOLET MARY, who died in infancy in July 1877.

PEDIGREE OF THE GRANTS OF MONYMUSK

IN PARISH OF MONYMUSK AND COUNTY OF ABERDEEN.

I.—ARCHIBALD GRANT in Ballintomb, in Parish of Knockando and County of Elgin.

Archibald Grant was the youngest son of James Grant, third of Freuchie, by Christian Barclay his second spouse. He received, on 8th March 1580, a Crown charter of the manse of the sub-deanery of Moray, in which he is designated brother of John Grant of Freuchie. He married, before 1599, Isobella Cumming, a daughter of the Laird of Erneside, as on 20th May in that year, the Laird of Freuchie assigned to him and his spouse an annual rent of £100 in return for the loan of £1000. He died before 15th June 1619. He had issue two sons and three daughters.

II.—DUNCAN GRANT,

Who appears as a witness to a charter granted on 24th October 1596 by John Cumming of Erneside and William Cumming, fiar of Erneside, to Archibald Grant in Balnathie (Ballintomb), and Isobel Cumming, his spouse, as son and apparent heir to the said Archibald. On 15th June 1619, as Duncan Grant of Thombracathie he received a Crown charter confirming the foregoing charter to his father, and another, dated 10th June 1607, of the lands of Dalfour, Crofts, and Strathbuckis, in the barony of Barmuckity and shire of Elgin and Forres. He succeeded his father in Ballintomb. He married Helen, daughter of Alexander Gordon of Tulloch, and had issue.

James Grant of Tombreack. He married Elspet, elder daughter of James Leslie of Edinvillie.

Margaret, married —— Leslie of Drumferrach.

Isobel, married —— Barclay of Allanbowie.

Janetta, married, in 1594, James Grant of Dalvey.

III.—ARCHIBALD GRANT.

Who succeeded his father. On 4th June 1627, Sir John Grant of Freuchie granted a wadset of the lands of Allachie to Archibald Grant of Edinvillie and Margaret Grant, his spouse. He is said to have married Isobel, daughter of John Gordon of Lichenstoun, and widow of —— Dun, Laird of Raity in the Boyn. He had issue.

Alexander Grant of Allachie. In 1649 he was a commissioner for war for Banffshire, and in 1673 a J.P. for the county of Elgin. He married ——, daughter of Patrick Ogg, and had issue one son and three daughters.

William, ancestor of the Grants of Arndilly. *Vide* separate Pedigree of the Grants of Arndilly.

Patrick, mentioned as "in Ballintomb," on 5th May 1651, when he grants a discharge with his brothers, Alexander and William, as executors of their mother. He died without heirs-male.

Marjory, married Peter Grant of Edinvillie.

Elspeth, married David M'William of Auchmore.

IV.—ARCHIBALD GRANT,

Who married, in 1653, Christian, daughter of Patrick Nairn of Cromdale, and Elizabeth Urquhart. He received, on 6th August 1656, to himself and his spouse, from James Grant of Freuchie, a wadset of the lands of Easter and Wester Daltulies, otherwise called Ballintomb, for 13,000 merks. This estate he afterwards disponed to his second son Alexander. He died in 1717, and left issue two sons and two daughters. He was succeeded by his eldest son.

Patrick Grant. He had a daughter, Elspeth, who married, in 1680, John Grant of Riemore.

Elizabeth, married Robert Grant, second son of John Grant of Gartinmore.

Helen, married John Leslie of Kinninvie.

Patrick Grant of Allachie. He succeeded his father, and appears as a witness to a document in 1672. The lands of Allachie were mortgaged to the Duffs of Keithmore, but afterwards redeemed by Sir Ludovick Grant of Grant.

Helen, who married Alexander Duff of Keithmore. She died in 1694, aged 60, and is buried in Mortlach Church.

Marjory, who married William Leslie of Miltoun of Balveny.

Jean, who married —— Stewart of Nevoy.

V.—SIR FRANCIS GRANT, First Baronet of Monymusk, Lord Cullen.

He was an eminent Lord of Session. He was born in 1658, and studied for the law at Aberdeen, and at Leyden under Voet. He was called to the Bar in 1691. At the Revolution he adhered to the party of the Prince of Orange. He was created a Baronet by Queen Anne, by letters-patent of date 7th December 1705, and was raised to the bench on 10th June 1709 as Lord Cullen. On 30th November 1697 he received a charter to him and his spouse of the lands of Cullen, in the parish of Gamrie and county of Banff; in 1712 he obtained a Crown charter of the barony of Downhall; and in 1713 he purchased from Sir William Forbes of Monymusk the estate of Monymusk, which is now held by his descendants. He died on 16th March 1726. He was thrice married—first, on 15th March 1694, to Jean, daughter of the Reverend William Meldrum of Meldrum; secondly, on 18th October 1708, to Sarah, daughter of the Reverend Alexander Fordyce of Ayton; and thirdly, in 1718, to Agnes, daughter of Henry Hay, Esq., He was succeeded by his eldest son.

Alexander, was provided by his father in Ballintomb. He married —— Ramsay, but died in 1706, leaving one son, Archibald, who appears to have died young, as Sir Archibald Grant of Monymusk was infeft in Ballintomb on 23d January 1730 as nearest and lawful heir to his deceased uncle Alexander.

Elspeth, married —— Anderson of Tyait.

Helen, married William Grant of Lurg.

VI.—SIR ARCHIBALD GRANT, second Baronet of Monymusk.

Born on 25th September 1696. He was also educated for the law, and was admitted advocate in 1711. He was soon after this elected Member of Parliament for the county of Aberdeen. He latterly engaged in agricultural pursuits, and besides greatly improving his own estate, encouraged others to do the same. In 1749 he was made Keeper of the Register of Hornings for life. In 1769, with consent of his son and two eldest daughters, his children by his first wife, he made an entail of his estates. He died at Monymusk, 17th September 1778. He married, first, in 1717, Anne, daughter of James Hamilton of Pencaitland: secondly, Anne, daughter of Charles Potts of Castleton, Derbyshire, by whom also he had issue: thirdly, in 1751, Elizabeth Clark, widow of Dr. James Callander of Jamaica; who died at Monymusk, 30th April 1759: and, fourthly, in 1770, Jane, widow of Andrew Millar, London, having no issue by the last two wives. His fourth wife died at London in 1788. He was succeeded by his eldest son.

a

The Right Hon. William Grant, a celebrated member of the Bar. He became Lord Advocate, and was created a Lord of Session, under the title of Lord Prestongrange. In 1727 he received from his brother Sir Archibald, the lands of Petfeuchie and others, and afterwards acquired the barony of Caskieben, in the parish of Dyce, all in Aberdeenshire; while in 1745 he purchased the lands and barony of Prestongrange, in East Lothian. In 1759 he matriculated his arms in the Lyon Office. He died 23d May 1764. He married Grizel, daughter of the Rev. Mr. Millar, and by her, who died at Edinburgh on 30th September 1792, left issue three daughters.

b

Francis, a merchant. One of the Surveyors-General for forfeited estates in Scotland in 1749-50. He was a promoter of the Scotch Fisheries, and in the year of his death made application for the Presidency at Campvere. He married a daughter of—— Grant of Gartenbeg. He died in April 1762.

Jean, married Alexander Garden of Troup, and had issue.

Christian, married George Buchan of Kelloe. She survived her husband, being alive in 1771. They had issue. One of their daughters, Helen, married, in 1757, John M'Dowall of Logan, nephew and heir to Andrew M'Dowall of Bankton.

Helen, married Andrew M'Dowall, Lord Bankton, a Lord of Session. She died at Edinburgh on 24th November 1771, without issue.

Anne, died unmarried at Edinburgh between 24th November 1771 and 2d March 1772.

Sarah, died at Edinburgh, 23d December 1790.

a *b*

VII.—SIR ARCHIBALD GRANT, THIRD BARONET OF MONYMUSK.

Born 17th February 1731; entered the service of the East India Company, and in the year 1748, having raised a company of a hundred men, he went with them to St. David's. He was then known as Captain Archibald Grant. On 3d July 1782 he received a Crown charter of resignation of the lands and baronies of Monymusk, and in the following year, on the resignation of Alexander, Duke of Gordon, he acquired the lands of Coullie. On 27th May 1755, at Monymusk, he married Mary, only child of the deceased Dr. James Callander of Jamaica, and daughter to the then Lady Grant. By this lady, who died at Edinburgh on 15th February 1787, he had issue. He married, secondly, on 8th August 1794, Jessie, daughter of —— Macleod of Coldbecks, by whom he had no issue. Sir Archibald died 30th September 1796, and was buried in the church of Monymusk. He was succeeded by his eldest son.

WILLIAM, called second son of Sir Archibald Grant of Monymusk. He had the lands of Petfeuchie, but resigned them in 1751 in favour of his elder brother. He died in 1755.

CATHERINE, who died unmarried at Edinburgh in June 1778. She and her sister Jean were legatees in the will of their aunt Helen in 1771.

JEAN, who died on 14th September 1791.

MARY, who married, in 1764, as his second wife, Dr. Gregory Grant, physician, Edinburgh. They had two daughters—(1.) Mary Ann, married in 1790 to Dr. Thorp of Buxton; (2.) Anna Katharine. Mrs. Mary Grant died at Leeds on 21st November 1812.

JANET, married, on 16th January 1749, to John Carmichael of Castlecraig. She became COUNTESS OF HYNDFORD on her husband's succeeding his cousin in 1767 as fourth Earl of Hyndford.

AGNES, married Sir George Suttie of Balgone, Baronet. From them is descended Sir James Grant Suttie of Prestongrange.

JANE, married Hon. Robert Dundas of Arniston, and had issue.

VIII.—SIR ARCHIBALD GRANT, FOURTH BARONET OF MONYMUSK.

Born 7th May 1760. He was retoured heir to his father on 7th April 1798. On 3d February and 4th July of the same year he obtained two Crown charters of resignation of the lands of Delab, Enzien, Culie, Tullochorie, and Ardnidlie, disponed to him by Alexander, Duke of Gordon. On 1st January 1788 he married, at Kinnordy, Mary, only child of John Forbes of Newe and Anne Duff of Muirton, and granddaughter of Anne Grant of Ballindalloch. Lady Grant, who was born on 7th August 1769, was on 21st September 1808 retoured heir of provision general to her grand-uncle, General James Grant of Ballindalloch. She died on 15th December 1852, aged 83. By her Sir Archibald Grant had issue four sons and six daughters. Sir Archibald died on 17th April 1820, and was succeeded by his second son, Sir James.

JAMES FRANCIS, rector of Merston, Sussex, and Wrabness, Essex. He married, in October 1795, Anne, youngest daughter of Rev. Arthur Oughterstone, minister of Wester Kilbride, and had issue.

JOHNSTONE GRANT, captain in the 15th Foot. Died *s.p.*, at Lisbon on 24th May 1799.

ALEXANDER, died young.

MARY, married, 19th September 1796, Rev. Joseph Peckford of Kippax, Yorkshire, and had issue. She died 7th November 1834.

ANNA. } All died young, before the year 1790.
ELIZABETH. }
HARRIET MARGARETTA. }

ARCHIBALD, born 1st January 1789. He was lost in the Indiaman "Abergaveny," on 6th February 1805, but his body was recovered and interred in Weymouth Churchyard on 16th June of that year.

IX.—1. SIR JAMES GRANT, FIFTH BARONET OF MONYMUSK.

Born 12th February 1791. He died unmarried, 30th August 1859, and was succeeded by his brother, Sir Isaac Grant.

IX.—2. SIR ISAAC GRANT,

Who succeeded his brother as SIXTH BARONET; born 5th July 1792, died unmarried 19th July 1863, when he was succeeded by his nephew, Archibald, the eldest son of his brother, Robert Grant of Tillyfour.

ROBERT GRANT of Tillyfour, Aberdeenshire, born 12th February 1797. He was for some time in the Fourth Regiment of Dragoons; and for upwards of twenty-three years he held the office of convener of the county of Aberdeen. He married, on 14th March 1820, Charlotte, youngest daughter of Sir William-Walter Yea, Baronet, of Pyrland Hall, Somersetshire, and by her, who died 28th November 1847, had issue two sons and two daughters. He died 15th March 1857.

MARY ANNE, born 11th December 1789, married, 12th September 1812, John Farquharson of Haughton, Aberdeenshire, and had issue. She died 20th October 1851.

SOPHIA, born 11th October 1793. She died unmarried 10th November 1862.

JESSIE or JANET, born 13th February 1795, married Henry Iveson of Blackbank, Yorkshire, and had issue Lancelot and Mary.

LOUISA BRODIE, born 2d January 1801. She died at Aberdeen in May 1874, aged 73.

ANNE, born 8th April 1803.

JOHANNA, born 16th September 1804. She died on 14th June 1818, in her fourteenth year.

X.—SIR ARCHIBALD GRANT, SEVENTH BARONET OF MONYMUSK.

Born 21st September 1823, succeeded his uncle, Sir Isaac Grant, in 1863. He was formerly captain in the Fourth Light Dragoons.

FRANCIS WILLIAM, born 10th February 1828. Was for some time in the 16th Lancers.

MARY JANE FORBES, born at St. Stephen's, Canterbury, 5th January 1821, married, 20th October 1853, as his third wife, John Gregson of Bramham, county York, and has issue one son, Robert Francis. She survived her husband, and died at Paris on 16th April 1880, aged 59.

LOUISA CHARLOTTE-YEA GRANT, born at Pyrland Hall, Taunton, 20th July 1822. She was known in Paris as "La belle Louise," being very beautiful. She died unmarried at Paris on 2d August 1839, at the early age of 17.

PEDIGREE OF THE GRANTS OF ARNDILLY, IN THE PARISH OF BOHARM AND COUNTY OF BANFF,

CADETS OF MONYMUSK.

I.—WILLIAM GRANT OF ARDALIE.

Third son of Duncan Grant, second of Ballintomb, by his wife Helen Gordon. He sat on the inquest for the retour of Robert Grant of Dalvey, on 26th July 1661. He married Jean, daughter of John Grant of Galdwell, and had issue four sons and three daughters.

II.—WALTER GRANT OF ARNDILLY. Commissioner of Supply in 1690 and 1704. He died in June 1720. He married Margaret, third daughter of William Leslie of Milton of Balveny, and had issue three sons and three daughters.

ARCHIBALD GRANT of Papine, married Mary, a daughter of —— Leith, Chamberlain to the Earl of Errol.

ALEXANDER GRANT of Conrach, married a daughter of Innes of Ardianie (?).

PATRICK GRANT of Easter Galdwell, married a daughter of Farquharson of B——

HELEN GRANT, married Harrie Steuart of Newton.

ISABEL GRANT, married Alexander Innes of Stonnietoun.

MARGARET GRANT, married Alexander Hay of Cairntie.

III.—THOMAS GRANT OF ACHOYNANIE. He was served heir to his father in the mill of Papin, etc., 21st June 1748. In 1716 he received a Crown charter of resignation under the Great Seal of the lands of Achoynanie, and in 1720 is mentioned as serving on the inquest for the retour of Alexander Grant of Grant. In 1741 he was appointed, by a commission under the Great Seal, one of the commissioners on the Highlands of Scotland, in place of Sir Ludovick Grant, resigned. In 1757 he disponed his estate of Achoynanie, with all his personal estate, in favour of Colonel Alexander Grant his son. He married Jean Sutherland, daughter of the Laird of Kinminnity, and had issue. He died on 25th November 1758, his wife predeceasing him on 2d March of the same year.

ROBERT GRANT of Kylvemore, who married Agnes, younger daughter of James Urquhart of Knockleigh.

FRANCIS GRANT, an advocate in Edinburgh.

JANET GRANT, who married John Leslie of Ardnelie, and had issue.

A daughter, who married William Dunbar of Dykeside, and had issue.

Another daughter.

CAPTAIN ARCHIBALD GRANT, named in in 1776 as an heir of entail.

JOHN GRANT of Conrach. He died before 1776, leaving issue.

IV.—COLONEL ALEXANDER GRANT OF ACHOYNANIE AND ARNDILLY. Who, as only lawful son in life of Thomas Grant of Achoynanie, received, on 10th December 1757, a Crown charter of resignation of the lands of Achoynanie and Little Cantuly, etc. On 16th February 1758 he received from Sir Ludovic Grant of Grant, a feu of the lands of Arndilly, with the teinds and fishings. In 1763 he entered into a contract of excambion with the Earl of Findlater, whereby he exchanged the lands of Achoynanie, etc., for the lands of Edinvillie and others. On 23d November 1776 he executed a deed of entail of the lands of Arndilly and others in favour of himself and the other heirs therein named. He married, on 18th September 1769, Eleanora-Frances, daughter of William Murray. Mrs. Grant died at Elgin on 6th February 1775. Colonel Grant died in Jamaica in August 1779, and was succeeded by his daughter.

ISABELLA GRANT, who married Dr. John Gordon, and had issue.

JEAN GRANT, who married Lieutenant Robert Gordon, R.N., and had issue.

ROBERT GRANT, sometime at Edinville, only surviving son in 1769. He died before 1776.

JEAN, named in her cousin's entail of 1776. She married Duncan Grant, Provost of Forres, and had issue.

FRANCIS GRANT, named in the entail of 1776, and designed as a jeweller in Kingston, Jamaica.

V.—MARY-ELEANORA GRANT.

Who was born 28th October 1771. On 24th May 1790, she was retoured heir of taillie and provision to her father. She married, in 1790, David M'Dowall, seventh son of William M'Dowall of Garthland and Castle Semple, Renfrewshire, and had issue. Her husband assumed the additional surname of Grant after M'Dowall. She died before 11th August 1832, and was succeeded by her eldest son.

VI. 1.—WILLIAM GRANT M'DOWALL GRANT. Born 30th November 1795. On 11th August and 1st September 1832 he received precepts of *clare constat* as heir of tailzie and provision of his mother. He died on 29th January 1849, and was succeeded by his brother Hay. He married, on 5th December 1825, the Hon. Eleanor Fraser, second daughter of Alexander, fifteenth Lord Saltoun, who survived him, dying at London on 26th September 1852. They had issue.

ALEXANDER M'DOWALL GRANT, born 1800. Died in Jamaica in 1817.

DAVID M'DOWALL GRANT, born 1802. Was an officer in the 92d Regiment, and died in Jamaica in 1823.

JAMES M'DOWALL GRANT, born 1803. Died in Jamaica in 1837.

VI. 2.—HAY M'DOWALL GRANT OF ARNDILLY. J.P., D.L. of Banffshire, born 18th June 1806. He was, on 27th June 1849, retoured as heir of tailzie and provision to his brother William. He died 20th March 1870, and was succeeded in Arndilly by his niece.

THOMAS GARLAND M'DOWALL GRANT, born April 1808, became a midshipman. Died 1823.

JOANNA-MARIA M'DOWALL GRANT, born December 1792, married, November 1814, Thomas Gordon of Park. She died in August 1872.

ELIZABETH GRAHAM M'DOWALL GRANT, born 1795. She married, 9th April 1818, the Hon. William Fraser, third son of Alexander, fifteenth Lord Saltoun. She died on 5th May 1853. Their eldest son is Alexander, the seventeenth and present Lord Saltoun.

ELEANORA FRANCES MURRAY M'DOWALL GRANT, born 1798. She married her cousin, General M'Dowall of Garthland, Renfrewshire, and died in 1875.

WILHELMINA DAY M'DOWALL GRANT, born 14th January 1805. She married the Rev. Robert Aitken, Vicar of Pendeen, Cornwall.

VII.—MARJORY-ALEXANDRINA M'DOWALL GRANT, Elder daughter and heiress. Married, first, Ranald Steuart Menzies of Culdares (who died 1870). Issue one son, William George Steuart Menzies of Culdares, and younger of Arndilly; second, in 1872, Colonel John Kinloch of Kilrie and Logie, Forfarshire, who, on his marriage, assumed the additional surname of Grant before Kinloch.

LOUISA FRANCES GRANT, married, in 1863, as his third wife, Edward William Seymour of Porthmawr, Brecon, who died in 1874.

PEDIGREE OF THE GRANTS OF CORRIEMONY, IN THE PARISH OF URQUHART AND GLENMORISTON,

CADETS OF THE GRANTS OF GRANT.

JOHN GRANT of Corriemony, second son of John Grant of Freuchie, who, to distinguish him from his natural brother, John Mor Grant of Culcabock, is designed "filio juniori" in the charter by King James the Fourth of the lands and barony of Corriemony, dated 8th December 1509. He was infeft in the barony on 25th January 1509, and again on 2d May 1512. In 1527 he obtained a remission for absenting himself from the army at Solway and Wark. He is said to have married a daughter of Strachan of Culloden. He died in 1533, and was succeeded by his son.

JOHN GRANT of Corriemony, who, on 24th May 1536, was infeft in the barony of Corriemony as heir to his father John Grant, after the lands had been in the hands of the Crown for three years and a half. He frequently appears as a witness to Grant documents. In 1580 he resigned the lands and barony of Corriemony in favour of Duncan Grant, apparent of Freuchie, who, on 19th August the same year, obtained a charter thereof, with precept of sasine on which John Grant of Freuchie, son of Duncan, was infeft on 17th May 1583. He was probably twice married, the second wife being said to be Marjory, daughter of John Roy Grant of Ballindalloch. He had also three natural sons by Margaret, daughter of John Wilson, burgess of Inverness, to two of whom he gave portions of the lands of Pitcherill by dispositions in 1571, which in 1593 John Grant of Freuchie proposed in a letter to his law-agent to reduce. In that letter John Grant of Corriemony is mentioned as deceased.

JOHN OIG GRANT of Corriemony, who, on 3d March 1606, was retoured heir-general to his father John Grant of Corriemony, and again on 29th July 1609. This latter service was sought to be reduced by John Grant of Freuchie, but the matter was referred to arbitration, and decided in 1610 in favour of John Oig Grant, who, however, was required to resign the lands that the Laird of Freuchie might complete his title to the superiority. The barony of Corriemony was thenceforth to be held of the Lairds of Freuchie instead of directly from the Crown as formerly. John Grant of Corriemony is mentioned in the Valuation Roll of Inverness-shire, 1644, as holding lands of the value of £188, 2s. 4d. Scots. He married Christian, eldest daughter of Alexander Rose, third son of William Rose of Kilravock, who predeceased him on 16th April 1632, leaving issue.

ALEXANDER GRANT of Sheuglie. He is called only son of John Grant and Marjory Grant. See separate Pedigree of GRANTS OF SHEUGLIE.

JAMES GRANT of Pitcherill, who, on 14th May 1571, obtained from his father, John Grant of Corriemony, a disposition of the half of the lands of Pitcherill, to him and his heirs-male, whom failing, to his brothers Gregor and John in like manner. He was fined in 1613 as a resetter of the Macgregors. In 1624 he disponed his lands of Pitcherill to John Grant of Glenmoriston, but afterwards redeemed them, and sold them in 1628 to John Grant of Corriemony. He married Katherine Neyn Donald MacRorie.

GREGOR GRANT, who, on 14th May 1571, received a disposition similar to that of his brother James. He was dead in 1593, and his brother James was served heir to him.

JOHN GRANT, mentioned as heir to his brothers in failure of heir-male to them.

WILLIAM GRANT, apparent of Corriemony, who is mentioned in the Valuation Roll of Inverness-shire for 1644 as holding lands of the value of £165 Scots, apart from those held by his father. He must have died before 1663.

ROBERT GRANT, who, in connection with a debt due by John Grant, elder of Ballindalloch, to him and his father, is mentioned in 1663 as lawful son of the deceased John Grant of Corriemony. A few months later he is called uncle of John Grant of Corriemony. He was alive in 1687, when he was pursued for repayment of a loan by James Grant of Freuchie.

ALEXANDER GRANT.

PATRICK GRANT.

LACHLAN GRANT.

JOHN GRANT.

JAMES GRANT.

KATHERINE GRANT.

ISOBEL GRANT.

MARY GRANT, who, with their five brothers are all mentioned in the testament of Christian Rose, their mother.

JOHN GRANT of Corriemony, who was born in 1637, as in 1683 he is said to be aged forty-six. He was appointed by the Laird of Freuchie, in 1663, Chamberlain of Urquhart. In 1678 he obtained from Ludovick Grant of Freuchie a tack of the teinds of Corriemony. In 1698, for a debt of £806, 9s., the Laird of Grant obtained a decree of adjudication of the lands of Corriemony and Meklies. He married Katherine Macdonald, of the family of Sleat. He died before 1724.

PATRICK GRANT, called brother-german to John Grant of Corriemony, when in July 1674 he acted as Sheriff for Ludovick Grant of Freuchie, and made proclamation at the Parish Church of Glenmoriston.

JOHN GRANT of Corriemony, who, in 1690, is styled younger of Corriemony. In 1713 he, in name of his father, paid part of the debt due by him to Brigadier Alexander Grant, to whom it had been assigned by the Laird of Grant, and granted a bond of corroboration for the rest. He is there called eldest lawful son to John Grant of Corriemony. In 1724 he was retoured heir-general to his father, and in the same year made an arrangement with Brigadier Grant, by which the debt on Corriemony (now increased to £2000 Scots) should be paid by the latter's receiving the rents of certain lands till it was discharged. He obtained a matriculation of his arms in the Lyon Office. He married Mary Keith, who survived him. He died on 7th February 1726, leaving issue.

WILLIAM GRANT, mentioned as an officer in the company of Grants from Urquhart, in the Rebellion of 1715.

ALEXANDER GRANT of Corriemony, who, on 17th April 1727, was retoured heir-general to his father John Grant of Corriemony. He was wounded in the Rebellion of 1745, and was concealed for some weeks in a cave at Corriemony waterfall. In 1764 he was engaged in a dispute with James Grant of Sheuglie, about their right to certain mosses, and in 1771 he received a charter of the lands of Mulderies from Sir James Grant of Grant. He married Jane, daughter of Ogilvie of Kempcairn, and had issue thirteen children, several of whom died in infancy. He died at Nairn in May or July 1797, in the eighty-first year of his age.

JAMES GRANT of Corriemony, who was born in 1743, and became an advocate at the Scotch Bar, 21 Feb. 1767. In 1774 he was appointed one of the Commissioners of Supply for Elgin and Forres. He sold Corriemony to Mr. Ogilvie. He was the author of "Essays on the Origin of Society, etc.," 1785, "Thoughts on the Origin and Descent of the Gael, etc.," 1813, and other works. He married Katherine Baillie Mackay, and had issue eight sons (four of whom died in infancy) and two daughters. He died in 1835, at the advanced age of ninety-three, and was buried at Corriemony.

MAJOR ALEXANDER GRANT, of the Madras Cavalry. He married, in 1837, the Hon. Sophia Louisa Blackwood, third daughter of Hans, third Lord Dufferin. She died in 1842, without issue. He died in Edinburgh in 1847.

PATRICK GRANT of the Madras Civil Service. He was twice married—first, to Elizabeth, second daughter of Hugh Rose of Kilravock, who died before 1849, leaving issue one daughter; secondly, a daughter of Colonel Elliot, by whom he had also issue one daughter. He died at Masulipatam in 1842.

JOHN PETER GRANT, M.D. in India, who died at Madras in 1844 unmarried.

JAMES GRANT, M.D. in Ottawa, Canada. He had issue twelve children. He died in 1866.

JANE OGILVY GRANT, who married Colonel Young of the Nizam Cavalry. She died on 21st February 1882, without issue.

MARIANNE GRANT, who married James Robson Scott, M.D. in Madras Army, and has issue one son and two daughters, one of whom is married to Mr. Scott of Sinton.

JAMES ALEXANDER GRANT, son of James Grant, is now a distinguished M.D. in Ottawa.

PEDIGREE OF THE GRANTS OF SHEUGLI

CADETS OF THE G

ALEXANDER GRANT of Sheuglie, son of John Grant, second of Corriemony, it is said by his second wife, Marjory Grant of Ballindalloch. On 20th renounce in favour of John Grant of Freuchie. In return he was to obtain a disposition of the lands of Sheuglie to himself and his sons the contract of 1609. He is said to have married Lilias, daughter of Patrick Grant of Glenmoriston. In 1630 he is referred to as being dead.

JOHN GRANT, described in contract of 1609 as eldest son. He probably predeceased his father.

ROBERT GRANT of Sheuglie, named in contract of 1609 as second son. On 2d July 1624 he was retoured heir-male general to Jo his grandfather, apparently to enable him to fulfil the contract of 1609. In 1628 he obtained from the Laird of Freuchie and Sheuglie to him and Margaret Fraser his spouse. He married Margaret, daughter of James Fraser of Ballachraggen Lovat, who survived him, and married John Cumming in Pitcherill. In 1661, as liferentrix of Sheuglie, she granted a discha

ROBERT GRANT, who is said to have been killed at the battle of Auldearn in 1645.

JAMES GRANT of Sheuglie, who was born in 1630, as in 1683 he was fifty-three years of age. As apparent of Sheuglie, he received, on th letter, for 200 merks. In 1662 he received from James Grant of Freuchie a wadset of the three Inchbrunes, and in 1682 a w £900 Scots, and the sum was still due on 27th January 1700, when he is referred to as deceased. In 1686 he obtained a gif first, before 1647, to Janet Maclean, relict of James Cumming of Delshangie; secondly (contract dated 19th July 1686), to Hanna

ALEXANDER GRANT of Sheuglie, who, on 12th March 1700, is designed eldest lawful son and representative of the deceased James Grant of Sheuglie. On 19th in Inverness. He disponed Lochletter to Lewis Grant of Auchterblair in 1724. For taking part in the Rebellion of 1745, he, with his eldest son, was fo was then about seventy years old. He was twice married, first, to Margaret, daughter of John Chisholm of Comar and Strathglass, by whom he had issu sons and six daughters. He was an accomplished musician on the violin and pipes, and composed many well-known airs.

JAMES GRANT of Sheuglie, born 1711, of the first marriage, and described as eldest son of Alexander Grant of Sheuglie. He espoused the cause of the Stewarts in 1746, and on that account was for some time imprisoned in Tilbury Fort. He is mentioned in 1761 as chamberlain of Urquhart. In 1764 he was engaged in a dispute with his neighbour Alexander Grant of Corriemony about their mosses. He obtained a matriculation of his arms in the Lyon Office on 9th December 1776. He married Marjory, daughter of Fraser of Dunballoch. He died at Urquhart in his eightieth year on 16th March 1791, leaving issue a son and two daughters.

ALEXANDER, born March 1718, died young.

ROBERT GRANT, born May 1720, who is said to have been killed at the battle of Falkirk in 1746, but in his testament given up by his brother-german, Patrick Grant of Lochletter, on 23d June 1749, he is said to have died at Sheuglie on 17th January 1746.

HUMPHREY, born April 1721.

PATRICK GRANT of Lochletter. He was retoured heir-male and of provision general to his father on 21st May 1754, and on 10th August 1789, heir-male general to his brother Robert, son of Alexander Grant of Sheuglie. He married Katherine Baillie, daughter of David Baillie, at Fort Augustus (a cadet of the Dunain family). By her he had issue four sons (three of whom died young) and three daughters. He died on 3d June 1800. His surviving issue were —

ALEXANDER, born March 1725; present at Culloden, on behalf of Prince Charles Edward, with a party of Urquhart men. He married Miss Beck, a Dutch lady, of the Cape of Good Hope. He went to India, where he became Colonel of a Native Infantry Regiment, and highly distinguished himself, fighting at the battle of Plassy, and elsewhere, under Lord Clive, by whom he was much trusted. He died in India just as he was about to return home.

GEORGE, born June 1726.

EWAN, born November 1727.

JOHN, born March 1730, and is mentioned in 1739 as Sheuglie's son.

JAMES GRANT of Sheuglie and Redcastle. As such he matriculated his arms in the Lyon Office on 1st November 1796. He is mentioned in 1775 as returned from India with Colonel Hugh Grant. In 1779 he was in Naples with Abbé Peter Grant on his way back to India. There he was much distinguished in political life, and was appointed Resident at Hyderabad by Warren Hastings. He was an accomplished linguist. On his return home he bought Redcastle. He died at Ruxley Lodge, Surrey, on 9th November 1808, intestate, and was succeeded in his estate of Redcastle by his cousin, Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Grant, H.E.I.C.S.

ISABELLA.

MARGARET.

They both died unmarried.

ALEXANDER GRANT, Lieutenant-Colonel H.E.I.C.S., who succeeded, in 1808, on the death of his cousin, to the estate of Redcastle. He married, in 1794, Jane, daughter of William Hannay of Kirkdale, in Kirkcudbrightshire. He died on 16th July 1816, leaving issue eight sons and three daughters.

ISABEL, born 1756 ried John Grant of a Strathsp mily). She die 1835. They ha one daughter E who married, a issue.

PATRICK GRANT of Redcastle. He purchased Lakefield. He sold Redcastle in 1828. He married Catherine Sophia Grant, fourth daughter of Mr. Charles Grant, Director H.E.I. Co., and had issue.

WILLIAM, born 1796. He was for some time in the 92d Regiment. He married, in 1829, Anne Rebecca, second daughter of John Burnet, Judge-Admiral for Scotland, and grand-niece of Lord Monboddo. He died in 1852, leaving issue.

HUGH, 2d Bombay Cavalry, born 1801, died unmarried in 1846.

GREGOR, born 1803. In H.E.I.C. Civil Service. Married, 1823, Mary, daughter of William Ironside of Houghton le Spring, County Durham, Captain in H.M. 68th Regiment. She died in 1841, and he married, secondly, Caroline, daughter of William Allen, R.N., who survives him. He died in 1875, leaving issue seven sons.

ALEXANDER, Bengal Civil Service, born 1805, married Margaret, daughter of Colonel Young, H.E.I.C.S. He died in 1842, leaving issue two sons, Malcolm and Gregor.

JAMES, born 1806 or 1807. He was a Judge in the Bengal Civil Service. He died in 1875.

CHARLES, born 1808. H served for thirty yea the Bengal Civil Ser He married Anne Geor eldest daughter of Lie ant General Wheatley now resides at Hazel Glen Urquhart.

ROBERT, born 1813, February 1814.

REVEREND ALEXANDER RONALD GRANT, Hon. Canon of Ely, Rector of Hitcham, Suffolk. Married, August 1855, his cousin, Jane Sophia Dundas, younger daughter of his uncle William, and has issue.

ROBERT GRANT, who died in infancy.

CHARLES GRANT, twin brother with Robert. He ent Bengal Civil Service, and died at Banda in 1876, un

FRANCIS CHARLES, 24th Regiment.

On the Staff Corps in India.

ROBERT GRANT, who died i

S OF CORRIEMONY.

9 he entered into a contract with John Grant of Freuchie to obtain himself served heir to his father, John Grant of Corriemony, and thereafter ssion. In terms of that arrangement he was served heir-general to his father on 4th December 1611, and in 1619 was inhibited for non-fulfilment of

t of Corriemony, sition of Meiklies of the House of er son James.

DUNCAN GRANT, named in the contract of 1609 as third son.

PATRICK GRANT, who, along with his father, witnessed the infeftment of Sir John Grant of Freuchie in Urquhart in 1623.

MARGARET GRANT, who married, before 1630, John Chisholm of Kinnerries. On 29th July 1630, Alexander Chisholm granted to Robert Grant of Sheuglie, a discharge for the tocher of £500 Scots, which had been paid to his deceased father by the late Alexander Grant.

vember 1647, a discharge from his step-daughter, Janet Cumming, wife of Gregor Grant in Loch- the lands of Lochletter. On 26th June 1684 he granted a bond to the Laird of Freuchie for own escheat for a debt of 1000 merks to Robert Cumming of Garlarie. He was twice married, ter of James Fraser, burgess of Inverness, and Catherine Cuthbert.

PATRICK GRANT, called in a bond, dated 9th June 1683, brother-german of James Grant of Sheuglie. He married a daughter of Hugh Fraser of Erebet, by whom he left issue.

1 he was served heir to his father. On 27th July 1713 he obtained a charter of adjudication of the lands of Inverchannish, ime imprisoned in Tilbury Fort, from which they petitioned the Duke of Newcastle. Alexander Grant died there, and ndly (contract dated 19th October 1713), to Isabel, eldest daughter of John Grant of Glenmoriston, and had issue thirteen

ROBERT GRANT, who married a niece of —— Chisholm of Chisholm, and left issue.

ONEL HUGH GRANT of Moy, born March 33. He went to the East Indies, and assed a considerable fortune. On his turn in 1775 he purchased the estate Moy and others from Sir James Grant Grant. He married Mary Cawalo rant, who survived him, dying on 17th arch 1827. They left no issue, and on e death of Colonel Hugh Grant, on 1st pril 1822, his estate of Moy passed, der an entail made on 24th June 1820, James Murray Grant of Glenmoriston. the entail Colonel Hugh named his usin Charles Grant of the East India irection after J. M. Grant of Glen- oriston, and the heirs-male of his dy.

LEWIS, born July 1734. He went to America as an officer of the Black Watch, with the Master of Lovat. He died in America.

GREGOR, born January 1737, major in 39th Regiment, served at siege of Gibraltar, retired, and built the house of Lakefield. He married Anne, daughter of —— Bannatyne, Esq., by whom he had no issue. He died in 1803.

ALPINE, born November 1738.

CHARLES, born March 1741. He also went with the Master of Lovat to America as an officer in the Black Watch. He served in the American War, and was taken by the Indians, among whom he remained a captive for some years, but afterwards escaped, and died at New York, date not known.

JANET, born October 1715, married Cameron of Clunes.

HANNAH, born January 1717.

MARGARET, born September 1722.

ISOBEL, born December 1728.

HELEN, born January 1732.

MARJORY, born September 1735.

ALEXANDER GRANT, who married Margaret, daughter of Donald Macbean (of the Macbeans of Kinchyle), and left issue. He was present at the battle of Culloden, but having killed a dragoon shortly afterwards, he fled to America, and was not again heard of.

ANNE, born July 1757, who married, first, her cousin Thomas Baillie of New Granada. He died in 1783, *s.p.* Secondly, in 1788, Major William Wilson, 39th Regiment, and had issue one son and two daughters, one of whom became Lady Chambers. Mrs. Baillie died in September 1833.

A daughter, who died unmarried.

CHARLES GRANT, who was born in 1746, and for many years represented the county of Inverness in Parliament. He was one of the most distinguished directors of the East India Company. He married, in 1770, Jane, daughter of Thomas Fraser (of the family of Balnain), by whom (who died 23d January 1827) he had issue. He died 31st October 1823.

ROBERT GRANT, who died in India, unmarried.

JOHN GRANT, who died in India, unmarried.

MARY, who married Rev. Roderick Mackenzie of Knockbain, and had issue two sons and one daughter. She died about 1821.

CATHERINE, who married Mr. Sprott of Broad Meadows, near Edinburgh.

JANE-ELIZA, married, 1823, Captain John Leyburn Maclean of the Macleans of Isla Monk, late of the 43d Foot.

CATHERINE, born 1811, died February 1814.

MARIA, born 1816, died unmarried 1846.

CHARLES GRANT, M.P. After a long career of eminent service in Parliament and in high offices, he was created, on 8th May 1836, LORD GLENELG. He died unmarried in 1866, when his title became extinct. While Secretary of State for the Colonial Department, he matriculated his arms in the Lyon Office on 16th October 1835.

SIR ROBERT GRANT, who became Governor of Bombay, and is also known as an author. He married, on 11th August 1829, Margaret, only daughter of Sir David Davidson of Cantray, Nairn, and died on 9th July 1838. His widow married, on 8th August 1848, Lord Josceline Percy. Sir Robert Grant had issue two sons and two daughters.

WILLIAM THOMAS GRANT, who died on 15th May 1848, unmarried.

MARIA, who died unmarried.

CHARITY EMILIA, who married, about 1812, Samuel March Philipps, sometime Under Secretary of State for the Home Department.

SIBYLLA CHRISTINA, who died unmarried.

CATHERINE SOPHIA, fourth daughter, who married Patrick Grant of Redcastle, and had issue.

JULIA MATILDA GRANT.

FLORA SOPHIA GRANT.

CHARLES GRANT, now Foreign Secretary to the Government of India. He married Ellen, eldest daughter of Henry Baillie of Redcastle.

ROBERT GRANT, Colonel R.E. He married Victoria, eldest daughter of Mr. and Lady Louisa Cotes.

CONSTANCE, who died young.

SIBYLLA SOPHIA, who married Mr. Granville Ryder.

ALEXANDER RONALD, now at Cambridge.

CATHARINE SOPHIA.

SIBYLLA CHRISTINA.

PEDIGREE OF THE GRANTS OF TULLOCHGORM

IN THE PARISH OF INVERALLAN, IN STRATHSPEY.

PATRICK GRANT in Tullochgorm, who appears as a witness to the infeftment of George Crawford of Feddereth in the lands of Inverallan, on 29th April 1530.

JOHN GRANT in Tullochgorm, probably the son of Patrick. He is mentioned in the retour of James Grant of Freuchie, 3d October 1536, for which his son Patrick was one of the jurors. He was present on the inquest for the retour of John Stewart of Kincardine on 22d April 1544.

PATRICK GRANT of Tullochgorm, who, as son of John Grant in Tullochgorm, appears on the inquest for the retour of James Grant of Freuchie on 3d October 1536. He was alive in 1563, when he appears as one of the defenders in a cause before the Lords of Council at the instance of John Grant of Freuchie.

JOHN GRANT of Tullochgorm, who was one of the Judges-arbitral chosen by James Grant of Wester Elchies in his dispute with John Grant of Freuchie about the marches of Kinchirdie in 1568; had a remission in the following year for participating in Huntly's rebellion; was, in 1570, appointed bailie for John Grant of Freuchie to give sasine of Finlarg to his son Patrick Grant, afterwards of Rothiemurchus. In 1584 he was one of the principal men of the Clan Grant who came under mutual obligation to defend their chief, the Laird of Freuchie, against the invasions of his neighbours.

A daughter, who is said to have married John, third son of Alister Roy Mackenzie of Achilty.

PATRICK GRANT of Tullochgorm. He was an intermediary with Patrick Grant of Carron in the composition of a feud between neighbours in 1608; and was among those who were fined for the reset of the Clan Gregor in 1613, his fine amounting to £261, 13s. 4d. Scots. He was twice married, but the name of his first wife is unknown. His second wife was Katherine Bailzie. He was dead before 28th November 1614.

JOHN DOW M'EAN V'PATRICK, brother to the "guidman of Tullochcorme," also among those fined in 1613 for the reset of the Clan Gregor, his fine being £66, 13s. 4d. Scots.

JOHN GRANT of Tullochgorm, was, as "son to Tullochcorme," fined £20 Scots for his share in the reset of the Macgregors. He appears to have been the first of the Grants of Tullochgorm who acquired an interest in the davoch land of Tullochgorm, under a wadset from John Grant of Freuchie on 28th November 1614 for £2000 Scots. The contract of wadset was followed by a charter of the same date, made to John Grant of Tullochgorm, son of the late Patrick Grant, formerly also in Tullochgorm, and to Katherine Bailzie his stepmother (novercae), and the longer liver of them, then to the heirs begotten of John Grant and Lilias Dunbar, his spouse. On 9th January 1616, he obtained also from John Grant of Freuchie a wadset of the davoch of Drumuilie in Duthil, in conjunct infeftment to him and his spouse, Lilias Dunbar, for 2200 merks; the eastern half of which they bestowed in 1626 upon their elder son Patrick, probably on the occasion of his marriage.

PATRICK GRANT of Tullochgorm. On 8th and 11th December 1626 he received from his parents a disposition in wadset of the eastern half of Drumuilie in Duthil, to him and his spouse Christina Grant, and was infeft therein on 18th December following. In the disposition he is called elder son of John Grant of Tullochgorm, and Lilias Dunbar. In 1627 he was chosen as an arbiter by James Grant of Auchernack in a dispute with Grant of Lurg about the mill of Abernethy; and when the bond of combination between the Grants and the men of Badenoch, Rothiemurchus, Strathavon, and Glenlivet was subscribed on 30th March 1645, he was one of the Grant representatives. He married Margaret Donaldson, who survived him, and in 1654 let Wester Gellovie to John Grant in Miltoun of Duthil.

JOHN GRANT, "sone lawfull to Johne Grant off Tullochkoroum," mentioned as living in Wester Curr about 1625.

PATRICK GRANT of Tullochgorm. On 7th January 1668 he obtained a precept of *clare constat* from Patrick Grant of Cluniemoir, Tutor of Grant, as heir to his grandfather John, in the lands of Tullochgorm, and was infeft therein and in Drumuilie on 20th January following. In the instrument of sasine in the lands of Drumuilie, he is designed "eldest grandson of the late John Grant, formerly of Tullochgorm, his grandfather, and eldest son of the late Patrick Grant, formerly of Tullochgorm, his father." He granted a charter of both these lands to Mary, daughter of the deceased John Grant of Lurg, his future spouse, on 7th February 1668, and she was infeft therein the same day. On 18th March 1669, Patrick Grant of Tullochgorm, with Patrick Grant of Miltoun, "for the familie of Tullochgorme, and all persones descended therfra linea consanguinitatis," entered into a bond of amity with the representatives of the family of Grant of Gartinbeg. He appears to have died before 9th November 1688.

JAMES GRANT, brother-german of Patrick Grant of Tullochgorm, appears as a witness to the infeftments of his brother and his future spouse.

JOHN GRANT, who was retoured as heir-male general and of provision of Patrick Grant of Tullochgorm, his father, on 9th November 1688.

PATRICK GRANT of Tullochgorm. He was a Commissioner of Supply for the county of Inverness in 1690 and 1704. He is mentioned in an old Valuation Roll of Inverness in 1691 as the proprietor of lands in the parish of Inverallan worth £100 yearly. In a decreet by the Lords of Council and Session, on 24th November 1697, he is named as one of those now in life at whose instance John Grant of Delnabo had been interdicted. He obtained a precept of *clare constat* on 3d February 1724 from James Grant of Grant, as son and nearest heir of the late Patrick Grant of Tullochgorm, who died last vest and seised in Tullochgorm and Drumuilie, and reference is made to the precepts granted to his father in 1668. On 10th May 1726 he signed a bond to James Grant of Grant, obliging himself and successors to pay an annual sum of £120 during the non-redemption of the lands. On the precept of 1724 Patrick Grant was infeft in the lands only on 9th June 1731, when he disponed Tullochgorm to his son. He married Barbara, daughter of George Forbes of Skellater, Aberdeenshire.

ALLAN GRANT, who is said to have been third son of Patrick Grant of Tullochgorm, and to have fought at the battle of Culloden in 1746. The dirk then worn by him is in possession of his descendant General Sir Patrick Grant.

DONALD GRANT in Croftnaheven. He appears to have died *s.p.*, as on 16th January 1749, his nephew, George Grant of Tullochgorm, was retoured heir-general to him.

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GEORGE GRANT of Tullochgorm, eldest son and heir. He is designed, on 7th January 1726, when he granted a discharge, younger of Tullochgorm. He wrote and witnessed the bond by his father to the Laird of Grant in 1726. He obtained, on 14th August 1730, a disposition of Drumuilie from his father, and was infeft therein on 5th October following. He also received, on 2d June 1731, a disposition of Tullochgorm from his father, and was infeft therein on the 9th of the same month. He appears as a cautioner in the testament of Gregor Grant of Gartinmore in 1748. In 1751, on agreeing to pay an augmented yearly feu-duty of £191, 13s. 4d. Scots for his lands, Sir Ludovick Grant of Grant prorogued their redemption for twenty-four years, and granted him a lease of the corn mill and thirlage of Drumuilie for that period. The lands of Tullochgorm and Drumuilie were resumed by Sir James Grant of Grant in 1777. George Grant engaged in arbitration about the marches of his lands in 1783 with the Misses Grant of Gartinbeg. He died on 5th July 1787 at Tullochgorm, in the eighty-fifth year of his age.

PATRICK GRANT of Glenmore. He is said to have given shelter in Glenmore to Prince Charles Edward after the battle of Culloden, in recognition for which service the Prince sent him from France a fishing-rod for himself, and the Prince's portrait for his daughter Nelly.

DONALD GRANT, who is mentioned in the testament of his daughter Mary, as son of deceased Patrick Grant, sometime in Tullochgorm. He married Marjory Grant, and had three daughters.

RACHEL GRANT, who married, about 1734, as his second wife, Patrick Grant of Rothiemurchus.

JOHN GRANT in Auchasnick, Inverallan, Strathspey. As grandson of Patrick Grant of Tullochgorm, he was, on 25th July 1726, retoured heir-general to his uncle John Grant. He married Annie, daughter of —— Baillie of Dunean.

CAPTAIN ALEXANDER GRANT of Tullochgorm, who was, in 1770, designed "younger of Tullochgorm," at which time he ranked as lieutenant. He had a lease in 1773, and during the lifetime of his father, of Borlumbeg, Raddoch, Ruskich, and other lands. He was a Commissioner of Supply for Elgin and Forres in 1774, and in 1797 was appointed one of the Deputy-Lieutenants for the fifth district of Inverness. On 9th August 1780 he was taken prisoner with his company, by the Spanish and French fleets four days' (thirty leagues) sail from Madeira, and interned at "Arcos de la Frontiera." He died on 28th February 1828, aged ninety-seven. He appears to have been twice married, as in 1776 he was obliged to dispose of Borlumbeg on account of the bad state of health in which his wife had been for some years. His second wife, Margaret Grant, was a daughter of Grant of Lochletter. She died on 15th April 1850, aged sixty-seven.

GEORGE GRANT of Burdsyards, now Sanquhar, near Forres. He is named as "Tullochgorm's nephew," and as "Glenmore's son" in letters from John Grant, Chief-Justice of Jamaica, to Sir James Grant of Grant. He married a daughter of Grant of Auchterblair, and by her, who died in Jamaica, he had issue an only daughter, Margaret, who, on 10th March 1801, married William Fraser Tytler of Belnain, and had issue. George Grant died at Sanquhar in 1820.

PATRICK GRANT, mentioned in 1778 as a son of Glenmore, and as itinerant at Fort-William. He was presented by Sir James Grant to, and became minister of the parish of Duthil. He had a lease of Tullochgorm, where he died in 1809, and was buried at Duthil. He married Beatrice, eldest daughter of Neil Campbell of Duntroon, Argyllshire, and had issue, one son and three daughters.

MARY GRANT, who married Patrick Grant, sometime in Craggan. She died before 8th May 1787, when her testament was given up.

ELIZABETH GRANT.

BARBARA GRANT, who married, on 27th May 1772, as his second wife, William Gordon or Macgregor, minister of Alvie. She died on 13th March 1819.

WILLIAM GRANT, in Forrigin, in Duthil. He married Janet, daughter of Lachlan Grant, Ballintomb, and died at Auchterblair on 22d September 1815, aged eighty-three, and leaving issue two sons and a daughter.

CAPTAIN JAMES GRANT, Ballintomb, who was twice married, first, to Charlotte, daughter of —— Urquhart, then of Burdsyards; and secondly, to Grace, daughter of James (?) Grant of Clury. He had issue two sons and a daughter.

CAPTAIN GEORGE WILLIAM ALEXANDER TRAPAUD GRANT of the Bengal Horse Artillery. He died in India unmarried.

MATILDA CAMPBELL GRANT.

GEORGINA NEIL CAMPBELL GRANT, both of whom died unmarried.

ANNA TRAPAUD GRANT, twin with Matilda. She married, as his second wife, Major Grant of Auchterblair.

= MAJOR JOHN GRANT, Auchterblair, of 97th Strathspey Highlanders. He was previously in the 42d and 29th Regiments of Foot. On retiring from the army he obtained a lease of the farm of Auchterblair. He was twice married, first, to a daughter of Mr. Grant of Lettoch, by whom he had no issue; and secondly, to Anna Trapaud Grant. They had issue.

LACHLAN GRANT, who died unmarried before 1804.

ANNIE GRANT, who married Captain Gordon of Clerkhill, Sutherlandshire, and had issue.

CAPTAIN WILLIAM GRANT, born 17th June 1803. He was assistant adjutant-general of the Cabul Field Force, and was killed in the retreat from Cabul in December 1842. He married, in 1838, Ann, daughter of Captain James Gordon of Ivy Bank, Nairn, and had issue two daughters.

GENERAL SIR PATRICK GRANT, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., etc., Governor of the Royal Chelsea Hospital, Colonel of 78th Highlanders. He was acting adjutant-general in Bengal from 1838 to 1841, and afterwards commander-in-chief in Madras. In 1867 he was appointed Governor of Malta. He was born 11th September 1804, and married, first, on 14th February 1832, Jane Anne, daughter of William Fraser Tytler of Balnain and Aldowrie, Inverness-shire, who died in 1838; secondly, on 7th September 1844, the Hon. Frances Maria Gough, youngest daughter of Field-Marshal First Viscount Gough, G.C.B.

LACHLAN GRANT, who was born 11th February 1806. He was assistant-surgeon of the 49th Regiment, and died in India, unmarried, in 1829.

GEORGE WILLIAM NEIL CAMPBELL GRANT, who was born 23d May 1814. He died at Kingston, Jamaica, in 1835, unmarried.

BEATRICE CAMPBELL GRANT, born 11th March 1808, and died unmarried in 1836.

JANET GEORGINA GRANT, born 11th June 1810, married, as his second wife, on 21st April 1831, Captain James Gordon of Ivy Bank, Nairn. She died 29th June 1866, leaving issue three sons and two daughters.

MATILDA CAMPBELL GRANT, born 11th March 1817, married, on 18th October 1839, Captain Hugh Boyd, Bengal Army. She died in India in 1845, leaving issue two sons.

ALEXANDER CHARLES GRANT, a colonel in the army.

ALDOURIE PATRICK GRANT, 71st Regiment N.I. Killed at the siege of Lucknow, May 1857.

HUGH GOUGH GRANT, major in 78th Highlanders.

HENRY FANE GRANT, major in 4th Hussars.

IAN REIDHAVEN GRANT, lieutenant in Royal Navy.

PATRICK FRANCIS WILLIAM. Died at Malta, 11th September 1867, aged six.

FRANCES GOUGH GRANT.

PEDIGREE OF THE FIRST GRANTS OF BALLINDALLOCH.

ALSO OF THE FIRST GRANTS OF DALVEY, IN THE PARISH OF CROMDALE.

I.—PATRICK GRANT.

Who appears about 1520 as a prominent member of the Grant family, and one of the Chiefs of the Clan. He acquired and held Ballindalloch from t barony of Tullochcarron. He was alive in 1532. It is

II.—JOHN GRANT, FIRST DESIGNED OF BALLINDALLOCH.

He was infeft in the lands of Pitchaish and Foyness in 1525, and in Ballindalloch in 1537. In 1539 he acquired from Patrick, Bishop of Moray, the lands of Advie, Tulchan, Calledir, Rororie, and Advoky, in the barony of Strathspey. He also acquired in 1537 the lands of Easter Urquhard and Cantradoun, in 1543 the lands of Bogside, in 1547 the lands of Tullochcarron, and in 1548 he obtained a charter of the lands of Glenmoriston. He married, first, Isabella, daughter of John Grant of Culcabock and Glenmoriston, and Isabella Innes, by whom he had issue one son George (who claimed the estates of his grandfather, but unsuccessfully); and, secondly, in 1541, Barbara Gordon, widow of William Hay, Laird of Lorny, and by her also had issue. He was slain on 11th September 1559 in a quarrel with the Grants of Carron.

I.—PATRICK GI

Brother-german of John Grar as "in Dalvey" in 1537. farm of these lands from Pat April 1540, and is afterwards fi to Grant charters under the married Janet Bard or Baird in April 1576, and was succee

III.—PATRICK GRANT OF BALLINDALLOCH.

He was the eldest son of John Grant and Barbara Gordon, but having been born previous to their marriage, letters of legitimation under the Great Seal were granted in his favour on 22d October 1542. In 1551 he was infeft by his father in Ballindalloch and Tommore. He engaged in Huntly's Rebellion in 1568, but obtained a remission in the following year; and in 1584 pledged himself with the clan to defend their chief, the Laird of Freuchie. He had a charter of Ballindalloch from John Grant of Freuchie in 1568, and another from the Earl of Huntly of the lands of Auldcruth and Thomalemen on 21st May 1575. He died on 8th September 1586. He was twice married, first, about 1565, to Grissel Grant, daughter of John Grant of Freuchie; and secondly, about 1576, to Margaret Gordon, widow of Walter Innes of Auchroisk, who survived him and married John Gordon, son of Thomas Gordon of Cluny. He left issue.

GEORGE GRANT in Inverernan, afterwards in Aldoch, as brother's son and heir of Alexander Grant of Cardells was infeft in Cardells on 20th December 1585, and immediately thereafter disponed them to his brother John for 1000 merks. He appears to have died before 1612.

IV.—PATRICK GRANT OF BALLINDALLOCH.

He was infeft in Ballindalloch on 3d April 1591, and in 1595 received a Crown charter of the barony of Tullochcarron to himself and Helen Ogilvie his spouse. In 1613 he was pardoned for intercommuning with the Clan Gregor. During his time the lands of Ballindalloch passed into the hands of his brother James, and he was present at his brother's infeftment in these lands on 8th May 1632. He appears to have died before 1649. He married, before 19th January 1614, Helen Ogilvie, who predeceased him, dying before 1621, and left issue.

JAMES GRANT of Morinch, also of Inverernan. He purchased, under reversion, from his brother Patrick in 1604, the lands of Pitchaish and Foyness. On 4th September 1627 he was retoured heir in Ballindalloch to his grandfather, John Grant of Ballindalloch, and on a precept from Chancery was infeft in these lands in 1632. On 31st October 1606, he was retoured heir-male to his father, Patrick Grant of Ballindalloch, in the lands of Inverernan, Glenernan, etc., in the parish of Tarland, Aberdeenshire. He left a son.

JOHN GRANT, appears as a w ters in 1603 and 1604 as bro Grant of Ballindalloch.

ROBERT GRANT, mentioned testament.

DUNCAN GRANT, appears as discharge by Patrick Gran loch in 1594 as his brother.

V.—JOHN GRANT OF BALLINDALLOCH.

He obtained a charter from his father in 1619 of the lands of Ballindalloch, and redeemed the lands from his uncle James in 1633. In 1621 he and his spouse were infeft in the barony of Tullochcarron. In 1643 he is still designed "Younger" and "Fiar" of Ballindalloch; and in 1649 received a charter of the lands of Morinch. He married (contract dated 26th and 28th July 1616), Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Walter Innes of Auchintoul, and left issue. In 1662 he styles himself Elder of Ballindalloch, and states that he is above sixty-six years of age. He appears to have survived till 1679.

PATRICK GRANT, called of Foyness. He was designe in 1619 and 1621 in charters witnessed by hir second son to Patrick Grant of Ballindalloch, an later, brother of John Grant of Ballindalloc He received a lease of Auchehangen from Jame Grant of Freuchie in 1648, and in 1672 wa engaged in a lawsuit with his brother.

VI.—JOHN GRANT OF BALLINDALLOCH.

In 1649 he received from his father the lands of Ballindalloch, and was infeft in them in 1663. In 1655 he is styled "Fiar" of Ballindalloch, and in 1679 "Younger." In 1670 he obtained from Murdoch, Bishop of Moray, a charter of the lands of Tulchan, etc. In 1680 he transferred to his eldest son John all his estates and liabilities. He married (contract dated 17th September 1649) Margaret, daughter of Sir John Leslie of Newton, who survived him. He died before 1690, and left issue. The names of his children, with several exceptions, are given in the settlement of 1680 as heirs of provision.

GEORGE GRANT of Cardells. In 1662 he wit by John Grant of Ballindalloch, who call son. He received a charter of apprisi of Cardells or Kirdells from Ludovick Gr on 10th October 1672. He died without nephew, John Grant of Ballindalloch, was s on 18th December 1685.

VII.—JOHN ROY GRANT OF BALLINDALLOCH.

He was infeft in the lands of Ballindalloch and others on his father's resignation in 1682, having undertaken to discharge all his father's debts and obligations. He was retoured heir to his uncle, George Grant of Cardells, in 1685, in the lands and barony of Pitcroy, *alias* Cardells. In his time the estates became inextricably encumbered, and were taken possession of by his creditors, and ultimately acquired by Colonel William Grant, younger son of James Grant of Rothiemurchus, and ancestor of the present possessor of Ballindalloch. John Grant died before 26th April 1737. He married (contract dated 6th November 1682), Anne-Francisca, second daughter of Count Patrick Leslie of Balquhain, and left issue one son.

ALEXANDER GRANT, who, as second son of John Grant of Ballindalloch, on 16th February 1678, obtained from Archibald Dunbar of Newton a wadset right of the lands of Achmadies held of Thomas Mackenzie of Pluscardine, and redeemable for 2300 merks. This he disponed to Ludovick Grant of Grant on 14th November 1692.

PATRICK GRANT, third brother of said John Grant in 1 Pitchaish, witness to his brother John's contract of November 1682. On 2d October 1694, George Gord inhibition raised at the instance of Patrick Grant, Delay, now in Pittodrie, third lawful son to the decease of Ballindalloch, against John Grant of Ballindalloch granted in the same year to him a bond for 2000 merks in father's bond of provision. He married Mary Strachan, him. He died on 13th May 1709, leaving a son and da son went abroad, and was then thought to be dead, but stated in a memorial that he was alive in Maryland. Mary was retoured heir to her father on 12th Februar married James Lumsden of Corichie, minister of Strathd

CAPTAIN JOHN GRANT, called OF BALLINDALLOCH. He went abroad, and entered, in 1708, the Dutch service, rising slowly, on account of his being a Roman Catholi rank of captain, in General Colzier's regiment. He married, about 1740, the daughter of an Episcopal clergyman in Fife, but died before 1763, leaving a son

PETER LESLIE GRANT, who was born 5th April 1741. He changed his religion in boyhood, and on 11th March 1763 was served Protestant heir to his cousin, Ernest Leslie of Balquhain, in the lands of Balquhain, Auldtoun, Largie, Fetternear, and others in Aberdeenshire. He assumed the name and arms of Leslie on his succession. He died unmarried in May 1774.

ELIZA GRANT, who married, in 1773, as hi Duguid. He succeeded his brother-in-la Grant, in the lands of Balquhain. She di

JOHN GRANT of Dunlugas, who was retoured heir-special to his uncle Patrick in the same lands on 7th May 1766. He was a major-general in the service of the K 1772, a disposition in liferent of lands of Tillydown, which he again reno

DALE, AFTERWARDS OF DUNLUGAS, IN BANFFSHIRE, CADETS OF BALLINDALLOCH.

ANT IN BALLINDALLOCH.
Grants of Freuchie. He also acquired by purchase from Hugh Lamb, Baron of Tullochcarron, the half lands of Drumnagrane, and the half lands of Ballachrogan, in the known whom he married, but he left issue four sons and two daughters.

T OF DALVEY.
f Ballindalloch, mentioned received a charter of feu- Bishop of Moray, on 15th ently mentioned as a witness gnation "of Dalvey." He o survived him. He died by his eldest son.

ALEXANDER GRANT of Cardells, who, in 1551, is designated brother-german of John Grant of Ballindalloch. On 8th June 1539 he obtained from the friars preachers of Elgin a feu-charter of the lands and barony of Pitcroy, *alias* Cardells, and was infeft therein on 16th August following. By agreement, dated 26th July 1551, he made over the lands to the Laird of Freuchie. He died before 20th December 1585, *s.p.m.*

MASTER WILLIAM GRANT, who appears to have entered the Church, and frequently appears as a notary and otherwise in Grant charters.

AGNES GRANT, who married, first, before 29th May 1525, John Macallan of Inverernane; and, secondly, before 8th March 1532, Thomas Cumming. At the latter date she had a charter of the lands of Crabston in Aberdeenshire. In 1530 she is mentioned as engaged in a lawsuit with Gordon of Netherdale.

CATHERINE GRANT, who married Walter Leslie, second Laird of Kininvie, and left issue.

UL GRANT. He is a witness b his brother's infeftment in 568 in the lands of Ballindalch on a precept by the Laird f Freuchy, when he is styled rother to Patrick Grant of allindalloch. In 1590 one homas Grant, designed as Paul's son," is declared a bel.

JOHN GRANT in Foyness, tutor of Ballindalloch. He is a witness to several documents between 1580 and 1603, and is styled brother-german of Patrick Grant of Ballindalloch, in 1586 being called youngest brother. In 1574 he purchased the estate of Ballindalloch from his brother on a letter of reversion, but they appear to have been redeemed. He is mentioned in 1588 as one of his brother's creditors. He was dead in 1621, and is said to have been in the feud with the Grants of Carron. He left issue.

II.—PATRICK GRANT OF DALVEY,
Who succeeded in 1576. He married (contract dated 6th December 1565) Janet, daughter of Duncan Grant in Gartinbeg, in view of which his father, on 5th January 1565-6, disponed to him and his future spouse the lands of Dalvey, reserving to himself and wife their liferents. The charter was confirmed by the Bishop of Moray in 1580. He died in 1603.

THOMAS GRANT, mentioned in his father's testament as being boarded in Aberdeen in 1576.

A daughter, married John Cuthbert of Auldcastle Hill, who is also mentioned in Patrick Grant's will as his gudesone.

ss in char- of Patrick

is father's

itness in a Ballindal-

KATHERINE GRANT. She married (contract dated 3d December 1604) Patrick Kinnaird of Salterhill.

JEAN GRANT. She married, in 1585, William Hay of Mayne, and had issue. She was a widow in 1626.

MARGARET GRANT, who married John Mackenzie of Towie, A.M., minister of Dingwall. She died on 27th October 1601, leaving issue.

PATRICK GRANT, who, as eldest surviving son, was, in 1621, required to serve himself heir to his father in Cardells, which he did, and, in 1627, disponed them to John Grant, fiar of Ballindalloch.

III.—JAMES GRANT OF DALVEY.
On a precept of *clare constat* by Alexander Lord Spynie, dated 12th February 1603-4, he was infeft in Dalvey as heir of his father Patrick. He married, in 1594, Janet, daughter of Archibald Grant of Balintomb, and died before 3d July 1627. He left three sons.

PATRICK GRANT of Strahauche, called in the proceedings upon the murder of his nephew uncle to Thomas Grant of Dalvey. On 28th January 1603, as son of the late Patrick Grant of Dalvey, witnessed a charter by Thomas Nairn of Cromdale.

MARY GRANT, who married William Erskine of Pittodrie.

KATHERINE, who married James Grant, fiar of Easter Elchies.

JOHN GRANT of Inverernan, who was retoured, on 22d April 1628, as heir-male to his father in these lands.

IV.—1. THOMAS GRANT OF DALVEY,
As eldest son, was infeft in Dalvey on a precept of *clare constat* by the Bishop of Moray, dated 3d July 1627. He was killed by Alister Grant of Wester Tulloch in August 1628. He left no issue, and was succeeded by his brother.

IV.—2. ARCHIBALD GRANT OF DALVEY,
Who was infeft in Dalvey in 1635 as brother and heir-male to the deceased Thomas Grant. He is said, by the historian of the family of Leslie, to have married a daughter of George Leslie of Burdsbank. He was succeeded by his son.

PATRICK GRANT, who, on 1st April 1633, is designed son lawful to the deceased James Grant of Dalvey. He is also named in the decreet against Alister Grant in 1632.

d a discharge m his lawful of the lands of Freuchie, issue, as his d heir to him

V.—ROBERT GRANT OF DALVEY,
Who was served heir to his father Archibald on 6th July 1661, and was infeft in the lands of Dalvey on 21st November 1662, on a precept by Murdoch, Bishop of Moray. He married (1.) Katherine, eldest daughter of John Grant of Moyness; and (2.) a daughter of Alexander Abercromby of Birkenbog. He disponed the lands of Dalvey in 1680 to John Campbell of Friertoun, but they were afterwards purchased in 1682 by James Grant, younger of Gartinbeg, advocate, afterwards Sir James Grant of Dalvey. Robert Grant is commonly said to have purchased Dunlugas, and to have founded the family of Grant of Dunlugas. As Robert Grant of Dunlugas, he obtained, on 29th July 1687, to himself and son, a Crown charter of the lands of Dunlugas; and also witnessed a precept of *clare constat* by Ludovick Grant of Freuchie in favour of Duncan Grant of Auchernach, on 4th October 1689.

called of r age, 6th assed an etime in m Grant The latter s of tl eir survived er. The 736, it is laughter 36. She

WILLIAM GRANT, became a minister of the Gospel, married Anna, eldest daughter of George Lundie of Drumes.

GEORGE GRANT.

ROBERT GRANT. These three are called fourth, fifth, and sixth brothers of John Grant of Ballindalloch in 1680.

. . . GRANT, eldest daughter in 1680.

MARGARET GRANT, second daughter in 1680.

ELIZABETH GRANT, third daughter, who married Captain John Grant of Easter Elchies.

JEAN GRANT, fourth daughter in 1680.

VI.—PATRICK GRANT,
Eldest son of Robert Grant of Dalvey by his first wife. He was a consenting party to the sale of the lands in 1682. He succeeded his father in Dunlugas, and died before 9th March 1709. He is said to have married a daughter of Sir John Guthrie, by whom he left issue.

JOHN GRANT, called lawful son of deceased Robert Grant of Dunlugas in 1709, when his testament was given up. He is then said to have been sometime in Miltoun of Castle Grant. He is said to have been chamberlain of Strathspey, and called "Chamberlain Bane."

ANDREW GRANT, who became parson of Viconburgh, in England.

ISABELLA GRANT, who married James Ogilvie of Logie.

ELIZABETH GRANT, who, on 20th October 1711, was retoured heir of provision-general to her father, Robert Grant of Dunlugas. She married, it is said, James Kennedy.

d only to the daughter.

PATRICK GRANT of Dunlugas, who was retoured heir-general to his father, Patrick Grant of Dunlugas, on 9th March 1709. He is said to have married Susanna, daughter of —— Morrison of Bognie. He died in March 1721.

MARGARET GRANT, who married Captain Brodie of Windiehills.

ird wife, Patrick Leslie nd cousin, Peter Leslie without issue, in 1778.

PATRICK GRANT of Dunlugas, who, on 17th March 1732, was retoured heir-general to his father Patrick, and also heir-special in the lands of Dunlugas, Murdens, Tulliebreadleys, etc., Banffshire, and Scattertie, Holme, Goukhall, etc., Aberdeenshire. He died at Dunlugas on 30th April 1759, unmarried.

JAMES GRANT, who went to London. He married, and left a son.

of Prussia, by whom he was several times sent on missions to the Court of Britain. He is mentioned as receiving from Sir James Grant of Grant, on 21st September d in 1777. In 1774 he was a Commissioner of Supply for Elgin and Forres.

PEDIGREE OF THE GRANTS OF GLENMORISTON

IN THE PARISH OF URQUHART, INVERNESS-SHIRE.

I.—JOHN MOR GRANT.

Natural son of John Grant, second Laird of Freuchie. He took a prominent part in family and other transactions, and was distinguished from his brother John Grant, first of Corriemony, by the appellation "Mor." As "filio seniori Johannis Graunt de Fruchy," he received, on 8th December 1509, a Crown Charter to himself and his heirs-male of the lands of Glenmoriston, in the lordship of Urquhart and county of Inverness, which lands were then erected into a barony in his favour. He is also called John Grant of Culcabock, in witnessing the infeftment of his father on 24th January 1509-10, in the barony of Urquhart, and was more commonly known as "of Culcabock" than as "of Glenmoriston." He acquired the lands of Culcabock, Knockintinnel, and the Haugh, in the parish of Inverness, from the Hays of Mayne, and on 19th November 1532 received a Crown Charter of confirmation of these lands. On 7th May 1541 he obtained from Patrick, Bishop of Moray, charters of the lands of Carron, and of Wester Elchies and Kinchirdie in Strathspey, to himself and spouse in liferent, and to two of his sons in fee. He married, first, Elizabeth or Isobella, daughter of Walter Innes, and grand-daughter of Sir Robert Innes of that Ilk. By her he had one daughter, but divorcing his first wife, he married, secondly, by papal dispensation, in 1544, Agnes, daughter of William Fraser, and grand-daughter of Thomas, fourth Lord Lovat, by whom he had a son Patrick, who succeeded him in his estates. He had also three natural sons. John Grant of Culcabock died in September 1548.

II.—PATRICK GRANT of Glenmoriston.

He was under age when his father died. The ward of the lands of Culcabock, Knockintinnel, and Haugh was given to James Grant of Freuchie on 9th December 1548, and on 4th March following John Grant of Ballindalloch obtained a Crown Charter of the lands of Glenmoriston, which it was alleged had come into the Queen's hands through the death of John Mor Grant without lawful heirs-male. The succession of Patrick Grant to his father was afterwards established against the claims of John Grant of Ballindalloch, and he was retoured heir to his father in the lands and barony of Glenmoriston in November 1566, and in Culcabock, etc., on 4th October 1569. Patrick Grant of Glenmoriston is frequently mentioned in documents between 1565 and 1580. He was implicated in Huntly's rebellion, for which he obtained a remission in 1569. He also held lands in Inverness, as on 11th January 1574 he sold two roods of burgage land there to Alexander Cuthbert. He witnessed the renunciation of the lands of Finlarg by Patrick Grant of Rothiemurchus on 26th December 1580, and died on 16th March following. He married Beatrice, daughter of Archibald Campbell of Calder, and left issue.

Isobella Grant, who married John Grant of Ballindalloch. Their son, George Grant, as grandson of John Grant of Culcabock and Isobella Innes, claimed to succeed to his grandfather to the exclusion of Patrick, the son of Agnes Fraser, but failed to gain his case. On 9th May 1538 she obtained in liferent from Archibald Campbell of Glenlyon a charter of the lands of Testall Balle, M'Inteyr, Innernidas, etc., which was confirmed by the Crown on 26th August following. She appears to have died before 1541.

John Roy Grant of Carron. He was ancestor of the Grants of Carron, being designed fiar of these lands in the charter granted to his father. *See* separate Pedigree of the Grants of Carron.

James Grant of Wester Elchies. He was ancestor of the Grants of Wester Elchies, being designed fiar of these lands when his father received them in liferent. *See* separate Pedigree of the Grants of Wester Elchies.

Alexander Grant. He is mentioned in the charters both of Carron and Wester Elchies as successor in the event of failure of heirs-male to his brothers.

III.—JOHN GRANT of Glenmoriston.

He was retoured heir to his father in the lands and barony of Glenmoriston on 19th February 1585, and in the lands of Culcabock, etc., on 3d March 1600. He also obtained service to the latter lands on 29th August 1615 as heir of his grandfather, John Grant of Culcabock, the retour stating that these lands had been in the king's hands for sixty-seven years, or since September 1548. John Grant took an important part in the affairs of his time. He was appointed in 1592 a justice and commissioner for the suppression of disorders in the district, and again in 1622 in the proceedings against the Camerons of Lochiel. He was frequently arbiter in disputes between neighbouring lairds. He held in wadset from the Laird of Freuchie for some time the Forest of Cluny, and the lands of Borlum and Balmacaan, in Urquhart; and he also acted as Bailie of the lordship of Urquhart for the Laird of Freuchie. In 1621 he purchased the lands of Kinchirdie for his son John, but sold them again in 1633 to Alexander Cumming. He married Elizabeth Grant, and died before 31st March 1637, leaving issue.

Archibald Grant, who was fined in 1613 for participating in the reset of the Macgregors, when he is designed brother to the Laird of Glenmoriston. He also acted as procurator for his brother, John Grant of Glenmoriston, and his son John, in their infeftment in the lands of Kinchirdie on 24th April 1621.

Lilias, who married Alexander Grant, first of Sheuglie. [See Pedigree.]

IV.—PATRICK GRANT of Glenmoriston.

During his father's lifetime he frequently appears as a witness to Grant documents from 1605 onwards, under the designations of apparent of Glenmoriston, and eldest lawful son of John Grant of Glenmoriston. He obtained service to his father in the lands of Culcabock, etc., on 31st March 1637. He took part with the Laird of Freuchie in 1640 in giving assurances for James Grant of Carron, the Strathspey freebooter. He married Margaret Fraser, said to be a daughter of Fraser of Culbockie. He died about 1643.

John Grant, Tutor of Glenmoriston, also designed "of Conachan." On 16th March 1643 he was retoured as nearer agnate of his nephew John Grant, lawful son to the late Patrick Grant of Glenmoriston, his brother. He was sometime fiar of the lands of Kinchirdie, acquired for him by his father in 1621. In 1648 James Grant of Freuchie appointed his loving friend, John Grant, Tutor of Glenmoriston, chamberlain of the lordship of Urquhart. He left a son, called Duncan Roy, who was alive in 1702.

Duncan Grant, "son lawful to John Grant of Glenmoriston," was on 8th July 1636 a debtor of the then deceased John Grant of Wester Elchies. He received to himself and his spouse, Catherine M'Donald, a wadset of the lands of Meikle Daldreggan, on 7th December 1652. He had issue. On 29th December 1730, Æneas Grant of Daldreggan was retoured heir of Duncan Grant, his great-grandfather, some time in Inach, afterwards of Daldreggan. Thereafter, on 4th March 1731, he disponed the wadset to Ludovick Colquhoun of Luss. In 1718 Alexander Grant, a minister, possessor of Daldreggan, was tutor to Æneas Grant.

V.—JOHN GRANT of Glenmoriston.

Designed lawful son to the late Patrick Grant of Glenmoriston in the retour of his uncle John on 16th March 1643. In the following year he appears on the Valuation Roll of the county of Inverness as "apparent of Glenmoriston," and his lands are valued at £2482, 1s. 8d. Scots. There was a keen litigation in 1684 between this Laird and the Laird of Freuchie about the redemption of Balmacaan, and an instrument of ejection from these lands, dated 10th March 1687, shows that the legal proceedings were prolonged. On 8th April of that year he entered into an agreement with Mr. James Grant, advocate, afterwards Sir James Grant of Dalvey, who became bound to act as his legal agent in return for a yearly pension. He is said to have married a daughter of Fraser of Struie. He died before 23d June 1703.

VI.—JOHN GRANT of Glenmoriston.

Designed "Younger of Glenmoriston" in 1687, when he witnessed the agreement between his father and Mr. James Grant, advocate. On 21st December 1695, he and his brother, Alexander Grant in Blairy, entered into a bond to Murdoch M'Leod for 500 merks Scots. On 23d June 1703 he was charged to enter heir to his late father. On 9th March 1714 he was similarly charged, and to enter heir to other ancestors. He engaged actively in the Rebellion of 1715, in consequence of which his estates were forfeited, and remained in possession of the Crown until 1732, when they were sold to Mr. Ludovick Colquhoun of Luss, advocate, afterwards Sir Ludovick Grant of Grant. He is said to have married, as his first wife, a daughter of Baillie of Dunean, who only survived for a year. He afterwards married, about 1698, Janet, daughter of Sir Ewen Cameron of Lochiel, and had issue, it is said ten sons and five daughters, who were all married, so that at the death of Janet Cameron on 9th February 1759, in her eightieth year, her descendants numbered about 200. [Scots Magazine.] John Grant died on 30th November 1736, at the age of 79.

Alexander Grant, designed as "in Blairy," and brother to John Grant of Glenmoriston, in a bond by them of date 21st December 1695.

Patrick Grant, designed brother-german of John Grant of Glenmoriston, in the marriage-contract of his niece, 19th October 1713.

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VII. 1.—JOHN GRANT, YOUNGER OF GLENMORISTON.

Who, as eldest son of John Grant, late of Glenmoriston, obtained from Mr. Ludovick Colquhoun of Luss in May 1733, a disposition of portions of the lands of Glenmoriston, of which, on 22d June following, he received a Crown Charter. The Laird of Grant arranged with him, and afterwards with his brother Patrick, for the reacquisition of Glenmoriston by them. John Grant predeceased his father on 3d December 1734, aged 35, unmarried.

VII. 2.—PATRICK GRANT OF GLENMORISTON.

He was served heir-male general to his brother John, and also in portions of the lands of Glenmoriston on 18th January 1737. In 1735 he entered into a bond of friendship with Macdonald of Glengarry. He married, it is said, a daughter of John Grant of Craskie, and left issue. He died at Innerwick on 30th March 1786, in the eighty-sixth year of his age.

DUNCAN GRANT, described in 1718 as brother to the Laird of Glenmoriston.

ALLAN GRANT, who is mentioned as a brother to Grant of Glenmoriston, and a creditor of his in 1743. His daughter is said to have married John Charles Dunn of Higham House, whose only daughter, Mary Anne, married Francis William Grant, sixth Earl of Seafield.

ISOBEL GRANT, eldest lawful daughter, who married (contract dated 19th October 1713) Alexander Grant of Sheuglie.

VIII.—PATRICK GRANT OF GLENMORISTON.

Who succeeded his father. As Younger of Glenmoriston and eldest son of Patrick Grant, he frequently rendered accounts to the Laird of Grant of the affairs of the estate of Glenmoriston. On 30th June 1757 he contracted marriage with Henrietta, second daughter of James Grant of Rothiemurchus, whereupon Patrick Grant, Elder of Glenmoriston, disponed the estate to himself in liferent, and to Patrick his eldest son in fee. A similar disposition of the superiority was made on 30th November 1773, and a Crown Charter obtained on 7th March following. Patrick Grant died 2d December 1793. By his wife Henrietta Grant he left issue four sons and four daughters.

ALEXANDER GRANT, said to be "of the Glenmoriston family." He went to America as lieutenant in one of the Highland regiments. He became a member of the Executive and Legislative Council of Upper Canada, and was for nearly half a century commodore of the fleet on Lake Erie. He died on 8th May 1813, aged eighty, on his estate of Gross Point, near Detroit, North America.

CAPTAIN ALLAN GRANT of Innerwick. He died at Inverness on 18th September 1810.

MAJOR ALPIN GRANT of Borlum. He gave up his brother Allan's testament in 1811. He died at Borlumbeg, 16th September 1812, leaving issue.

LEWIS GRANT.

HELEN GRANT, who married Ranald Macdonell of Scothouse or Scotus, and had issue.

IX.—LIEUTENANT-COLONEL JOHN GRANT OF GLENMORISTON.

Who was also colonel in the Inverness-shire militia. He served with the 42d regiment, Royal Highlanders, in India, and was second in command at the siege of Mangalore. On his return home, before 1790, he became major in the Strathspey Fencibles. He was served heir to his father on 27th February 1795. He is called in the Rothiemurchus entail of 1787. He married, before 1789, Elizabeth Townsend Grant, daughter of John Grant, Commissary of Ordnance of New York, who is said to have been a son of Mungo Grant, and grandson of the Laird of Grant; but if related he was more probably a grandson of Mungo Grant of Kinchirdie, through his eldest son John. John Grant of Glenmoriston died on 8th September 1801, and his testament was given up by his eldest son. In it he bequeathed legacies to several of his children and others. Mrs. Grant died at Inverness, 3d April 1814.

JAMES GRANT, who is mentioned in his eldest brother's testament, and appointed one of the tutors and curators of his children. He is named in the Rothiemurchus entail of 1787. He was father of Patrick Grant of Balafeary, Sheriff-clerk of Inverness-shire.

PATRICK GRANT, who is said to have died in America.

WILLIAM GRANT, mentioned in his eldest brother's testament, and appointed one of the tutors and curators of his children. He died at Berhampore on 23d October 1808, in the thirty-seventh year of his age, on the eve of returning to his native country. He left £5300 to be spent in propagating the Gospel among the natives of India.

HELEN GRANT, who married, on 22d September 1778, Ewen Cameron of Glenevis, and had issue.

ELIZABETH GRANT, who married Simon Fraser of Foyers, and had issue.

JANE GRANT, designed third daughter, who married, in 1781, Charles Mackenzie of Kilcoy, and had issue.

GRACE GRANT, who married Colin Mathieson of Bennetsfield, and had issue.

X. 1.—PATRICK GRANT OF GLENMORISTON.

As eldest lawful son of Lieutenant-Colonel John Grant, he gave up the testament of his father on 9th October 1801, and was, on 3d May following, retoured heir to his father, and obtained infeftment in his estates. He died at Foyers on 22d September 1808, *s.p.*, and was succeeded by his brother.

X. 2.—JAMES MURRAY GRANT OF GLENMORISTON, J.P., D.L.

Designed second lawful son of Lieutenant-Colonel John Grant in the latter's testament. He was born 24th June 1792, and on 15th May 1809 was retoured heir-general to his grandfather Patrick, and heir-general of line to his brother Patrick, to whom he was also retoured on 30th of same month heir-special. He executed a precept of *clare constat* for his own infeftment as heir to his grandfather Patrick, on 13th October 1814, in certain portions of the barony of Glenmoriston, and was infeft the same day. He acquired the lands of Culbin, Kintessack, Moy, etc., as heir of tailzie and provision to Colonel Hugh Grant of Moy, to whom he was retoured heir-general on 3d June 1822, and on 5th July following obtained a Crown Charter of these lands. In 1824 he acquired also the lands of Earnhills and others from Captain Gregory Grant. He purchased the lands of Knockie, Foyerbeg, and others. He married, on 5th October 1813, Henrietta, third daughter of Ewen Cameron of Glenevis, and had issue five sons and five daughters. He died at Inverness on 8th August 1868, and was succeeded by his grandson, the present Laird of Glenmoriston. Mrs. Grant, who was born in 1788, survived till 26th June 1871.

HENRIETTA ANN GRANT, mentioned in her father's testament as eldest lawful daughter. She married, as his second wife, Thomas Fraser of Balnain. His first wife was her cousin, a daughter of Elizabeth Grant and Simon Fraser of Foyers. They had issue.

ANN GRANT, called in her father's testament second lawful daughter. She married Roderick K. Mackenzie of Flowerburn, and had issue.

XI.—CAPTAIN JOHN GRANT, YOUNGER OF GLENMORISTON.

Late of the 42d Royal Highlanders. He married, first, in 1850, Emily, daughter of James Morrison of Basildon Park, Berks; and, secondly, Anne, daughter of Robert Chadwick, of High Bank, Prestwick, in the county of Lancaster. Captain John Grant predeceased his father, dying at Moy House, Forres, on 17th August 1867. By his second wife he left issue.

EVAN GRANT, colonel in the Indian (Bombay) Army, who distinguished himself by military services in India and the East. He died in London shortly after his return. He married the eldest daughter of Colonel Pears of the Royal Madras Artillery, and had issue one son and four daughters.

PATRICK GRANT, E.I.C. Civil Service. He married Elizabeth, second daughter of Donald Charles Cameron of Barcaldine, Argyllshire, and Elizabeth Mathieson, and had issue two sons and four daughters.

HUGH GRANT, lieutenant-colonel in the Indian (Bengal) Army. He married in India, and had issue one son and one daughter. He also died in India.

JAMES MURRAY GRANT, major-general in the Indian (Madras) Army. He married Helen, third daughter of Donald Charles Cameron of Barcaldine, and Elizabeth Mathieson, and has issue four sons and three daughters.

JANE GRANT, who married William Unwin of the Colonial Office, and has issue.

ELIZABETH GRANT, who married Alexander Pierson of the Guynd, Forfarshire, without issue.

HELEN GRANT.

HARRIET GRANT, who married Frank Morrison of Holepark, Kent, without issue.

ISABELLA GRANT, who died unmarried.

XII.—IAN ROBERT JAMES MURRAY GRANT OF GLENMORISTON.

Present Laird. Born 1860. Succeeded his grandfather in 1868. He is a lieutenant in the First Battalion, Queen's Own Cameron Highlanders.

EWEN GRANT, born 1861.

HEATHCOATE SALISBURY GRANT, born 1864. Serving in Royal Navy.

FRANK MORRISON SEAFIELD GRANT, born 1865.

EMILY GRANT.

PEDIGREE OF THE GRANTS OF CARRON

IN THE PARISH OF KNOCKANDO, STRATHSPEY.

CADETS OF THE GRANTS OF GLENMORISTON.

JOHN ROY GRANT of Carron, natural son of John Grant of Glenmoriston and Culcabock. On 7th May 1541 he obtained from Patrick, Bishop of Moray, a charter of feu-farm of the lands of Carron, the grant being to his father in liferent, and to himself in fee, with remainder to his two natural brothers, and in default of heirs-male to him or them, to James Grant of Freuchie and his heirs. John Grant was one of the jury of inquest for the retour of John Grant of Freuchie in 1553. He was an arbiter on the part of his brother, Wester Elchies, in a dispute between him and James Grant of Freuchie, respecting the marches of Kinchirdie, in 1568; and on 6th March 1568-9 he obtained, along with Alexander Grant his brother, and others of the name of Grant, a respite for fifteen years, for being concerned in the slaughter of John Grant of Ballindalloch on 11th September 1559. On 12th January 1573-4, he sold the half of the lands of Auchlichny to John Grant in Inverlochy and his son Robert, previous to which he appears to have sold his lands of Carron, and also Riemore, in 1568, as the Bishop of Moray, on 26th April 1571, granted confirmation of a charter of sale of these lands to Elizabeth Maxwell, relict of John Reid of Straloch. He died on 28th February 1597-8.

JOHN GRANT of Carron, only son and heir of John Roy Grant, made sole executor in his father's testament. He frequently appears as a witness during his father's lifetime, when he is designed "apparent of Carron;" and as such he, on 18th November 1587, entered into a bond with John Grant of Freuchie, as his kinsman and chief, to possess the lands of Culquhoich, in Strathavon, and not dispose of them without his chief's consent, and also to serve his chief faithfully. He is said to have married a sister of Sir Thomas Gordon of Cluny. He appears to have died before 22d August 1607.

A daughter, who married James Fythie. He is mentioned in the testament of his father-in-law as a creditor to the extent of £200 of his tocher-guid.

PATRICK GRANT of Carron, who, on 22d August 1607, obtained a precept of *clare constat* from Alexander, Bishop of Moray, as heir to his father, John Grant of Carron, in the lands of Carron. He was twice summoned in 1610, for molesting Alexander Lord Elphinstone in his possession of Kildrummy and Corgarf woods, but appears to have neglected the summonses, for he was decerned a rebel and put to the horn, and his escheat bestowed, on 24th January 1611, upon Alexander Lord Elphinstone. On 8th September the same year, he signed a bond of manrent to his chief, John Grant of Freuchie, in return for a lease of the teind-sheaves and vicarage of his own lands of Inverchebett and Culquhoich. On 8th January 1613, he entered into a mutual contract with Patrick Grant of Ballindalloch for friendship between the families, in which reference is made to a previous contract of similar import between Patrick Grant of Ballindalloch and the deceased John Grant of Carron, and the late John Grant, his son, "guidschir and father" to Patrick Grant, dated 24th March 1585. On 12th August 1615, he received a charter of novodamus of the lands of Carron from Alexander, Bishop of Moray, and was, in 1623, a juror on the inquest for the retour of Sir John Grant of Freuchie. Patrick Grant appears to have died before 3d July 1625.

THOMAS GRANT, tutor of Carron, mentioned as brother-german to Patrick Grant of Carron in a wadset of Thomdow by John Grant of Freuchie to William Hay of Mayne, 21st May 1617, in which he is said to have been last occupier of Thomdow. He had a tack from Thomas Innes, parson of Bona, of the lands of Rhynaballiche. On the murder of his nephew by John Grant of Ballindalloch in 1628, he became tutor of Carron, being retoured, on 3d May 1631, nearer agnate, or kinsman on the father's side, to John Grant, lawful son to the deceased John Grant of Carron. He is mentioned, in 1637, as tutor to his grand-nephew in the proceedings respecting the lands of Wester Elchies. He obtained a pardon on 29th March 1634, for his share in the slaughter of Patrick, son of Thomas Grant of Cardells, as it was without premeditation or quarrel, and as he had given security for satisfying the parties injured by the slaughter. He was alive on 28th May 1650.

JAMES GRANT, the famous Strathspey freebooter, commonly called James an Tuim. In a decreet obtained against him by John Grant of Ballindalloch, on 4th August 1632, he is designed brother to the deceased Patrick Grant of Carron. Ballindalloch complained that James Grant and others were harrying his lands, and committing slaughter. He was for some time the terror of Strathspey, but, being taken, was conveyed to Edinburgh, and imprisoned in the castle. He escaped from thence, and fled to Ireland; but in a letter from John Hay to the Laird of Grant in 1635, he is said to have returned from Ireland. He committed several depredations and murders, and a new summons was issued for his capture on 14th April 1636, in which the fact of his escape from Edinburgh Castle, and his supposed concealment in the house of the Tutor of Carron, are stated. A commission was granted by George Marquis of Huntly, on 9th November 1639, to James Grant of Carron, for the apprehension of John Due Garre and his complices, and he afterwards assisted the Marquis against the Covenanters. James Grant had an illegitimate son, George, who engaged in the desperate undertakings of his father, and, being taken, was executed in Edinburgh in June 1636.

ROBERT GRANT, who is included with his brother James, and nephew George, in the testificate by Mr. John Chalmers, minister of Inveraven, in 1633, to the diligence of the Laird of Freuchie in searching for them. He is said to have possessed the Nether Glen of Rothes, and to have been the grandfather of the claimant to the Carron estates on the death of Colonel John Grant at Cartagena. Robert Grant of Ringorme, on 2d May 1620, obtained from James Grant of Freuchie a lease of the portion of Wester Elchies, then possessed by him.

JOHN GRANT of Carron. As eldest son and apparent of Carron, he joined his father in another contract entered into by the latter with Patrick Grant of Ballindalloch, on 20th May 1623 respecting their marches. He obtained, on 3d July 1625, from the Bishop of Moray, a precept of *clare constat* as heir to his father Patrick, in Carron, and on 29th July 1626 was infeft in the lands. He purchased, on 28th June and 4th July 1627, from John Earl of Rothes, the mains and mill of Rothes for £10,180 Scots, and he and his heirs were constituted constables and heritable keepers of the tower, fortalice, and castle of Rothes. He was slain in August or September 1628 by John Grant of Ballindalloch. He married Margaret Sinclair, who survived him.

ROBERT GRANT of Ringorme, who, on 11th January 1665, received from Lieut.-Col. Patrick Grant, as tutor for Patrick Grant of Wester Elchies, a lease for five years of Wester Elchies, then held by him.

JOHN GRANT of Carron, who was a minor at the death of his father, and was placed under the tutory of his granduncle Thomas. He was retoured heir-general to his father on 9th March 1632. On 4th December 1637, he obtained from John, Bishop of Moray, a charter of the lands of Wester Elchies, which had been adjudged to him by the Lords of Council on 18th February of the same year, but he afterwards disponed them to the Laird of Freuchie. He married Margaret Farquharson, daughter of —— Farquharson of Wardes, and widow of William Macpherson of Invereshie. He died in January 1689.

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ALEXANDER GRANT, who is mentioned as brother of John Grant of Carron, 6th May 1636.

ROBERT GRANT of Ringorme, grandson of Robert Grant of Nether Glen of Rothes, the brother of Patrick Grant of Carron. He is mentioned as a witness to documents in 1710 and 1711. He was alive at the date of the death of Colonel John Grant of Carron at Cartagena, and claimed the estate as his heir-male, but died in January 1743, before he could make out his title.

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PATRICK GRANT, younger of Carron. He predeceased his father, in whose testament he is mentioned as eldest lawful son, and deceased.

COLONEL JOHN GRANT of Carron, evidently a minor at the date of his father's death, as on 27th August 1692, Charles Grant of Ringorme is named as tutor of Carron. Between 1694 and 1706 John Grant of Carron was engaged in transactions with the Grants of Ballindalloch. He entered the army, rose to the rank of colonel, and was killed in the attack on Fort Lazaro at Cartagena, in the West Indies, in April 1741. He left two daughters.

ANNA GRANT, who married Patrick Nairn, tiar of Morinch. He gave up the testament of his father-in-law, John Grant, elder of Carron, on 14th February 1689, as executor-dative and creditor to the extent of 1000 merks, which, as additional tocher, had been promised to him by the defunct and his spouse, Margaret Farquharson.

CHARLES GRANT of Ringorme, eldest son of Robert Grant, is mentioned in 1724. He pursued the claim to the estate of Carron instituted by his father, but owing to the debts which encumbered the property, he disponed it to Captain Lewis Grant of Auchterblair, who had married Colonel John Grant's elder daughter.

ELIZABETH GRANT, elder daughter of Colonel John Grant. She married Captain Lewis Grant of Auchterblair, who, on 24th November 1741, as executor *qua* creditor, gave up the testament of her father. Captain Lewis Grant purchased the estate of Carron from the heir-male, Charles Grant of Ringorme, about the year 1750. He was afterwards known as CAPTAIN LEWIS GRANT OF CARRON. He died on 12th June 1756, in the 62d year of his age.

ANNE GRANT, who married John Grant of Lurg. She died on 15th April 1777.

CAPTAIN JAMES GRANT of Carron, succeeded his father in Carron. He served a considerable time in the army as ensign and lieutenant, and was present at the battle of Fontenoy in 1745, when only eighteen years of age. He was baron of Mulderie in Moray in 1767, and in 1774 a commissioner of supply for Elgin and Forres. He inherited the estate of his uncle, Dr. Patrick Grant of Antigua, who died in 1770; but in 1783 his failure is referred to in the testament of Lewis Grant of Wester Elchies, to whom he was a debtor. He sold Carron in 1786 or 1787 to Robert Grant of Wester Elchies. James Grant married "Mrs. Grant of Carron," known as the authoress of "Roy's Wife of Aldivalloch." She survived him, and married, secondly, Dr. Murray, a physician in Bath. He died in the Abbey of Holyrood House on 14th March 1790, and at the giving up of his testament his estate was valued at £5, 4s. He had five sons.

JOSEPH GRANT, eldest son of James Grant of Carron. He was ordained to deacon's orders in January 1787, and made a priest in the following March, before sailing for Jamaica. He died at Edinburgh on 17th June 1801.

EFFINGHAM GRANT, who resided with his father in the Abbey of Holyrood House in 1790, and gave up his testament.

PEDIGREE OF THE FIRST GRANTS OF WESTER ELCHIES

IN THE PARISH OF KNOCKANDO.

CADETS OF THE GRANTS OF GLENMORISTON.

I.—JAMES GRANT OF WESTER ELCHIES.

He received the lands of Wester Elchies in feu in 1541, and in 1565 they are set down in the rental of the Bishopric of Moray as feu-farmed to him. In 1568 the boundaries of his lands of Kinchirdie, as adjoining those of the Laird of Freuchie, were defined by arbiters; and in a similar dispute as to marches in the same year between James Grant and his neighbour Duncan Grant of Easter Elchies, they resolved, because of their propinquity of blood, to refer the matter to arbitration rather than go to law, and accordingly executed a deed of submission for that end on 6th April 1568. On 26th November 1577, James Grant sat on the inquest which retoured Margaret Strachan heir to her father, George Strachan of Culloden. He was also known as Laird of Kinchirdie in Strathspey, and as such is included in a precept for a remission to certain Grants who took part with Huntly in 1567 and 1569. He is said to have married the seventh daughter of Hugh Rose of Kilravock by Agnes Urquhart. He died on 23d February 1591.

II.—LACHLAN GRANT OF WESTER ELCHIES,

Succeeded his father. On 12th February 1603 he obtained a precept of *clare constat* from Alexander Lord Spynie for his infeftment as son and heir of James Grant of Wester Elchies in these lands and Kinchirdie. He resigned them on 15th December 1618 in favour of his eldest son, reserving the liferent to himself and spouse. On 9th May 1607 he received from William Douglas, vicar of Aberlour and Elchies, a tack of the small teinds of Wester Elchies within the parish of Elchies, to himself and Elspet Innes his spouse. He is frequently mentioned as a witness in Grant documents in 1608 and 1609, and in 1623 he formed one of the inquest for the retour of Sir John Grant of Mulben. He married Elizabeth Innes, who was retoured on 12th June 1622 heir-general of John Innes of Auchluncart, her grandfather. She was alive in 1644.

ALEXANDER GRANT, who gave up the testament of James Grant of Wester Elchies on 26th October 1602, and is there called his son.

III.—JOHN GRANT OF WESTER ELCHIES.

Succeeded his father as eldest son and apparent heir of Lachlan Grant of Wester Elchies. He obtained a charter from Alexander, Bishop of Moray, on 21st December 1618, in the lands of Wester Ellochy or Elchies and Kinchirdie. This charter was granted on his father's resignation in order to implement the terms of his marriage-contract. In 1621, with his father's consent, John Grant sold the lands of Kinchirdie to John Grant of Glenmoriston. John Grant of Wester Elchies married Marjory, daughter of John Stewart of Ardbrek. He was alive on 10th June 1633, when he, as immediate superior of the lands of Kinchirdie, confirmed a charter of them by John Grant of Glenmoriston to Alexander Cumming, burgess of Inverness, but was dead before 1636 without male issue. After his death the lands of Wester Elchies were adjudicated to John Grant of Carron, and afterwards sold to James Grant of Freuchie.

JAMES GRANT in Tomdow, also called of Wester Elchies, was pursued before the Lords of Council and Session in 1636 by his brother Lachlan to serve himself heir to his late brother John, but assoilzied, and the lands given to Mr. Lachlan Grant. He afterwards, in 1644, united with his brother Lachlan in the sale of the lands to James Grant of Freuchie.

Mr. LACHLAN GRANT, M.A., minister at Moy from 1627 to 1649, when he was translated to Kingussie. The lands of Wester Elchies were adjudicated to him in 1636, and afterwards sold to the Laird of Freuchie. In 1643 he became surety for his brother-german Duncan. He married Elizabeth Mackintosh, who, in 1649, was retoured heir to her grandmother, Lady Elizabeth Sinclair. Mr. Lachlan Grant died on 6th April 1670.

DUNCAN GRANT, who, in 1643, became surety for his brother James. He is probably the Duncan Grant in Wester Elchies, who, in 1646, promised to give satisfaction for wrongs done by him to his chief, the Laird of Freuchie. He renounced his occupation and possession of the lands of Wester Elchies in 1650, on a requisition by James Grant of Freuchie. In 1657, James Grant of Freuchie appointed him his factor for the parish of Knockando for five years.

JOHN M'CONQUHY or MA

On 19th July 1537, under the designation of John M'Conquhy, he granted a letter of reversion to Allan Mackintosh of Rothiemurchus over a wadset of the lan
Maconachie Grant, while in an assignation of this and other reversions, dated 1539, to a nephew, Allan Mackintosh calls him John Grant, and on 10th December

DUNCAN M'CONDACHT GRANT in Gartinbeg.

He occurs as a witness in several Grant charters from 1553 to 1581. On 9th January 1553 he was served heir to his father, John Grant in Gartinbeg, in town of
the Lairds of Freuchie and Kinchirdie, respecting the marches of their lands. He entered into a contract, on 6th December 1565, with Patrick Grant of
son and heir to the deceased John Makconachie Grant in Gartinbeg, granted a discharge of the reversion of the lands of Tullochcrue. He is said to ha
that he was twice married, that the eldest son of the first marriage died *s.p.*, and that Duncan was succeeded in Gartinbeg by the eldest son of the second

John Grant, called More, said to have been the eldest son of Duncan Grant by first marriage, and to have died *s.p.*

JOHN GRANT M'CONDOCHIE (called also M'DONACHIE), *Alias* BEG, in Gartinbeg. Was cautioner for John Grant of Freuchie in 1599, and witness to a contract betwixt Cameron of Lochiel and Macallan of Lundie in 1606. In 1615 he is mentioned as one of the friends of the Laird of Grant convicted of resetting the Macgregors, and for whom the Laird became security. He married Agnes Cumming. They are mentioned in the disposition of Gartinbeg to their son Sueton as having received a wadset of Gartinbeg from Sir John Grant of Freuchie. He had issue.

Donald Grant of Kinveachy, called brother to John Grant, *alias* Beg, in Gartinbeg, in retour of his grandson Sueton in 1701. A Donald Grant of Kinveachy was a representative of the family of Gartinbeg in the bond of amity with that of Tullochgorm in 1669.

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SUETON or SWENE GRANT of Gartinbeg.

As eldest son and heir of the deceased John Grant M'Condochy in Gartinbeg, he received, on 15th April 1630, a renewal of the wadset of Gartinbeg given to his father. He also obtained a wadset of part of Kinveachy-tepil on 24th May 1656, to him and his spouse Lilias Grant. He was bailie to the Laird of Freuchie in Glencarnie. He was a representative of the family of Gartinbeg in the bond of amity of 1669 with that of Tullochgorm. He had issue.

John, who died in December 1631.

Isobel, named in 1631.

Duncan Grant of Kinveachy, described as father of Sueton Grant in his retour of 1701. He is named, in 1665, as a creditor of James Grant in Inverlaidnan.

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DUNCAN GRANT.

Eldest son and heir-apparent of Sueton Grant of Gartinbeg, was frequently a witness to Grant charters, and was a party to the bond of amity with the Grants of Tullochgorm in 1669 with his father, whom he predeceased before April 1675.

James Grant, advocate, younger of Gartinbeg, afterwards Sir James Grant of Dalvey. He was infeft in the lands of Gartinbeg as eldest son and heir of his father on 10th July 1686, but they were redeemed from him by Ludovick Grant of Freuchie in 1691. In 1682 James Grant purchased the lands of Dalvey from Robert Grant of Dalvey, and in the same year received a charter of these lands from Colin, Bishop of Moray. He obtained a Nova Scotia baronetcy in 1688 to him and his heirs-male. He married (contract dated 8th April 1687) Agnes, daughter of Sir Gideon Scott of Highchester, and sister of Walter, Earl of Tarras, who survived him, and married, secondly, Dr. William Rutherford of Barnhills. He died in 1695, leaving two daughters, named Elizabeth and Lilias.

Ludovick Grant of Dalvey. He was infeft as brother-german and nearest heir-male to Sir James Grant of Dalvey in the lands of Dalvey on 22d August 1695, but did not assume the dignity. He died on 4th January 1701 *s.p.*

Isobel. She married, first (contract dated August 1675), Robert Grant in Miltoun of Muckrath, afterwards of Craggan, son to the late John Grant of Coreich; and, secondly, Donald Hay of Gelloway Crook. She left issue.

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PATRICK GRANT of Inverlaidnan, afterwards of Dalvey, Second Baronet of Dalvey.

He succeeded his father in Inverlaidnan, and, on 5th July 1700, was infeft as eldest son and heir of his father in Kinveachie-robie and Lethindie-veole. In 1701 he purchased Dalvey from Sueton Grant his brother-in-law, and obtained a Crown charter of resignation thereof on 20th June 1707, but sold the estate in 1722 to the Laird of Grant. He was retoured heir-male of Sir James Grant of Dalvey, in the Baronetcy of Dalvey, on 22d August 1752, and died on the estate of New Dalvey acquired by his eldest son, on 10th April 1755, aged 101. He married Lydia, daughter of William Mackintosh of Borlum, by whom he had two sons.

John Grant, in Mains of Gartly, mentioned in 1701 as brother-german to Patrick Grant of Dalvey.

James, named in his father's will in 1676.

Alexander, named in his father's will.

Robert, named in his father's will.

Elizabeth, named in h

Margaret, named in h
She married Sueto
tinbeg.

A third daughter, m
father's will—name

SIR ALEXANDER GRANT of Dalvey, third Baronet,

Who was a merchant in London. In 1749 he purchased several lands from the Laird of Grant, and also the estate of Grangehill, near Forres, in the parish of Dyke and Moy, of which he obtained a Crown charter, 26th July 1749, and named them Dalvey. He obtained, on 24th February 1755, a charter of sale of the lands of Newton Park, etc., in Nairnshire. He obtained a royal warrant for supporters for his armorial bearings on 8th July 1761, and registered the arms and supporters on 15th April 1762. He died at London on 1st August 1772, and was survived by his widow, —— Cooke, who died, also at London, on 29th July 1792, in her 75th year. He left no issue, and was succeeded by his brother.

SIR LUDOVICK GRANT of Dalvey, fourth Baron

Formerly of Grangegreen, of which he had a charter of resigi
3d July 1755. He was served heir-general to his brother
1773, and heir special in Dalvey and other lands on 16t
1774. He was appointed a Commissioner of Supply for E
Forres in 1774. He was also sometime Member of Parlia
the burghs of Inverness, Forres, Nairn, and Fortrose.
ried Margaret, daughter of Sir James Innes, Baronet, of
She died at Dalvey House on 12th March 1782. Sir
died at Moyhall, 17th September 1790.

SIR ALEXANDER GRANT of Dalvey, fifth Baronet.

He was appointed a Commissioner of Supply for Elgin and Forres in 1774. He was in Jamaica in 1788, and from letters written by him then it appears that the estates of New Dalvey had been sold against his inclinations. He married, on 13th July 1775, Sarah, eldest daughter of Jeremiah Cray of Ibsley, Hampshire. She died at Paris in April 1803. He died on 24th July 1825.

James Grant of Goldeston, who left two sons.

Peter Grant, who went to the West Indies. He left issue, two daughters.

Charles Grant, married, but died *s.p.*

John Grant, who died unmarried.

Robert Grant, who died unmarried.

Captain Louis Grant, youngest son, died at Dalvey, 5th January 1779.

Marjory, who married, 5th December 1772, Duncan M'Donell of Glengarry.

Elizabeth, who married, first, Major William Grant of Ballindalloch; and secondly, James Burnett of Countesswells, in Aberdeenshire.

Margaret, who married, on 5th November 1785, Sir Æneas Mackintosh of Mackintosh and Moyhall.

John Grant, yo
is mentioned as
in 1745 in the

Gregor Grant,
of Alexander
was a merchan
at his father's
31st October
was confirmed.

SIR ALEXANDER CRAY GRANT of Dalvey, sixth Baronet.

Born 30th November 1782. He was a Member of Parliament for Cambridge, and Chairman of Committees in the Parliaments of 1826 and 1830. During the administration of Sir Robert Peel he was a member of the Board of Control in 1835; and in 1842 was appointed Commissioner for auditing the public accounts. He died in 1854, and was succeeded by his brother Robert.

Ludovick James Grant, who married, first, in 1838, Frances
daughter of Sackville Hatch Lovett, Bath, Comptroller
Ireland; and secondly, on 30th March 1843, Anna Frances,
the late John Neave, Chief Judge of Benares, and niece of
Neave. He died *s.p.* at Malvern, 3d August 1851.

SIR ALEXANDER GRANT of Dalvey, eighth and present Baronet.

Born 1826, succeeded his father on 1st August 1856. He was Vice-Chancellor of the University and Principal of Elphinstone College, Bombay. He now holds t
Edinburgh. He married, 2d June 1859, Susan, second daughter of James-Frederick Ferrier, Professor of Moral Philosophy and Political Economy in the Uni

Robert Trevelyan Grant, born 12th Feb. 1861, and died on 17th July the same year. Ludovic-James Grant, born 4th Sep. 1862. Claud Ferrier Grant, bo

ONACHIE GRANT IN GARTINBEG.
Tullocherue. On 19th May 1581, his son, designated Duncan M'Condacht Grant, discharged the amount due under that reversion, in which John is styled John he witnessed, as John M'Conquhy, a precept of sasine by James Grant of Freuchie. John M'Conquhy died before 9th January 1553, and was succeeded by his son.

ALEXANDER M'EAN M'CONQUHY. In 1554 he was a witness along with Duncan Grant in Gartinbeg, and was probably his brother.

JAMES GRANT, *alias* M'CONDOCHY, who is a witness in various Grant documents, and also probably a brother of Duncan.

kmaye. On 3d May 1568 he signed a decreet-arbitral for the settlement of a dispute between lvey, for the marriage of his daughter Janet to Dalvey's eldest son Patrick, and in 1581, as married Mary Rose, and to have had four sons and two daughters. Another account states riage.

SUETON OR SWENE GRANT IN INVERLAIDNAN,
f Duncan M'Condochie Grant in Gartinbeg. He is mentioned in the retour of his great- rick Grant of Inverlaidnan, as brother of John Grant Beg of Gartinbeg. As Duncan rant is said to have been twice married, and John Beg to have been a son of the second heir to an elder brother in Gartinbeg, this Sueton Grant may also have been of the second ton or Swene Grant is said to have married Jane Shaw. "The executors and relict of n Inverlaidnan" are mentioned in the testament of James Grant in Inverlaidnan, 3d Sep- That relict may have been a second wife. He appears to have had two sons.

JAMES M'DONCHIE GRANT, son of Duncan Grant of Gartinbeg, acted as bailie to Patrick Grant of Ballindalloch on 1st September 1579, and was a witness to the testament of Duncan Grant, apparent of Freuchie, in March 1582. He also appears as a witness in 1589. He is said to have died *s.p.*

JANET, married, in 1565, Patrick Grant, younger of Dalvey.

Another daughter, said to have married Leslie of Ruddrie. (Family of Leslie.)

MES, CALLED M'SWENE, AND M'QUENE, IN INVERLAIDNAN,
as a resetter of the Clan Gregor. On 16th September and 20th November 1615 dset from John Grant of Freuchie of the lands of Lethindie-veole, and part of and on 22d February 1641, the wadset was renewed. He appears as a witness ween 1613 and 1663. He died in February 1665, and his testament was confirmed 1666. Donald Grant, eldest son to John Grant of Dalrachnie, was residuary is to have been nephew of the testator, and succeeded him in Inverlaidnan.

JOHN GRANT, in or of DALRACHNIE, in Duthil, known also as John Oig M'Quene, appears as "John M'Swine Grant" in 1613, as a resetter of Macgregors. In 1647, as John Oig Makquene in Dalrachnie, he was appointed factor in Glencarnie. He had, in 1653, a wadset of Dalrachnie-beg. He died on 2d January, and his inventory was confirmed on 3d April 1667. He married, first, Elspet, daughter of Robert Grant of Glenbeg, by whom he had one son; secondly, Janet M'Pherson, by whom also he had issue.

RANT, *alias* MACONO- Gartinbeg. He was ir to Ludovick Grant y on 24th February he lands of Dalvey, them in the same year k Grant of Inverlaid- se sister Margaret he Heafterwards resided Dalvey, Gaich of Ca- Dauch of Blackwater.

DONALD GRANT OF INVERLAIDNAN.
Only lawful son of John Grant of Dalrachnie, by his first wife. After 1665, when he became residuary legatee to James Grant in Inverlaidnan, he is designed of that place. He also held the lands of Lethindie-veole and Kinveachy-robie, and in 1669 paid cess for these lands. He died in May 1676, and his inventory was confirmed on 19th July 1676, by his brother Alexander as executor, his brother John being cautioner. He had issue.

ALEXANDER GRANT of DALRACHNIE, who succeeded his father in Dalrachnie. He was one of the representatives of the Gartinbeg family in the bond of amity with the Grants of Tullochgorm in 1669. He paid cess for Dalrachnie and the half of Forrigen in 1667 and 1668. On 1st March 1673 he arranged with Ludovick Grant of Freuchie for a renewal of the wadset in his own person. The lands in wadset were, Dalrachnie-more, Dalrachnie-beg, and Forrigen; and in 1683 the wadset was again renewed, the amount of the redemption-money being raised to 5250 merks. He was confirmed executor of his brother Donald on 19th July 1676, and was alive in 1689. He left issue.

JOHN GRANT, who was afterwards designed of Lethindie.

JANET.

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JOHN GRANT of DALRACHNIE, who succeeded. He obtained, in 1706, from the Laird of Grant, a wadset of Wester Duthil, Beananach, and Inchlum, redeemable for 4466 merks. In 1720 he was a bailie of the Regality of Grant, and is also said to have been bailie of the Regality of Gordon. In 1733 he obtained a charter of parts of the barony of Corriemony. He died in 1735.

ALEXANDER GRANT of LETHINDIE, who is frequently called brother-german to John Grant of Dalrachnie, and in 1713 and 1716, was factor of Strathspey. He died before 12th November 1725. On 5th Feb. 1729, John Grant of Dalrachnie was confirmed his executor-dative as nearest of kin.

DAVID GRANT, called in a letter from Lewis Grant, Dublin, to Lady Ballindalloch, 20th November 1725, brother of Dalrachnie.

GEORGE GRANT, who, in 1744, was appointed master gunner of Fort St. George, and is called uncle of Dalrachnie.

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ALEXANDER GRANT of DALRACHNIE, who succeeded. He is mentioned in 1728 as Younger of Dalrachnie. In 1738 he was a cautioner in the testament of James Grant of Curr, and in 1739 his "fine new house" was burned down. He was appointed collector of cess in 1742, and again in 1746. He built the mansion-house of Inverlaidnan, in which Prince Charles Edward slept on 22d February 1746 on his way to Culloden. In 1751 Alexander Grant was one of the curators of William Grant of Ballindalloch. He married Helen Grant, who survived him. He died in December 1765.

JOHN GRANT of Ballintomb, named in a letter, 26th February 1725, as Dalrachnie's son, and in 1763 as Dalrachnie's brother. He was Chamberlain of Urquhart, and died before 9th November 1751. He had issue.

ROBERT GRANT of KINVEACHY, who, in a petition to Sir James Grant of Grant, dated July 1775, for himself and his wife, states he is son of the deceased John Grant of Dalrachnie, and that he "had the honour to be second cousine to Duke Alexander Gordon." He requests Sir James to concur with the Duke of Gordon in obtaining, from the Barons of Exchequer, a small pension for himself and wife, as they were advanced in age and reduced to great poverty.

JOHN GRANT, who, on 12th November 1725, was retoured heir to his father Alexander Grant, brother of John Grant of Dalrachnie.

DALRACHNIE, who een appointed ensign land Regiment.

second lawful son of Dalrachnie. He tenburgh, and died Inverlaidnan before hen his testament

JAMES GRANT in DALRACHNIE, who, as such, subscribes a petition for himself and Whitraw's relict, regarding the settlement of the church of Duthil in 1778. He is the only son mentioned in a settlement made in 1771 between Sir James Grant of Grant and Dalrachnie's trustees, when the wadsets held by the late Dalrachnie were redeemed, their value then being 26,750 merks, or £1486 sterling. James Grant appears to have obtained a further lease of the farm. He married a daughter of Grant of Lurg, and had issue a son and two daughters.

MARGARET GRANT, called in 1771 eldest lawful daughter now in life.

PENUEL GRANT, stated in 1771 to be married to Lieutenant John Grant, late of the 42d Regiment of Foot, and who received her provision of £100 sterling as tocher.

HELEN GRANT, called in 1771 daughter of Alexander Grant of Dalrachnie. She had a provision similar to that of her sisters.

CAPTAIN JAMES GRANT of Ballintomb, who, as brother-german of John Grant, gave up his testament-dative on 5th February 1794.

JOHN GRANT, who, in a letter to Sir James Grant, of 2d August 1791, is said to have died in Jamaica in the previous March.

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SIR ROBERT INNES GRANT OF DALVEY, SEVENTH BARONET.
Born 8th April 1794. He married, on 17th December 1825, Judith, eldest daughter of Cornelius-Durant Battelle, St. Croix, West Indies, and died on 1st August 1856. He was succeeded by his eldest son.

HENRIETTA, who married the Rev. Dr. Veitch, Master of the Charter House, and had issue one daughter, Henrietta, who married the Count de la Taille des Essarts.

LOUISA, who married Rev. Dr. Masters, and had issue a son and daughter.

CAROLINE, who married Rev. Robert Thoroton, and had issue four sons and four daughters.

of Principal of the University of St. Andrews, and has issue.

ROBERT INNES GRANT, born 1833. He was lieutenant and adjutant of the 1st Sikh Infantry; and was killed in action with the Sepoy rebels near the Jerwah Pass, on the Oude frontier.

CAROLINE LOUISA.

ANNA FRANCES, who married, in 1851, W. Westermann.

EMILY FREDERICA, who died unmarried.

Dec. 1865, died 24th May 1866. PERCY FRERE GRANT, born 6th June 1869. ALFRED HAMILTON GRANT, born 1872. JULIA MARY. SOPHIA. SUSAN FERRIER.

PEDIGREE OF THE GRANTS OF KILGRASTON

IN THE PARISH OF DUNBARNEY, PERTHSHIRE

(FORMERLY OF GLENLOCHY) IN PARISH OF ABERNETHY.

ROBERT GRANT, who appears to have had two sons.

ALEXANDER or ALISTER GRANT, probably the progenitor of the Grants of Glenlochy.

PATRICK GRANT M'ROBIE in Glenbrown, who is mentioned in 1637. There was a Patrick Grant, *alias* M'Robie, in Tullochgorm in 1614.

DONALD GRANT M'ALISTER VIC ROBIE, in Glenlochy. On 30th April 1620 he renounced the wadset of Glenlochy, with M'Eagle's croft, mill and mill lands thereof, in favour of John Grant of Freuchie, for the redemption money of 500 merks, and on the following day, 1st May, received from him a wadset of an annual rent of £40 Scots, to be uplifted from the lands of Glenlochy. On 19th April 1641 he granted a discharge for this amount to James Grant of Freuchie. He married Beatrice Cumming, who survived him. He died before 1652, leaving issue.

GREGOR GRANT, who, on 19th April 1641, as lawful son of Patrick Grant in Glenbrown, witnessed a discharge by Donald Grant in Glenlochy.

ALISTER GRANT in Glenlochy, who is mentioned about 1650 as defender in a law plea with Burnet of Leys.

NEIL GRANT, who with his brother Thomas, as lawful son of Donald Grant in Glenlochy, witnessed the discharge in 1641.

THOMAS GRANT.

JAMES GRANT in Glenbrown, who is mentioned in 1665, 1666, and 1669 as granting discharges for an annual rent of £80 Scots, from a sum of 1000 merks due by the late James Grant of Freuchie.

GREGOR GRANT in Glenlochy, who is mentioned in 1660 and 1661 as granting discharges to James Grant of Freuchie for the annual rent of £40 Scots. He is also mentioned about 1680 in a Note of Herezelds.

JAMES GRANT, who, as son of James Grant in Glenbrown, in 1666 and 1669 witnessed discharges by his father.

JOHN GRANT of Glenlochy, who is mentioned in 1665 as taxed for the pleuch of Glenlochy, and as being required in 1678 to proceed to Inverlochy to give his bond to the Commissioners of Council.

JOHN GRANT of Glenbrown, who is mentioned as a witness in 1711.

PATRICK GRANT of Glenlochy, who is mentioned in the Regality Court Books of Grant in 1698 as one of an assise, and again in 1700 as being obliged to keep his tenants and servants from destroying the woods.

JOHN GRANT of Deskie, who, on 10th February 1739, was retoured heir-general to his father, John Grant of Glenbrown.

PATRICK GRANT of Glenlochy, who, after alienating his estate of Glenlochy, obtained at his son's request a new lease of it in 1778. He says, in a letter to Sir James Grant, that his predecessors had occupied the estate for eight or more generations. As executor *qua* creditor, he, on 12th February 1737, gave up the testament of John Grant in Glenlochy. He married Beatrix, daughter of Donald Grant of Inverlochy, who predeceased him on 24th January 1780, aged sixty-nine. He died on 15th April 1783, leaving issue.

SARAH GRANT, who is frequently mentioned as aunt of John Grant of Kilgraston. She was alive in 1794, and had two sons, Peter and James Grant, in Thomaclaggan, who also left issue.

JOHN GRANT of Kilgraston, who studied for the English Bar. He afterwards went to Jamaica, where he succeeded Thomas French as Chief-Justice of that island, and held the office till 1790. He then returned to his native country, and having purchased the estate of Kilgraston in Perthshire, he lived retired from public life till his death, on 29th March 1793. As the Hon. John Grant of Glenlochy he matriculated his arms in the Lyon Office on 6th November 1783. He married Margaret, daughter of Roderick Macleod, Edinburgh, and sister of Sir Alexander Macleod (Lord Bannatyne), who survived him, dying on 3d December 1825. They had no issue.

FRANCIS GRANT of Kilgraston, who succeeded his elder brother John in Kilgraston as heir of entail. He possessed large estates in Jamaica, and was there with his brother, being also appointed aide-de-camp to Commander-in-Chief Clarke, but he returned to Scotland about the same time. He added to the estate of Kilgraston the contiguous lands of Pitkeathly. He was appointed a deputy-lieutenant of Perthshire on 2d October 1798. He married Anne, eldest daughter of Robert Oliphant of Rossie, postmaster-general of Scotland, who survived him, dying on 6th November 1837, aged seventy-two. Mr. Grant died on 26th July 1818, aged seventy-two, leaving issue.

MARGARET GRANT, who married Patrick Johnstone, farmer at Whitehouse and Westfield. She is mentioned in the will of her elder brother as legatee of an annuity of £50, while her two sons, John and James, were legatees of £500 each, and with their issue male or female were heirs of entail after the descendants of Francis Grant.

Another daughter, who married Grant of Delmore.

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JOHN GRANT of Kilgraston, who succeeded his father. He was born on 13th June 1798. He held a commission in the army, was in 1819 appointed a deputy-lieutenant of Perthshire, and also held the offices of J.P. and Commissioner of Supply for that county. He was twice married, first, on 20th June 1820, to the Hon. Margaret, eldest daughter of Francis Lord Gray of Gray, who died 23d April 1821, leaving issue; secondly, on 14th March 1828, the Lady Lucy Bruce, third daughter of Thomas Earl of Elgin and Kincardine, who survived her husband, and died on 5th September 1881. John Grant died at London on 20th January 1873. In the previous year the family mansion was destroyed by fire. It was afterwards rebuilt.

ROBERT GRANT, born 17th December 1799, and died at St. Helena, while serving as midshipman in H.M.S. Vigo, on 17th December 1820, his twenty-first birthday.

HENRY DUNDAS GRANT, born on 7th August 1801, and died unmarried on 24th January 1824.

SIR FRANCIS GRANT, born 18th January 1803. He was an eminent artist, being admitted an associate in 1842, and R.A. in 1851. In 1866 he was elected President of the Royal Academy, and was knighted on the occasion. In 1870 he received from the University of Oxford the honorary degree of D.C.L. He married, first, in 1826, Emilia, eldest daughter of James Farquharson of Invercauld, who died in 1827; and secondly, in July 1829, Isabella Elizabeth, third daughter of Richard Norman. He died at Melton Mowbray on 5th October 1878, aged seventy-five, leaving issue.

GENERAL SIR JAMES HOPE GRANT, born 22d July 1808. He was a distinguished soldier, and served in the China campaigns of 1841-2 and 1860-1, the Indian campaigns of 1845, 1848-9, 1857-8, and others. His bravery was such as to command the public thanks of the Government of India, and of both British Houses of Parliament. He was successively appointed C.B., K.C.B., and G.C.B., and was presented with the Legion of Honour by France. From 1861 to 1865 he was Commander-in-Chief of the army of Madras, and was latterly appointed Quartermaster-General, and placed in command at Aldershot. He married Helen Talor, without issue. He died on 7th March 1875, aged sixty-seven.

MARY ANNE GRANT, born 21st January 1797. She married General James Lindsay of Balcarres, but died on 14th July 1820, without leaving issue.

CATHERINE ANNE GRANT, born 13th December 1804. She married R. C. Graham Speirs, afterwards Sheriff of Edinburgh, and died on 23d January 1871, leaving issue one daughter, Anne, wife of Sir George Home Speirs, Baronet.

FRANCIS AUGUSTUS GRANT, born 24th February 1829, lieutenant in 79th Highlanders, aide-de-camp to Earl of Elgin in Canada. He died in the Crimea, 1st October 1854, just after taking part in the battle of Alma.

CHARLES THOMAS CONSTANTINE GRANT of Kilgraston, J.P., D.L., and Commissioner of Supply for Perthshire. He was born 2d July 1831, and succeeded his father in 1873. He was formerly in the Royal Navy, and also in the service of the Rajah of Sarawak (Borneo). He married, on 8th October 1856, Janet Matilda, fifth daughter of William Hay of Dunse Castle, and has issue.

ARTHUR GRANT, born 27th July 1832, lieutenant in 11th Madras Native Infantry. He died at Viziniagram on 15th September 1853.

JOHN LUDOVICK GRANT, born 31st May 1839, died 10th May 1854.

CAPTAIN ROBERT HENRY GRANT, born 16th December 1840. He held commission in Royal Artillery, and was successively aide-de-camp to Sir Hope Grant, the Earl of Elgin, and Lord Mayo in India. He was Quarter-master-General to the Prince of Wales's camp in India, whom he accompanied on his tour there. He died at Cannes on 16th April 1878, aged thirty-six.

ALAN RUDOLPH GRANT, born 28th February 1843, formerly in Borneo, now in Forest Department, Bengal, India.

ALARIC FREDERICK GRANT, born 17th August 1844, lieutenant R.N.

MARGARET GRANT, only child of first marriage, born 14th April 1821. She married, 10th November 1840, the Hon. David Henry Murray, son of William, third Earl of Mansfield, but was left a widow on 5th September 1862, without children. On the death of her aunt, Madelina Baroness Gray, in 1869, she succeeded to her title and estates as Baroness Gray. She died at London on 26th May 1878, in her fifty-eighth year.

MARY GRANT, born 16th March 183 . She is an accomplished artist in sculpture.

ANNE GRANT, born 13th March 1834, married Captain J. Brooke, Rajah Mudah of Sarawak, Borneo. She died 25th November 1858, leaving surviving issue one son, J. C. E. Hope Brooke.

MATILDA CATHERINE GRANT, born 17th April 1835. She died 2d March 1842.

LUCY GRANT, born 5th October 1836. She married, on 27th September 1866, the Rev. the Hon. Charles W. A. Fielding, Rector of Stapleton, Salop. She died on 16th January 1875, leaving issue four sons and one daughter.

ELIZA LOUISA GRANT, born 14th December 1837. She died on 1st December 1842.

CHARLOTTE AUGUSTA GRANT, born 12th January 1849. She is resident at the Kilburn Home and Orphanage, London.

JOHN EMILIUS GRANT, born 27th February 1827, and died in January 1847 in China.

NORMAN HORATIO GRANT, born 11th April 1830, died 6th December 1832.

COLONEL FRANCIS RICHARD CHARLES GRANT, born 21st February 1834. He served with the 9th Lancers during the Indian Mutiny, and was afterwards in the 5th Lancers.

FERDINAND CAIB HOPE GRANT, born 10th December 1839. He entered into Holy Orders, and died 7th May 1875. He married Frances, daughter of Canon Eaton, and had issue one son.

MARY ISABELLA GRANT, born 30th November 1831. She married, in 1852, Sir Francis Geary, and died on 19th January 1854.

ANNE EMILY SOPHIA GRANT, born 27th September 1835. She married, on 15th April 1857, William Thomas Markham of Becca Hall, Yorkshire, and died 20th July 1880, leaving issue.

RACHEL ELIZABETH GRANT, born 14th October 1841. She married, in 1865, Charles A. North, and died on 1st Feb. 1871.

ELIZABETH CATHERINE GRANT, born 26th September 1847.

JOHN GRANT, born on 14th October 1867. He died on 2d September 1868.

JOHN PATRICK GRANT, born 18th July 1872.

LUCY BLANCHE CORDELIA GRANT, born on 5th August 1857. She married Uthred James Hay, elder son of Sir William Dunbar, Baronet, of Mochrum.

ANNIE GRANT, born on 3d February 1860.

CONSTANCE MARY GRANT, born on 15th May 1862.

MARGARET GRANT, born on 2d May 1864.

BEATRICE GRANT, born on 7th May 1866.

FRANCIS THOMAS HOPE GRANT, born 16th February 1865.

ARMORIAL BEARINGS OF THE CHIEFS OF GRANT AND CADET FAMILIES OF GRANT

SHOWING THE DIFFERENCES.

GRANTS OF FREUCHIE.—Gules, three antique crowns, or: Crest, a burning hill, supported by two savages or naked men, proper: Motto, *Stand sure.*

GRANTS OF EASTER ELCHIES.—Gules, a lion rampant, or, armed and langued azure, for Mackintosh, between three antique crowns, of the second, the paternal figures of the name of Grant: Crest, a unicorn's head and neck issuing out of the wreath, argent: Motto below the shield, *Audentior Ito;* supporters, two griffins, proper, armed gules, collared and chained, or. [Matriculated 24th August 1775, by Baron John Grant of Elchies. His nephew, Captain Charles Grant, R.N., C.B., obtained a patent with the same arms, descendible to his heirs-male, on 29th January 1816.]

GRANTS OF LURG.—Gules, a lion rampant, or; in his dexter fore-paw a crescent, argent, between three antique crowns of the second: Crest, a hill, on the top of which is a forest, all proper: Motto, *Stabilis.* [Matriculated 25th September 1788 by Isaac Grant of Lurg and Hilton.]

GRANTS OF ROTHIEMURCHUS.—Quarterly, 1st, Gules, three antique crowns, or, for Grant; 2d, Or, a fess chequé, azure and argent, betwixt three wolves' heads couped, sable, for Stewart of Athole; 3d, Azure, a dexter hand vambraced grasping a sword erected in pale, azure, hilted and pommelled, or, betwixt three boars' heads couped of the third, langued, gules, for Gordon; the 4th as the first; all within a bordure wavy, or, for difference: Crest, a dexter hand and arm, armed, holding a broadsword, proper. Motto, *Pro patria*, and on a compartment below the shield, *In God is all my trust.* [Matriculated by James Grant of Rothiemurchus, 5th February 1755.]

GRANTS OF BALLINDALLOCH, CADETS OF ROTHIEMURCHUS.—Gules, a target proper (or) betwixt three antique crowns, or: Crest, a dexter hand issuing from the wreath grasping a dirk, proper: Motto, *Ense et animo.* [Matriculated by Colonel William Grant of Ballindalloch, 3d February 1731.]

After his succession to Ballindalloch, George Macpherson of Invereshie assumed the surname of Grant, and adopted the following coat-of-arms:—Quarterly, first and fourth, gules, a target betwixt three antique crowns, or, for Grant of Ballindalloch; second and third parted per fess, or and azure, a lymphad of the first, masts, oars, and tacklings proper, ensigned gules, betwixt a hand couped fessways, holding a dagger in pale in the dexter canton, and in the sinister a cross crosslet, fitchée, all within a border, gules, for Macpherson of Invereshie: Crest, a dexter hand erect, issuing from the wreath holding a dirk in pale, proper: Mottoes above the crest, *Ense et animo,* and below the shield, *Touch not the cat but a glove.* [Matriculated by George Macpherson Grant of Invereshie and Ballindalloch, 5th June 1806.]

GRANTS OF MONYMUSK.—Gules, three antique crowns, or, within a bordure ermine: Crest, a Bible displayed, proper: Supporters, two angels, proper: Mottoes, above the crest, *Suum cuique,* and below the arms, *Jehovah Jireh.* [Granted by special warrant of King George the First to Sir Francis Grant, Lord Cullen, on 17th May 1720.]

The Right Honourable William Grant, Lord Prestongrange, second son to Sir Francis Grant of Cullen, used the following coat-of-arms:—Gules, three antique crowns, or, and for difference, argent, a demi otter issuing out of a bar waved, sable, on a canton, being his maternal bearing, within a bordure ermine: Crest, a Hercules' head: Motto, *Non inferiora secutus.* [Extracted 24th August 1759.]

Grants of Corriemony.—Gules, three antique crowns, or, within a bordure, chequé, of the second and first: Crest, a demi-savage, proper. Motto upon an escroll, *I'll stand sure.* [Matriculated by John Grant of Corriemony. No date.]

Grants of Sheuglie, Cadets of Corriemony.—Gules, a bear's head couped, argent, muzzled azure on account of maternal descent of the first Grant of Corriemony, between three antique crowns, or, his paternal figures: Crest, a banyan-tree, proper: Motto, *Revirescimus.* [Matriculated by James Grant of Sheuglie, 9th December 1776.] Later:—Gules, on a fess argent, between three antique crowns, or, for Grant; a lion passant guardant, of the first, imperially crowned, proper, for Ogilvie: Crest, a banyan-tree proper: Motto, *Revirescimus.* [Matriculated by James Grant of Sheuglie and Redcastle, son of the foregoing, 1st November 1796.]

The Right Honourable Charles Grant, Baron Glenelg, a descendant of the Grants of Sheuglie, used the following coat-of-arms:—Gules, on a fess between three antique crowns, or, a lion passant guardant, of the first, imperially crowned, proper, between two cinquefoils, also of the first. Above the shield is placed a baron's coronet, over which is a helmet; mantling gules, doubled ermine, next to which above the achievement are two crests, that on the dexter side being, on a wreath of his liveries, a burning mount proper, and that on the sinister side, also on a wreath as aforesaid, a banyan-tree proper, and below the shield the motto, *Stand fast.* [Matriculated 16th October 1835.]

Grants of Tullochgorm.—Gules, three antique crowns, or, all within a bordure of the second, charged with three wreaths of laurel, vert: Crest, a burning mountain, proper: Motto, *Stand fast.* [Matriculated by General Sir Patrick Grant, 13th June 1861.]

Grants (first) of Ballindalloch.—Gules, a boar's head couped between three antique crowns, or: Crest, an oak-tree growing out of the wreath proper. The motto, in an escroll, is *Suo se robore firmat.* [Matriculated by John Grant of Ballindalloch, *circa* 1672.]

Robert Grant of Wester Elchies, claiming to be lineally descended from this family of Grant of Ballindalloch, obtained a grant of arms as follows:—Gules, a boar's head couped between three antique crowns, or, all within a bordure of the second: Crest, a dexter hand, holding a branch of oak proper: Motto, *Radicem firmant frondes.*

Grants of Wester Elchies.—Same as last, except the crest, which is an oak-tree growing out of the wreath proper: Mottoes, above the crest, *Craigachrochan;* below the shield, *Suo se robore firmat.* [Matriculated by Charles Grant of Wester Elchies, eldest son of the above-mentioned Robert Grant, on 26th January 1811.]

Grants of Carron, Cadets of Glenmoriston.—Gules, a dove, argent, holding in her beak an olive branch, vert, betwixt three antique crowns, or: Crest, an adder, nowed, with her head erected, proper: Motto, *Wise and harmless.* [Matriculated by John Grant of Carron. Not dated.]

Grants of Gartinbeg.—Gules, three antique crowns, or, within a bordure engrailed, of the second: Crest, the trunk of an oak-tree sprouting out some leaves, with the sun shining thereon: Motto, *Te favente virebo.*

Grants of Dalvey, descended from Gartinbeg.—Same as the last, with this addition, that a grant of supporters was made to Sir Alexander Grant of Dalvey on 8th July 1761, as follows:—On the dexter a Highlander, and on the sinister a negro. [Matriculated 15th April 1762.]

Grants of Kilgraston (formerly Glenlochy).—Gules, a cheveron engrailed ermine, betwixt three antique crowns, or: Crest, a mountain in flames, proper: Motto, *Ferte cito flammas.* [Matriculated by the Hon. John Grant of Glenlochy, 6th November 1783.] In 1790 he obtained from Garter King-of-Arms a patent authorising him to change his crest to the axe and fasces, erect, proper, and his motto to that of *Leges juraque serva.*

General Sir James Hope Grant, nephew of the Hon. John Grant of Glenlochy, obtained a grant of the same arms, within a bordure embattled, or, and an additional crest and motto: Crest, a Roman fasces erect, proper: Motto, *Leges juraque serva.* The shield is encircled with the appropriate decoration of the Bath and badge pendant. [Matriculated 5th August 1861.]

Grants of Clurie (descended from Duncan Grant, an illegitimate son of John Grant, fifth of Freuchie). —Gules, a lion passant guardant, argent, imperially crowned, proper, between three antique crowns, or: Crest, a boar's head couped, argent: Motto, *Stabit conscius æqui.* [Matriculated by George Grant of Leaston, lineal representative of Duncan Grant, 23d February 1779.]

Grants of Auchernach, Chiefs of the Clan Allan branch of the Grants.—Gules, a star argent betwixt three antique crowns, or: Crest, a burning hill: Motto, *Stand sure.* [Matriculated by James Grant of Auchernach, 18th June 1677.]

In connection with this branch of the family of Grant, the two following documents show the transference of the chieftainship from a senior to a junior line, the Grants of Burnside:—

At Edinburgh, the thirtieth day of December, in the year one thousand seven hundred and seventy-seven, in presence of Robert Boswell, Esquire, Lyon Depute, compeared Mr. William Richardson, one of the sollicitors before the Lyon Court, as procurator for Doctor Gregory Grant, and gave in the disposition afterwritten, desiring the same to be recorded in the Lyon Court Books of Scotland for preservation, which desire the said Lyon Depute finding reasonable, ordained the same to be done accordingly, and of which the tenor follows: I, Neil Grant, eldest lawfull son of the deceast John Grant in Lincorne, and nephew to Duncan Grant of Auchernack, who died in the month of October last without male issue of his body, for certain just and onerous causes me moving, do, by these presents, upon the condition aftermentioned, assign and dispone to and in favours of my cousine, Doctor Gregory Grant, physician in Edinburgh, and the heirs of his body, all lands and other heretable subjects now pertaining to me as chieftain or head of the clan Allan and family of Grant of Auchernack, and particularly all lands, heretages, titles, and honours to which I have, or can pretend to have, right as heir-male of the said Duncan Grant, last of Auchernack, undoubted chieftain or head of the clan Allan and family of Auchernack, with power to the said Doctor Gregory Grant to enter into the possession of the premisses, and to use and dispose thereof as he shall think proper; but always upon this express condition, that the said Doctor Gregory Grant and his foresaids, shall be bound and obliged, as by acceptation hereof they bind and oblidge them, to assume, use, and bear the name and arms of Grant of Auchernack, chieftain or head of the clan Allan, in all time coming. Dispensing with the generality hereof, and declaring these presents to be as valid and sufficient as if every particular meant to be conveyed were herein expressed, which disposition I oblidge me and my heirs to warrand from all facts and deeds done, or to be done, by me in prejudice hereof; and I consent to the registration hereof in the Books of Councill and Session, or others competent, therein to remain for preservation, and to that effect constitute my procurators.—
In witness whereof, these presents (written upon stampt paper by Ludovick Grant, Junior, writer in Edinburgh) are subscribed by me at Edinburgh, the sixth day of February seventeen hundred and seventy-seven years, before these witnesses: Colonell Alexander Grant of Arndilly, John Grant of Lurgg, Esquire, and the said Ludovick Grant. (Signed), Neil Grant. Alex[r] Grant, witness; John Grant, witness; Lud. Grant, witness.[1]

At Edinburgh, the thirty-first day of December, in the year one thousand seven hundred and seventy-seven, in presence of Robert Boswell, Esquire, Lyon Depute, compeared Mr. William Richardson, one of the sollicitors before the Lyon Court, as procurator for Doctor Gregory Grant, and gave in the renunciation and conveyance afterwritten, desiring the same to be recorded in the Lyon Court Books of Scotland for preservation, which desire the said Lyon Depute finding reasonable, ordained the same to be done accordingly, and of which the tenor follows: I, Neil Grant, eldest lawful son of the deceast John Grant in Lincorn, and nephew of Duncan Grant, last of Auchernack, and therefore undoubted representative of the said family of Grant of Auchernack, and who, in consequence, have the only right to the coat armoriall peculiar to that family, do, by these presents, upon certain grave and weighty considerations, and just and onerous causes, renounce, overgive, and convey, to and in favours of Doctor Gregory Grant, physician in Edinburgh, my near relation and beloved cousine, and his heirs, my right and title to the coat of arms and ensign armoriall belonging to the said family of Grant of Auchernack, with power to the said Doctor Gregory Grant to procure the same confirmed to him and his foresaids by the Lyon King of Arms,

[1] Register of Genealogies, Lyon Office, vol. i. p. 229.

and thereafter to bear and use the same as their own proper coat armoriall; and I bind and oblidge me and my heirs never to revock these presents, nor come in the contrary hereof any manner of way; and I consent that these presents be recorded in the Registers of the Lyon Office, therein to remain for preservation, and thereto constitute my procurators.—
In witness whereof, these presents (written upon stampt paper by Ludovick Grant, Junior, writer in Edinburgh) are subscribed by me at Edinburgh, the fifth day of February one thousand seven hundred and seventy-seven years, before these witnesses: Sir James Grant of Grant, Baronet; James Colquhoun, younger of Luss, Esquire, advocate; Coll. Alexander Grant of Arndilly; James Grant, younger of Corrimony, Esquire, advocate; John Grant of Lurgg, Esquire; and the said Ludovick Grant. (Signed), Neil Grant. James Grant, witness; Ja. Colquhoun, witness; John Grant, witness; Lud. Grant, witness; James Grant, witness; Alex^{r} Grant, witness.[1]

Thereafter Dr. Gregory Grant matriculated his arms as follows:—Gules, a star of seven points waved between three antique crowns, or: Crest, a burning hill proper: Motto, *Stand sure.*

Lewis Grant (Adjutant of Chelsea College, 1780), whose ancestor was descended in the male line from Lewis Grant, ancestor of the family of Grant of Dellachaple in Strathspey.—Gules, a cross patée fitchée, argent, between three antique crowns, or, all within a bordure invecked of the second: Crest, a two-handed sword in bend, proper, hilted and pommelled or, over a man's head issuing out of the wreath of the first: Motto, *Have at you.* [Matriculated 21st July 1780.]

Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Maxwell Grant, K.C.B., second son of John Grant of Duthil, descended from the family of Gartenbeg.—Gules, three imperial crowns within a bordure engrailed, or, pendent from middle chief a representation of the gold cross conferred on him for his conduct in the Peninsula, the Pyrenees, the Nivelle, the Nive, and Orthes, on a chief embattled argent, a tower of the first between a sword hilt upwards, encircled with a garland of laurel, all proper, on the dexter, and on the sinister the badge of the Ottoman Order of the Crescent pendent by a ribbon, all proper. Crest, the stump of an oak-tree sprouting forth fresh branches, the sun looking down thereon, proper: Mottoes, above the crest, *Te favente virebo;* Below the shield, *Valour and loyalty.* [Matriculated 8th April 1816.]

Sir William Keir Grant of Blackburn, Knight, of the imperial and military Order of Maria Theresa in Germany, the ensigns of which he is allowed to bear by special permission of His Majesty the King of Great Britain and Ireland.—Quarterly, first and fourth, gules, a cinquefoil argent between three antique crowns, or, for Grant, as being heir of entail of the deceased Grant of Blackburn; second, argent on a cross engrailed, sable, cantoned with four roses, gules, three lozenges or, for Keir; third, argent, a saltier and chief, gules, with a mullet in the dexter chief point, or; all within a border indented of the second, to show his maternal descent from Bruce of Wester Kinloch: *En surtout*, a medal, or, charged with a profile of Francis II., Emperor of Germany, with the legend, "Imp. Caes. Franciscus II. P. F. Aug.:" Crest, an arm in armour embowed, grasping a sword, all proper: Motto, *Fortitudine.* [Matriculated 24th June 1805.] The knighthood of the Order of Maria Theresa was conferred on Sir William Keir Grant for gallant conduct in the repulse of the French army on 24th April 1794, when the Emperor was almost taken prisoner. The reverse of the medal contained the legend, "Forti Brittanno in Exercitu Foed. ad Cameracum xxiv April. MDCCXCIV."

Alexander Grant, of the island of Jamaica, merchant, son and heir of George Grant of Aberlour, county of Banff, by Janet, daughter of John Donaldson of Rothes.—Gules, three antique crowns, or, for Grant, and for difference in the fess point, a dexter arm in armour fessways, couped, proper, garnished, or, holding a cross crosslet fitchée of the last: Crest, a burning mountain proper: Motto, *Stabit.* [Matriculated 9th May 1810.]

Alexander Grant of Oakfield House, in the parish of Hornsey, county of Middlesex, merchant, son of Robert Grant of Grantown, and grandson of David Grant of Lethendrie in Cromdale, descended, according to family tradition, from younger branch of the Grants of Ballindalloch.—Gules, a stag's head erased, or, (in allusion to the patentee's marriage with Isabella Massey, daughter of Simon Fraser, merchant, Inverness), between three antique crowns of the last, all within a bordure of the same: Crest, a mountain in flames, proper: Motto, below the shield, *Stand fast.*

[1] Register of Genealogies, Lyon Office, vol. i. p. 230.

LIST OF PORTRAITS OF THE GRANT FAMILY, Etc.

AT CASTLE GRANT.

Brigadier-General Alexander Grant of Grant employed an artist of the name of "Ri. Waitt" to paint a portrait of himself, as well as portraits of other members of the Grant family, and also of several prominent men in the Clan Grant. These portraits are still preserved at Castle Grant. The artist was first employed in the years 1713 and 1714. After the death of the Brigadier, his brother, Sir James Grant, employed the artist in painting Grant portraits in the years 1724, 1725, 1726, and 1727, as will be seen from the names in the present list. The number of Grant portraits painted by Waitt between the years 1713-1727, is in all twenty-six. The artist also painted portraits for the Grants of Rothiemurchus and Arndilly, as appears from the portraits at the Doune and Arndilly, and also for the family of Kilravock. In "The Genealogical Deduction of the Family of Rose of Kilravock," the editor, Mr. Cosmo Innes, quotes three payments, of thirty shillings each, to "Mr. Waitt," for the pictures of "Culmonie," "my wife," and "Lady Kilraick's." Mr. Innes adds, "Who the 'Mr. Waitt' was who, in the country of Jamieson, covered the walls with the coarse representations of humanity that still hang at Kilravock, it has not been thought worth while to inquire" (p. 404).

Engravings in lithograph of the following numbers are included in this work:—Nos. 1-5, 7-12, 14, 15, 19, and 24-28.

1. James Grant of Grant, *ætatis suae* 42, *anno* 1658.
2. Lady Mary Stewart, his wife, 1658.
3. Ludovick Grant of Grant.
4. Janet Brodie, his wife.
5. Brigadier-General Alexander Grant of Grant, by Ri. Waitt, 1713.
6. Two other portraits of Brigadier Grant.
7. Anne Smith, his second wife.[1]
8. Sir James Grant of Grant, Baronet, sometime Colquhoun of Luss.
9. Anne Colquhoun of Luss, his wife.
10. Major George Grant, brother of the Brigadier. (?)
11. Colonel Lewis Grant, youngest brother of the Brigadier. (?)
12. Sir Ludovick Grant of Grant, Baronet.
13. Another portrait of Sir Ludovick Grant.
14. Lady Margaret Ogilvie, his second wife.
15. Sir James Grant of Grant, Baronet, eldest son of Sir Ludovick Grant.
16. Sir James Grant of Grant, Baronet, and two cousins, said to be Cummings of Altyre, and a servant; a group of four persons in small figures.
17. Sir James Grant of Grant, Baronet, seated in a chair, with a plan of the village of Grantown in his hand. Before him is his gamekeeper.
18. Another portrait of Sir James Grant of Grant. There is at Cullen House another portrait of Sir James similar to this one, with Lady Grant beside Sir James.
19. Jane Duff of Hatton, wife of Sir James Grant of Grant.
20. Two other portraits of the same Lady.
21. Sir Lewis Alexander Grant of Grant, Baronet, fifth Earl of Seafield.
22. Anne Hope Grant, wife of Dean Waddilove, in chalk.

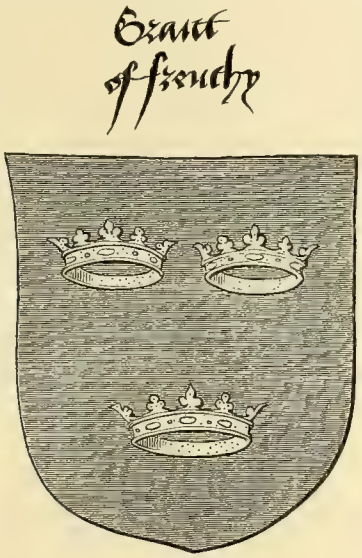
[1] No. 7, with one of the portraits No. 6, are at Cullen House.

23. Anne Grant, wife of Sir Harry Innes of Innes, Baronet.
24. Sir Francis William Grant of Grant, Baronet, sixth Earl of Seafield.
25. Mary Anne Dunn, his first wife.
26. Sir John Charles Grant-Ogilvie of Grant, Baronet, seventh Earl of Seafield, and first Baron Strathspey of Strathspey.
27. The Honourable Caroline Stuart, Countess of Seafield; by Sir Francis Grant, P.R.A.
28. Sir Ian Charles Grant-Ogilvie of Grant, Baronet, eighth Earl of Seafield and second Baron Strathspey of Strathspey, when MASTER OF GRANT and VISCOUNT OF REIDHAVEN; by Sir Francis Grant, P.R.A. Presentation portrait on his coming of age.
29. Lady Ann Margaret Grant, eldest daughter of Sir James Grant of Grant, Baronet.
30. Another portrait of the same Lady; writing with pen in hand.
31. Colonel Lewis Grant, third son of Ludovick Grant of Grant. Ri. Waitt pinxit 1713.
32. Penuel Grant, daughter of Sir Ludovick Grant of Grant, and wife of Mr. Henry Mackenzie, author of "The Man of Feeling."
33. Henry Mackenzie, author of "The Man of Feeling."
34. James Grant of Rothiemurchus. Ric. Waitt pinxit 1726. There is a copy of this portrait at Rothiemurchus.
35. General James Grant of Ballindalloch.
36. Another portrait of the same General.
37. Patrick Grant, Advocate, Lord Elchies. Ric. Waitt pinxit 1725.
38. James Grant of Wester Elchies, in armour. Ri. Waitt pinxit 1714.
39. Robert Grant of Lurg, in Abernethy.
40. Patrick Grant of Tullochgorm.
41. Patrick Grant of Tullochgorm.
42. George Grant of Tullochgorm; of the same size and appearance as the portraits by Waitt, but not marked as his work.
43. Captain Alexander Grant of Tullochgorm; of the same size as the portraits by Ri. Waitt, but not by him, being of a later date.
44. General Sir Patrick Grant of Tullochgorm, G.C.B., G.C.M.G.
45. Honourable Lady Grant, wife of Sir Patrick Grant of Tullochgorm.
46. Patrick Grant of Tulochgriban, in Duthil.
47. Alexander Grant of Tullochgriban; by "W. Staneley, 1799," *dorso*.
48. Mungo Grant of Mullochard, in Duthil.
49. George Grant of Clurie, in Inverallan. Ri. Waitt pinxit 1714.
50. Donald Grant of Glenbeg.
51. Robert Grant, younger of Glenbeg. Ric. Waitt pinxit 1724.
52. Colonel John Grant of Carron. Ric. Waitt pinxit 1725.
53. Mrs. Grant of Carron, authoress of "Roy's Wife of Aldivalloch."
54. Mrs. Grant of Carron. It is indorsed with pencil, "Mrs. Grant of Carron. Clark pinxit."
55. —— Grant, son of Mrs. Grant of Carron.
56. Patrick Grant of Miltown, Hereditary Standard-Bearer to the Chief. Ri. Waitt pinxit 1714.
57. Ludovick Grant of Knockando. Ri. Waitt pinxit 1714.
58. George Grant of Riemore. Ric. Waitt pinxit 1725.
59. David Grant of Delbuiack, in Duthil. Ri. Waitt pinxit 1714.
60. "Grant of Delbuiack." Ri. Waitt pinxit 1714.
61. Robert Grant of Delichaple, in Cromdale. Ric. Waitt pinxit 1725.
62. Robert Grant of Lethindry, in Cromdale. Ric. Waitt pinxit 1725.
63. Ludovick Grant of Tulloch, in Abernethy. Ric. Waitt pinxit 1725.
64. William Grant of Delay, in Cromdale. Ri. Waitt pinxit 1714.
65. Alexander Grant of Grantsfield. Ri. Waitt pinxit 1714.
66. Colonel Alexander Grant of Kilmaichlie.

67. John Grant of Burnside, in Cromdale. Ric. Waitt pinxit 1725.
68. Charles Grant, Vicomte de Vaux, in France, with horse and servant, all life size; a very large picture, 10 feet high, and well painted. It was presented by the Vicomte to Sir James Grant in 1782. Colonel Grant of Blairfindy wrote from Paris to Sir James that the picture had been painted by the French King's first painter, and was of the same size as those which that King sent of himself to foreign Courts.
69. Dr. Gregory Grant, founder of Grantown Hospital.
70. Captain John Grant, Congash, factor on the Grant estates in Strathspey; by Colvin Smith, R.S.A.
71. Rev. Francis Grant of Cromdale. Ric. Waitt pinxit 1727.
72. Rev. William Grant, Abernethy. Ric. Waitt pinxit 1727.
73. Rev. —— Grant, Elgin, A.D. 1807, *ætat.* 76; in gown and bands and brown wig.
74. Rev. James Chapman of Cromdale; author of a History of the Family of Grant. Ri. Waitt pinxit 1727.
75. Simon Lord Lovat, in bobwig and red coat, younger than in Hogarth's portrait. The face is fine-looking, and not the least like Hogarth's etching of Simon Lord Lovat. The name is in modern lettering, and not confirmed by any marking on the back. The portrait is not signed by Waitt, and is not like his style.
76. The Honourable Colonel Fraser of Lovat, LL.D., F.R.S. and S.A., etc. Drawn and engraved by R. Smith; in frame 4to size.
77. Alexander Duff of Hatton.
78. Lady Anne Duff of Hatton.
79. —— Rose of Kilravock.
80. Sir John Dalrymple.
81. Lady Dalrymple.
82. Sir James Colquhoun, in chalk.
83. Mary Duchess of Athole, mother of the Countess of James, sixth Earl of Findlater; 1758.
84. The Earl of Hopetoun.
85. Anne, daughter of James, fifth Earl of Findlater, Countess of Hopetoun.
86. Lady Sophia Hope, daughter of Earl of Hopetoun, wife of fifth Earl of Findlater.
87. James, fifth Earl of Findlater and Seafield (father of Lady Margaret Ogilvie or Grant), and Sophia, Countess of Findlater.
88. James Earl of Findlater.
89. James, seventh and last Earl of Findlater.
90. Lady not named. Ric. Waitt pinxit 1714.
91. Lord Erskine, 1764.
92. Lady Charlotte Erskine.
93. Rev. Alexander Fraser, Kirkhill.
94. A gentleman in green coat, not named. Ric. Waitt pinxit 1725.
95. A gentleman, not named. Ric. Waitt pinxit 1727.
96. John Grant, "Ian Mohr," champion piper to the Laird of Grant; life size, in Highland costume, playing pipes. The streamer from the pipes displays the Grant arms, three crowns, and motto, "Stand fast." In the background is a view of Castle Grant. Ric. Waitt pinxit 1714.
97. Alister Grant "Mohr" Champion; also in Highland costume, brandishing a sword in his right hand, and holding a shield in his left: life size to match piper. "Ri. Waitt *ad viuum* pinxit 1714."
98. John Shaw, who prevented the Earl of Murray from crossing the bridge of Dava to harry the Grants. He was innkeeper and farmer at Dava; a grim-looking Highlander.
99. The Hen-Wife of Castle Grant, A.D. 1706. She was known as old Maggie Sinclair. She is in the act of taking a pinch of snuff from a black horn in her left hand, having a snuff-pen in her right hand.

COLLECTED SEALS AND SIGNATURES.

ARMORIAL SEALS, Etc., OF THE GRANTS.



No. 1.

No. 3.

No. 2.

No. 4.

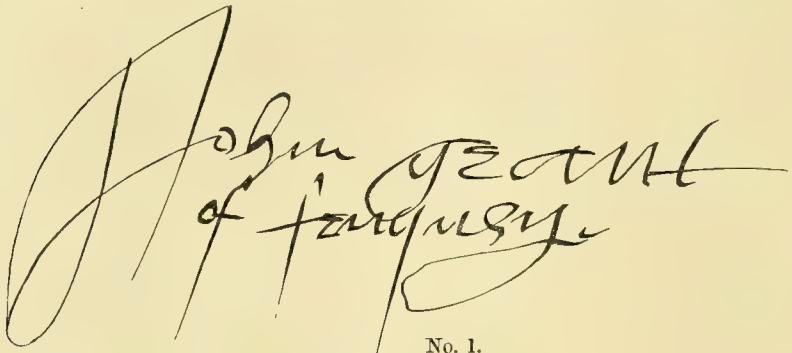
1. Blazon of arms of Grant of Freuchie, *circa* 1542, from Sir David Lindsay's Heraldic MS.

2. Seal of John Grant, fourth of Freuchie, as appended to charter by him granting to Colin Mackenzie of Kintail and Barbara Grant, his spouse, certain lands in Lochbroom, 6th December 1572.

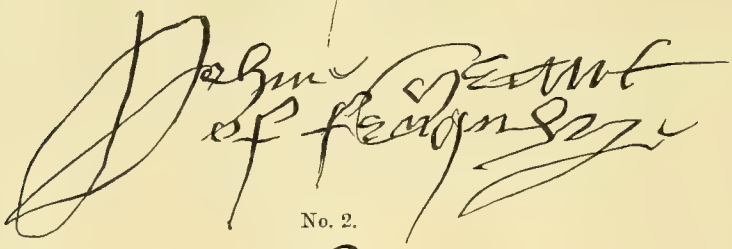
3. Seal of Sir James Grant of Grant, Baronet, and his wife, Jane Duff of Hatton.

4. Seal of Colonel Francis William Grant of Grant, afterwards sixth Earl of Seafield.

SIGNATURES OF THE GRANTS OF GRANT.



No. 1.



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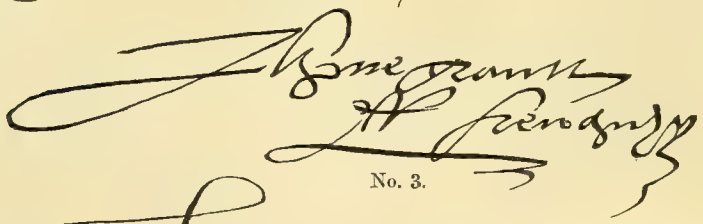

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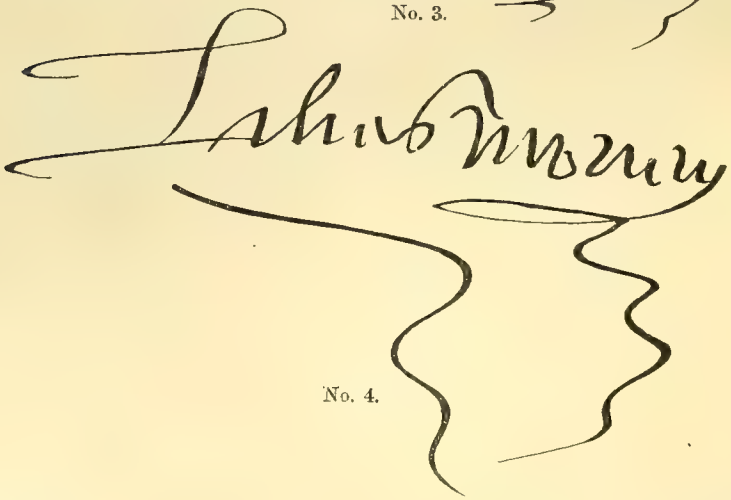
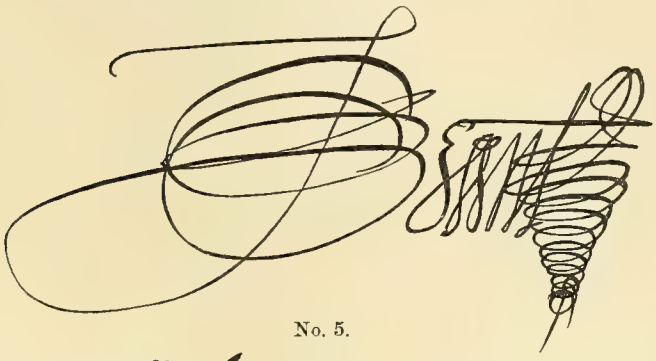
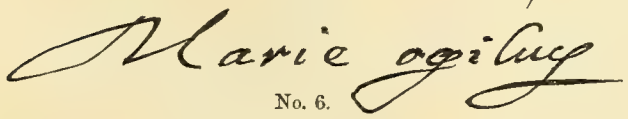


No. 4.

1. John Grant, fourth of Freuchie.
2. The Same.
3. John Grant, fifth of Freuchie.
4. Lady Lilias Murray, his wife.



No. 5.



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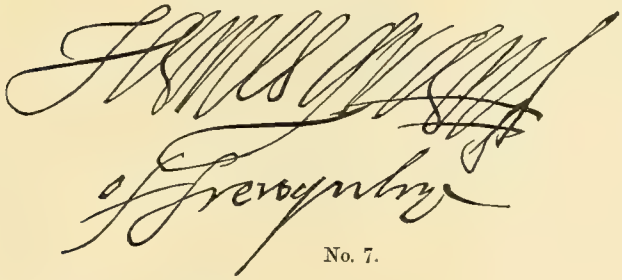

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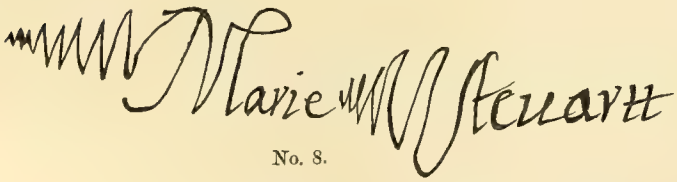

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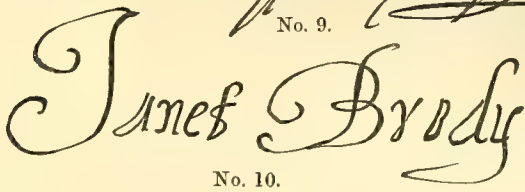
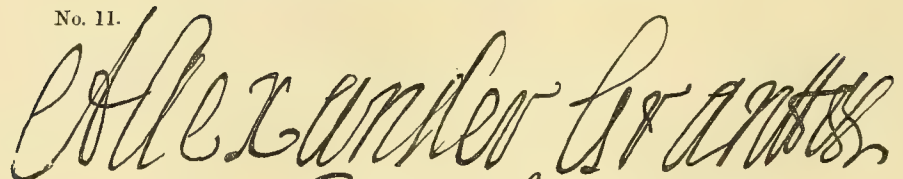


No. 10.

5. Sir John Grant, sixth of Freuchie.
6. Mary Ogilvie, his wife.
7. James Grant, seventh of Freuchie.
8. Lady Mary Stewart, his wife.
9. Ludovick Grant, eighth of Freuchie and Grant.
10. Janet Brody, his first wife.

No. 11.



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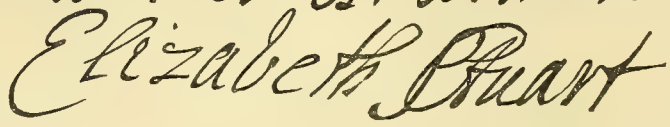

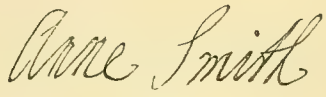

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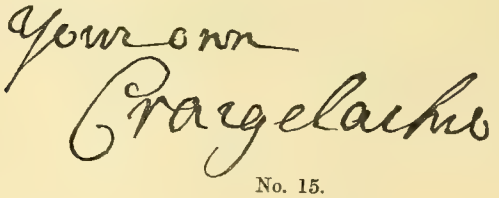

No. 15.

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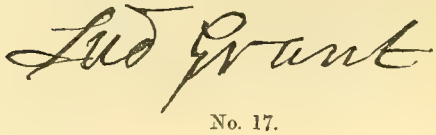

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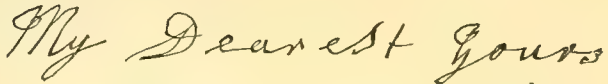

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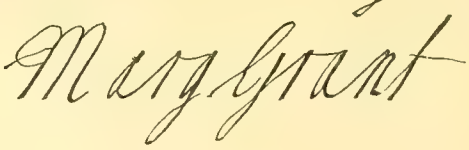
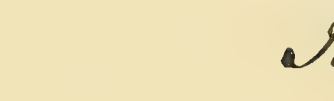


No 19.

11. Brigadier-General Alexander Grant of Grant.
12. Elizabeth Stewart, his first wife.
13. Anne Smith, his second wife.
14. Sir James Grant of Grant.
15. Sir James Grant as "Craigelachie."
16. Anne Colquhoun, his wife.
17. Sir Ludovick Grant of Grant.
18. Marion Dalrymple, his first wife.
19. Lady Margaret Ogilvie, his second wife.



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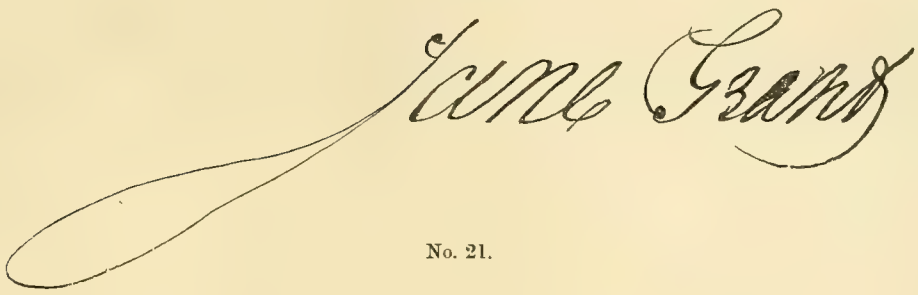

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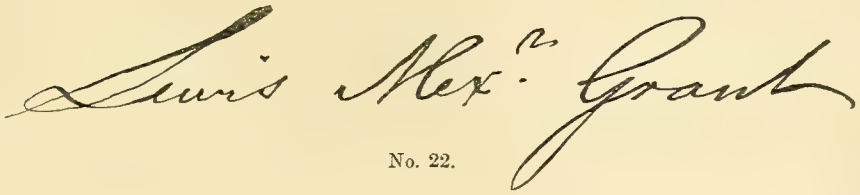

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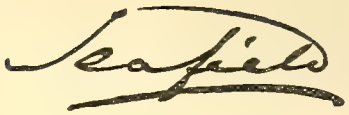

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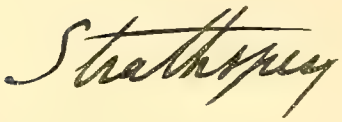

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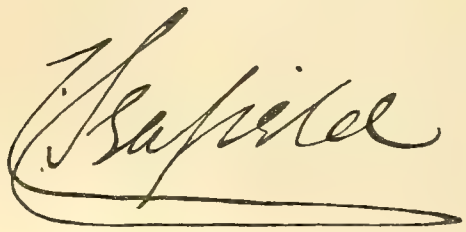
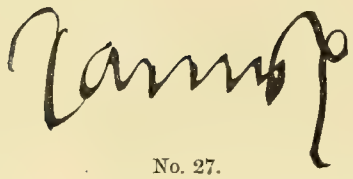


No. 25.

20. Sir James Grant of Grant.
21. Jane Duff, his wife.
22. Sir Lewis Alexander Grant of Grant, afterwards fifth Earl of Seafield.
23. Sir Francis William Grant, afterwards sixth Earl of Seafield.
24. Sir John Charles Grant Ogilvie, seventh Earl of Seafield.
25. Hon. Caroline Stuart, his Countess.
26. Sir Ian Charles Grant Ogilvie, present Earl of Seafield, as Baron Strathspey.

SIGNATURES OF SOVEREIGNS.



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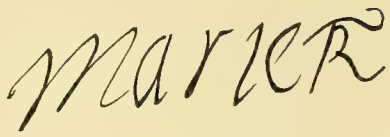
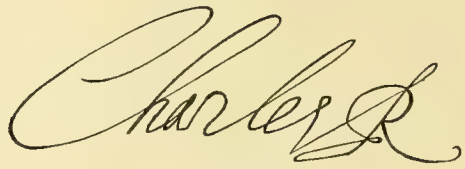


No. 28.

No. 29.



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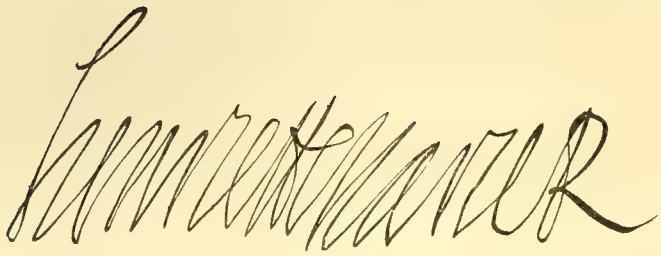
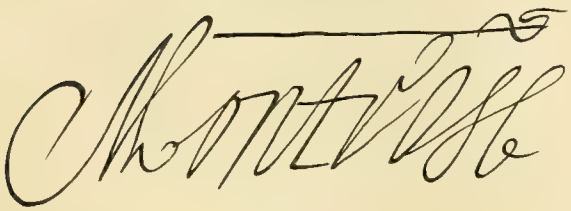
No. 31.



No. 32.

27. King James the Fifth.
28. Mary Queen of Scots.
29. King James the Sixth.
30. King Charles the First.
31. King Charles the Second, as Prince.
32. Queen Henrietta Maria.

SIGNATURES OF NOBILITY, ETC.



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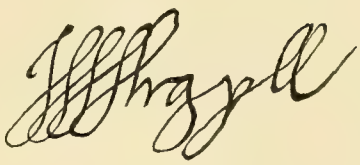

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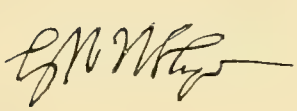
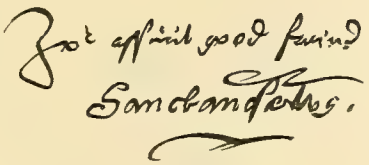


No. 35.

No. 36.



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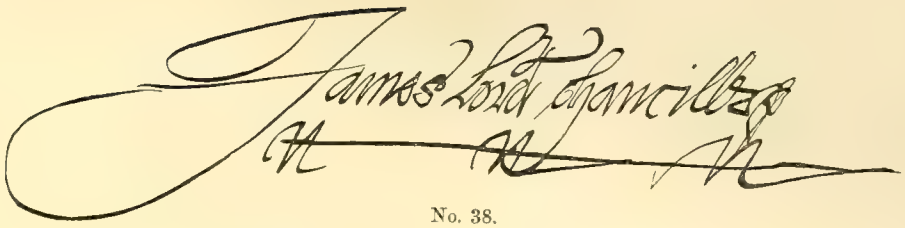
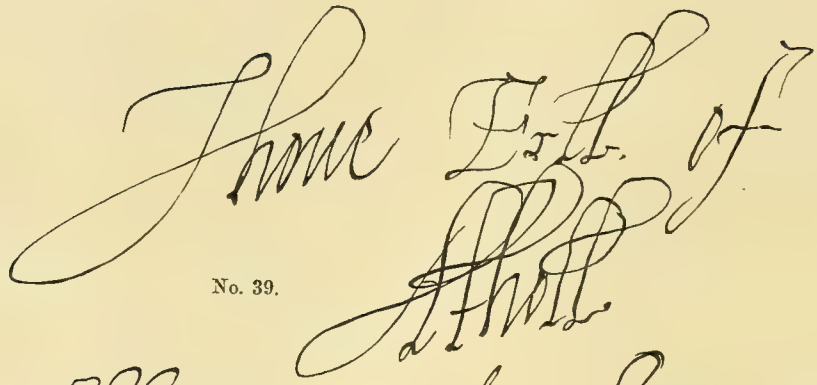


No. 38.

33. James, first Marquis of Montrose.
34. Archibald, Marquis of Argyll.
35. George, fifth Earl of Huntly.
36. George, second Marquis of Huntly.
37. John Spottiswood, Archbishop of St. Andrews. Chancellor of Scotland.
38. James Lord Stewart of Newtown, Chancellor of Scotland, sometime Earl of Arran.



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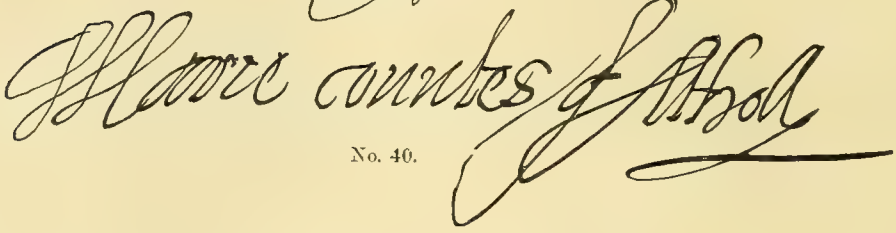

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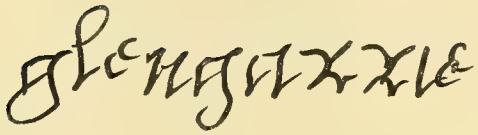

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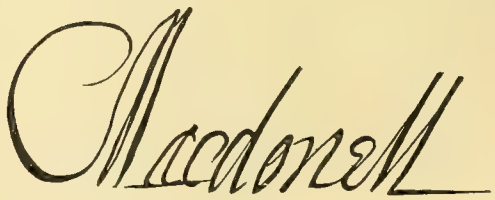
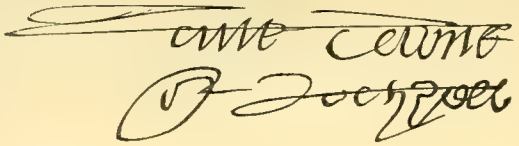


No. 42.

No. 43.



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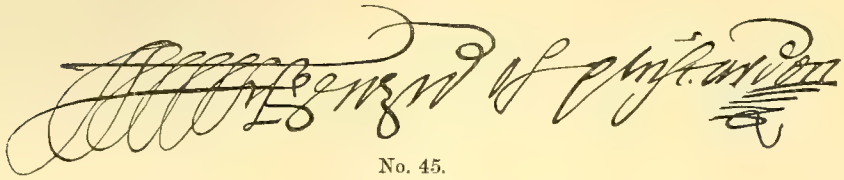
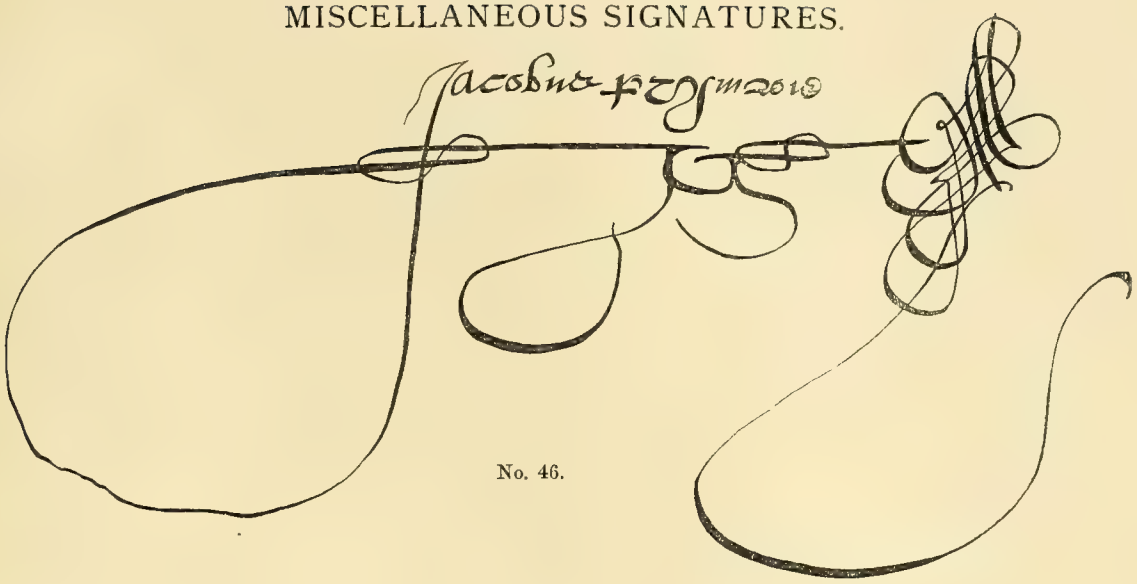


No. 45.

39. John Stewart, Earl of Athole.
40. Mary, his Countess.
41. Donald Macdonell of Glengarry.
42. Æneas, Lord Macdonell.
43. Colin Mackenzie, Lord Kintaill.
44. Allan Cameron of Lochiel.
45. Thomas Mackenzie of Pluscardine.

MISCELLANEOUS SIGNATURES.



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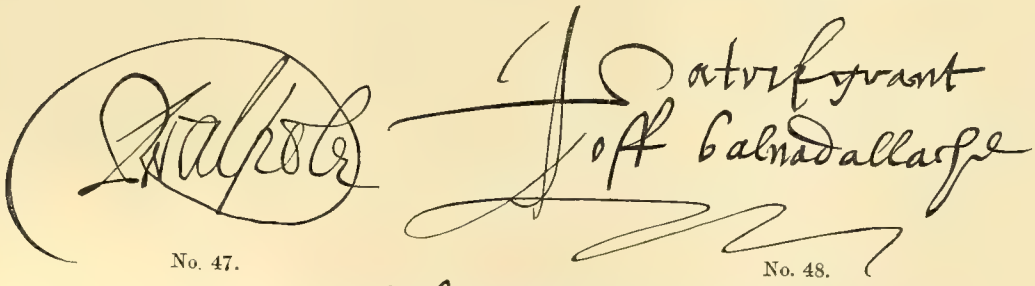

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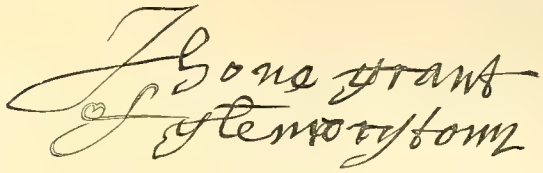
No. 48.

No. 49.



No. 50.

46. James Primrose, Clerk to the Privy Council.
47. Robert Walpole, Secretary of War.
48. Patrick Grant of Ballindalloch.
49. John Grant of Ballindalloch.
50. John Grant of Glenmoriston.

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